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# **THE INDIAN WORLD**

**A MONTHLY REVIEW OF INDIAN,  
POLITICS & ECONOMICS, ARTS &  
INDUSTRIES, HISTORY & LITERATURE**

**Regd. No. C 351**

**EDITED BY  
PRITHWIS CHANDRA RAY**

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# THE INDIAN WORLD

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# THE INDIAN WORLD

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Vol. IX ]

JANUARY, 1909

[ No. 46

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## DIARY FOR DECEMBER, 1908

### Date

1. The situation in India is discussed in the British House of Commons, when Mr. Rees suggests that the stream of seditious literature from France to India may be stopped.

2. A big fire in Bombay causes serious damage.

Sir Andrew Fraser sails from Tuticorin for Colombo.

3. As the result of a serious railway collision between the up and down Bombay mails near Amballa several persons are killed and many wounded.

The subjects of the treatment of the Transvaal Indians, the proposed special tribunal, and the increase of Home Charges are discussed in the House of Commons.

5. At a meeting of the Senate of the Calcutta University, affiliation is withdrawn from the law classes attached to the colleges at Cooch Behar, Midnapur, Bankipur and Bhagalpur.

In the Barrah Dacoity Case four of the accused are committed to the Sessions.

In the Bighati Dacoity Case four of the accused are discharged by the S. D. O. of Serampur.

7. A prolonged debate takes place in the Commons over the second reading of the East India Loan Bill.

Hiralal Sen Gupta is sentenced to 15 month's hard labour by the Magistrate of Khulna on a charge of sedition.

Pandit Siva Nath Sastri lays the foundation stone of the Ram Mohan Library at Dacca.

9. In connection with the Bettiah disturbances, Radhu Mall pleads guilty and is sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 3,000.

Lady Clarke, wife of the Governor of Bombay, dies at Mahableswar.



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10. Two persons are each sentenced to ten years' rigorous imprisonment for attempting to murder the Jailor at Coimbatore.

11. A sort of a Summary Justice and Crimes Act providing for summary trial in certain political offences and proscribing certain Associations and Samitis is passed at a single sitting of the Supreme Legislative Council in Calcutta.

Babu Krishna Kumar Mittra, Editor of the *Sanjibani*, is arrested in Calcutta. Several houses are searched by the Police in Calcutta.

12. Many private houses are searched by the Police in several places in Bengal.

13. Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt and Satis Chandra Chatterjee are arrested at Barisal and Babu Sachindra Prasad Bose in Calcutta and are all deported. Babu Krishna Kumar Mittra is also deported from Calcutta.

The Nagpur Congress is proclaimed under sec 144 C. P. C.

Babus Monoranjan Guha, Subodh Chandra Mullick, Pulin Behari Das and Bhupesh Chandra Nag are arrested at Giridih, Benares, Dacca and Barodi respectively and are deported.

14. The appeal in the *Bunde Mataram* Press confiscation case is dismissed by the Calcutta High Court.

15. The recent arrests in Bengal is discussed in the House of Commons.

16. A mass meeting is held at Barisal under the Presidency of Babu Dina Bandhu Sen to express sorrow at the deportation of Babus Aswini Kumar Dutt and Satis Chandra Chatterjee.

17. A farewell address is presented to Justice Sarada Charan Mittra by the Vakils of the Calcutta High Court on the eve of his retirement from the Bench.

Lord Morley's scheme of Indian reforms is published simultaneously in England and India.

In introducing his scheme of reform to the House of Lords, Lord Morley makes a vigorous speech in defence of Regulation III of 1818 and in favour of his scheme. Lord Macdonnell pronounces the partition of Bengal as the greatest blunder that has been committed in India since the days of Clive.

18. Kali Charan Mukerjee of Aligarh is discharged by the Allahabad High Court.

19. In connection with the Bettiah disturbance, Sital Ray is sentenced to thirty months' rigorous imprisonment.

20. A very big meeting is held at Barisal under the presidency of Babu Haranath Ghosh to express sorrow at the recent deportations.

21. The trial of the Midnapur Bomb Case begins at the Sessions.

The partition of Bengal is discussed in the House of Commons.

On Parliament being prorogued this day, the King makes a speech from the throne in which he makes a reference to the unrest in India.

24. A very influential Deputation, composed of a large number of leading men of both the Bengals, waits upon Lord Minto and expresses gratitude for the reforms announced by Lord Morley..... A big public meeting is held on the Federation Grounds of Calcutta under the presidency of Pandit Siva Nath Sastri to protest against the recent deportations.

26. The Indian Industrial Conference meets at Madras under the presidency of Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar.

27. Sir Arthur Lawley, Governor of Madras, meets Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Mr. Gokhale and has prolonged conversations with them on Indian public affairs.

28. The Indian National Congress opens its first session under a new Constitution at Madras under the presidency of Dr. Rash Behary Ghose.

29. The Indian National Congress continues its session in Madras....The annual meeting of the All-India Moslem League is held at Amritsar under the presidency of Syed Ali Imam, the leader of the Bankipore Bar.

30. The Indian National Congress concludes its session.

31. The Indian Social Conference holds its 22nd session in Madras under the presidency of Mr. Justice Sankaran Nair.

# NOTES & NEWS

## GENERAL

### **Advance Islam**

Business is a great solvent of all kinds of prejudices. It is contrary to Islamic precepts to accept interest on loans, which has prevented strict Mahomedans from engaging in banking, financial, or kindred operations, and even from receiving interest on investments. Under the pressure of modern requirements, however, such tenets cannot be maintained in their purity, and a Mahomedan bank has been established at Lahore, despite sacerdotal condemnation, while banks in other Indian cities are being supported by Moslems.

### **Connecting India with Ceylon**

Subject to the approval of the Indian Government, the South Indian Railway propose to erect a viaduct over the Paumben Channel and an opening bridge with a span large enough to cover all the navigable parts of the Channel. The scheme also includes the establishment of a ferry service between Duneshkodi and Mannar—a distance of 22 miles of open sea. The Ceylon Government proposes to undertake the extension of the Ceylon railway system as far as Mannar. A survey for this line has already been completed and no difficulty is anticipated in carrying out the extension. Thus the viaduct across the Paumben Channel will enable the South Indian Railway to run direct to Duneshkodi thence by the ferry service, and then to entrain at Mannar.

### **Smuggled Arms in India**

The existence of a scheme of considerable extent for smuggling rifles and ammunition into India has just been discovered by the authorities. For the last few months large quantities of rifles and ball cartridges have been consigned to Muscat, in the Persian Gulf. As the Sultan of Oman, in which state Muscat is situated, is entirely friendly to England, no suspicion at first was directed to the unusually heavy importation of arms. When it was discovered, however, that thousands of rifles were being smuggled into India and distributed all over the empire—the exact method of entry was for some time a puzzle to the authorities. Inquiries were immediately instituted, and these disclosed the fact that the arms for the most part were smuggled into India by dhows from Muscat, which

conveyed the weapons to Gwadar on the Mekran coast. Steps are now being taken to suppress the traffic as it is feared that the majority of the rifles might be distributed amongst disaffected natives.

### An Archaeological Discovery

Some discoveries of archaeological interest have recently been made at Omtaldrug. In the month of October last a correspondent of the "Madras Mail" made some excavations on what is supposed to be the site of an ancient city named Chandravalli at the north-west foot of the Chitaldrug hill. On a careful examination of the site, which is now mostly covered over by cultivated fields, traces of a few brick walls were discovered. Excavations were conducted by the side of these walls to a depth of about 10 ft., from the ground level. The bricks composing the walls are unusually large in size—16 in. long, 8 in. broad and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in. thick. Near one of the walls a few handmade roofing tile with grooves and ridges, which are certainly the prototypes of the modern Mangalore tiles, were unearthed. Pieces of pottery, some broken cups and other earthen vessels, ashes and rubbish were found everywhere. The pieces of pottery roofing tiles and above all the Andhra and Roman coins and the clay seal mark out the place as the site of an ancient city. It is proposed to continue the excavations on a large scale at some future time.

### Knowledge about India

"The serious riot which has occurred near Calcutta between Mohammedans and Hindus," says the *Edinburgh Evening Despatch* in a serious vein, "is proof of the intensity of the feeling created among the latter by the preferential treatment bestowed upon the Hindus by the new reforms sanctioned by the Government. The Mahomedans, although numerically smaller, are a very large minority—about fifty millions in all India—and they are devotedly loyal to British rule. It was, therefore, a painful surprise to them to find that Lord Morley had made to the Hindu agitators, who had been proclaiming their disloyalty and resorting to methods of anarchy, concessions which would confer on their race greater privileges than were possessed by the adherents of Islam. Meetings of Mohammedans have been held, but they have been orderly, and such protests do not appear to impress the members of a Government who defer only to lawless agitation. Now the racial situation has been intensified by the police prohibition, "in deference to Hindu feeling" of the sacrifice of cows at a Mohammedan festival. In existing circumstances this further preference to the Hindus

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appears to be singularly imprudent, every fresh concession to the disloyalists only giving rise to fresh demands." Poor Lord Morley !

### Advisory Councils

Says the *Indian Daily News* : A cursory glance on the voluminous papers on the Reform Scheme will convince the ordinary individual that Sir George Clarke and Sir Arthur Lawley practically killed the Government of India's pet child, the Imperial Advisory Council of Notables. Sir Arthur Lawley was of opinion that such a Council would serve no useful purpose and Sir George Clarke had grave objections to the combination of ruling chiefs and of territorial magnates of British India in one body. Curiously enough a civilian Lieutenant-Governor of eminence, Sir Louis Dane, held the same view and was of opinion that the formation of such a Council was not expedient. Against these three we have the four Civilian Lieutenant-Governors holding diametrically opposite views. The late satrap of Bengal recognised the principle underlying the scheme as "valuable" and thought that it should be accepted. Sir John Hewett welcomed the proposal. Sir Thirkell White thought that benefit would accrue from such an association. Sir Lancelot Hare, who can never make up his mind upon any matter of broad policy, was doubtful and uncertain but gave his support. This points its own moral and, it is no wonder, that educated Indians prefer their Governors to come out direct from Home.

### The Bengali Volunteers

The *Manchester Dispatch* thus states the origin of the Bengali Volunteers :—

"Mrs. Datra is the originator of the Bengali Volunteers, wick have given so much troubles to the Indian police during the past two years. But it would not be fair to place the charge of responsibility for this trouble at the small feet of Mrs. Datra. It all came about as follows :—Mrs. Datra was a Miss Tagore. The Tagore family is known as one of the most progressive of the high-class Bengali families. Miss Tagore was given a first-class education, and it was while reading Kipling that the idea underlying the Bengali Volunteers came to her. Kipling it will be remembered is never tired of lampooning the Bengali for his smug cowardice. This charge of effeminacy rankled in Miss Tagore's breast, and she conceived the idea that it was the playing fields of their schools that made Englishmen superior to her own countrymen. She, therefore, started a gymnasium and outdoor recreation club in her own family. The young Tagores were taught cricket, foot-

ball, singlestick, and wrestling. Everything was proceeding satisfactorily until suddenly the Bengali political movement reached the student class. The gymnasiums already furnished a widespread organisation. Passive athletic instruction became aggressive military training, and the "Volunteer" movement leaped into prominence. Miss Tagore, however, had no direct influence upon this latter development of her scheme, which had only possessed the laudable desire to infuse manliness into the growing generation of her race." Poor Mrs. Dutt Chowdhury ! Alas ! such is fame !

## **COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL**

### **Bank of Madras**

The Bank of Madras has declared a dividend for the past half-year at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum, transferring to reserve fund Rs.1,50,000, to premises Rs. 25,000, and carrying forward Rs.1,71,885.

### **Bank of Bengal**

The Bank of Bengal has declared a dividend for the past half-year at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum, with a special bonus of 2 per cent. to the shareholders, carrying Rs. 2,50,000 to reserve fund, Rs. 50,000 to pension fund, and Rs. 3,27,000 forward.

### **Bank of Bombay**

The Bank of Bombay has declared a dividend for the past half-year at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum, with a bonus at the rate of 2 per cent. per annum (both free from Indian income tax), placing Rs. 25,000 to premises account, and carrying forward Rs.4,93,888.

### **Russian Goods For India**

The Russian Consul in Bombay calls attention to the increasing interest in Russian goods in India, and mentions particularly pottery, prints, cottons, brocades, cigarettes, boots, matches, salt, vegetable oils, oil cake, etc., as likely goods to sell there. There is accommodation at the Consulate for samples of such goods and prices current.

### **Thirteen Million Ploughs in India**

Among other interesting statistics in the new Blue Book upon India is a table giving an enumeration of live-stock, ploughs, and carts, from which we gather that ploughs are in use in India to the enormous number of 13,720,393. This truly is an immense array of implements, and one which would stock a multitude of dealers' premises. Doubtless many of the implements covered by the

## **THE INDIAN WORLD**

statistics quoted are of a very primitive character, a great proportion being of native construction, but this is a circumstance which indicates how great a field exists for the utilisation of more modern implements of British manufacture. We gather also from the Blue Book, with regard to the occupations of the population that the people engaged in plough and agricultural implement making in India number 75,760, of which 71,247, are males, and 4,513 females.

### **The Distribution Of Magnesite In India**

Official returns show a great decrease in the production of magnesite in India last year, apparently from want of a better market. Production is at present confined to the Chalk Hills, near Salem, in the Madras Presidency, from which only 186 tons were mined last year, as compared with an average of about 1,500 tons for the previous three years. The mineral is also now being exploited elsewhere in Southern India, but production has not been commenced. In three or four villages of the Salem district a lease for mining the mineral has been granted by the authorities, but the concessionaries are reported to have not yet started operations in the new area. In Mysore too the mineral, which occurs as an alteration product of peridotite rocks, has attracted attention, and prospecting operations are in progress in parts of the State. The vicinity of Seringala, north of Fraserpet, in the Coorg Province, is also reported to possess a considerable development of peridotite rock in which magnesite occurs, but the area is said to be far from the railway systems and would accordingly be expensive to work.

### **Copper Mines In India**

Notwithstanding the considerable amount of copper and brassware manufactured in India, this country has not hitherto ranked among the principal copper-producing areas of the world. Much interest, consequently, has been aroused by the announcement of the discovery of copper in the semi-independent State of Shikkim, situated just beyond the hill station of Darjiling. A large number of copper mines, it is stated, have been located and some of them systematically developed for the last eighteen months with most favourable results, under the direction of Mr. Charles Wilkinson, mining engineer. The ore occurs in the form of copper sulphides, both in lodes and bedded deposits, and although these are not phenomenally rich, they are highly payable from a commercial point of view, averaging from 5 per cent. to 10 per cent. of copper throughout. At Bhotang Mine systematic development has disclosed several payable lodes, and the bottom of the winze 400 feet

below the outcrops on the hill is now on a payable sulphide lode of 4 to 5 feet in thickness. Another rich sulphide lode, Dik Chu, has been traced for several hundred feet and a tunnel driven on the strike of the lode into the hill is in payable mineral for the whole distance. Leases and mining rights have been granted to Messrs. Burn and Co., under the Indian Government regulations, for about 32 square miles of country, in every half square mile of which is a copper deposit or lode. The surfaces of the best mines are honey-combed by old workings begun by the natives, who could make little headway with their primitive tools, and desisted in their attempts when, under modern conditions, it would have begun to be most profitable. These natives are mostly of the Mungar caste and they are found to be cheap and efficient workers when instructed in the use of present day appliances.

#### Indian Irrigation

The principal statistics concerning irrigation in British India for the official year 1907 are as follows :—

—	Area Irrigated	Capital Expendi- ture	Gross Receipts.	Net Revenue	Net Return on Capital
	Acres	£	£	£	Per cent.
Burmah ...	90,148 ...	804,584 ...	27,117 ...	17,446 ...	2.17
Bengal ...	892,902 ...	4,123,525 ...	147,800 ...	66,328 ...	1.61
United Pro- vinces ...	2,408,467 ...	5,961,717 ...	798,806 ...	568,299 ...	9.53
Punjab ...	5,354,322 ...	8,083,654 ...	1,478,386 ...	1,013,179 ...	12.53
North-West Frontier Province...	151,460 ...	321,367 ...	37,504 ...	29,227 ...	9.00
Madras ...	2,939,809 ...	5,031,262 ...	616,548 ...	473,013 ...	9.44
Bombay ...	1,500,096 ...	247,683 ...	230,884 ...	154,359 ...	6.23
Total ...	13,337,204 ...	26,784,591 ...	3,337,045 ...	2,321,861 ...	Av. 8.67

This result must, of course, be regarded as satisfactory, but account should also be taken of the great general benefits which irrigation has conferred upon India.

#### Paper Trade of India

The total imports of paper and stationery have nearly doubled since 1885-6 ; they are now £803,000 as compared with £419,000 twenty years ago. The share of the United Kingdom has decreased from 76 to 61 per cent. of the whole. Germany is our chief competitor, her share having increased from nothing to 13 per cent. The imports from Austria are now the same as twenty years ago. The imports of paper and pasteboard from the United Kingdom in



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1906-7 amounted to £294,000, and from other countries £240,000; stationery, excluding paper, was received from the United Kingdom to the value of £193,000, and from other countries £76,000. The imports of paper and pasteboard during 1885-6 to 1906-7 were as under from the countries mentioned :—

	United Kingdom.	Austria-Hungary	Germany.
1885-6	£179,000	£62,000	£ —
1890-1	176,000	85,000	15,000
1895-6	99,000	59,000	—
1900-1	178,000	68,000	18,000
1901-2	174,000	95,000	46,000
1902-3	171,000	88,000	45,000
1903-4	196,000	57,000	42,000
1904-5	258,000	75,000	42,000
1905-6	270,000	51,000	78,000
1906-7	294,000	47,000	105,000

Stationery (excluding paper) was imported from the United Kingdom in 1885-6 to the value of £140,000, increasing to £193,000 in 1906-7. The receipts from Austria-Hungary were £5,000 in 1885-6 and £19,000 in 1906-7.

### India's Woollen Industry

Of the six woollen mills in India five represent a paid-up capital of Rs. 42,57,440 (£283,829), and Debentures Rs. 4,00,000 (£26,667), the capital of the sixth, a small private mill in Bombay not being stated for the purposes of the return made on this industry for 1907 by the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence at Calcutta. Two of the mills at Cawnpore, in the United Provinces, and at Dhariwal, in the Punjab, have between them a paid-up capital of 30 lakhs (£200,000) or 70 per cent. of the whole and produce 86 per cent. of the total outturn of the Indian mills. They weave cloth for the use of the army and police, and articles of superior quality generally, using for the high-class goods Australian wool either pure or mixed with Indian wool. There has been no large increase in the amount of capital employed since 1898, though the number of persons employed and the number of looms and spindles have risen. The year 1905 represents the maximum of the quantity and value of the goods produced. In 1906, owing to the high price of wool, there was a considerable shrinkage in production, followed by a slight recovery in 1907. The quantity of woollen goods imported into India is very much greater than the production of the Indian mills. Piece-goods and shawls from the United Kingdom and Germany make up the bulk of the imports. The value of the woollen goods imported in 1907 was Rs. 2,62,24,300, and the production of Indian mills Rs. 34,12,879 as compared with Rs. 2,00,08,545 and Rs. 34,81,808 respectively in 1906. There are in various places factories for the weaving of carpets and rugs, and of pattu and pashmina, but though these industries are in the aggregate extensive, they are individually small the weaving being done on hand-loom. The exports of woollen goods from India consist almost entirely of carpets and rugs of which about three-fourths go to the United Kingdom and the greater part of the remainder to the United States. The values of Indian carpets and rugs exported during the years 1905, 1906 and 1907 were Rs. 17,87,340, Rs. 20,62,845 and Rs. 23,76,840 respectively.

## THE MAHOMETAN DEMAND FOR CLASS REPRESENTATION

The following letters have appeared in the London *Times* on the question of class representation for the Mahometans of India :

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE TIMES"

Sir,—There is evidently a misapprehension in some quarters regarding the attitude of the Moslem League (and of the Mahomedans generally) towards Lord Morley's scheme of Indian reforms, and attempts are being made to discount or discredit Mahomedan feelings and opinion.

The Mahomedans equally with other moderate sections of the population gratefully acknowledge the extension of political privileges. But they are bound to examine the details so that in the practical application of the scheme they may not be placed at a disadvantage. This, they believe, would not only be contrary to the intentions of Government, but probably prove fatal to the successful working of the reforms. In asking for modifications such as would properly and adequately safeguard their interests, they ask for no special privilege in derogation of the just rights of any other class or community; they demand nothing more than that their representation on the councils and other representative bodies should under the projected reforms be real and not illusory, substantial and not nominal. They are anxious to work in harmony with all sections of the population, but they will not consent to be dragged at the wheels of a majority along any course it may choose to take. This, if I interpret rightly the feelings and opinions of my people, is the position they have taken up.

During the whole course of my public life I have consistently laboured to promote concord and good feeling among the two communities. I have always maintained cordial relations with leading Hindus. My remarks, therefore, will perhaps be accepted as free from bias of any kind.

In India the rank and file of the two communities are still widely divided in habits, customs, and traditions of race and religion—a more dominant factor than in European countries—all of which tend to produce the feelings and thoughts which govern the actions of peoples. The Hindu is most anxious to preserve and extend the ascendancy he has gained, the Mahomedan aspires to obtain a share of the benefits promised to India by British rule. Under existing conditions and in the present state of feeling among the general body of the two nationalities a system of popular electorates recommended in the despatch of the Secretary of State would lead to constant friction, heartburning, and complaints. In certain localities (and recent events fully justify the prediction) worse results may be apprehended.

That a joint electorate consisting of Hindus and Mahomedans under such conditions would not assure adequate representation to the Mahomedan community would be obvious to any unprejudiced mind. But the question has been clouded with so many fallacies that it becomes necessary to call attention to some of the salient

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features of the proposal against which Mahomedan opinion has unanimously ranged itself.

Under the proposed scheme (without going into details) the electoral machinery at every stage would be controlled by an overwhelming non-Moslem majority versed in modern political tactics. This explains the exultation with which it has been received and the tenacity with which the Mahomedan demand for communal representation is objected to. In electorates of the kind proposed every effort would be made to divide Mahomedan votes, and to return to the electoral colleges and the councils only such Mahomedans as would be acceptable to the majority. At this moment in some parts of the country "Extremist" views are predominant; here, it is needless to say, no Musulman, unless he subscribed to those doctrines, would have the remotest chance of election. Not much exercise of imagination is required to understand the combinations by which a Mahomedan unacceptable to the majority may be defeated.

In considering the question of mixed electorates another fact must be borne in mind. The two communities often differ greatly in material circumstances. No Mahomedan is found following the vocation of Sowcar, Mahajan, or Bunniah; in the legal and other professions his number can hardly be compared to that of the Hindus. In State service the disparity is striking. Owing to the difference in the standard of living, rank to rank, generally speaking the Mahomedan is less affluent than the Hindu. Under these conditions the franchise qualification would have to be sensibly modified, otherwise the franchise limit would be so narrowed as to make Mahomedan representation practically of little value.

To allay Mahomedan apprehensions Lord MacDonnell stated in *The Times* of January 6 that Lord Morley's scheme aims at securing to the Mahomedans a proportionate *minimum* representation; and that "it does not preclude the electors or the majority of them from foregoing the advantage they possess, and giving to the minority at a particular election a larger representation than the *minimum* to which under the scheme they are entitled." So that, according to him, if one Mahomedan obtained the entire Musulman votes, and another a larger number of Hindu votes, the result would be that the Mahomedans instead of one would have the good fortune of possessing two representatives. With some experience in the interpretation of documents, I venture to say that the language of the despatch furnishes no warrant for Lord MacDonnell's construction. The intention may be there; it is not only not expressed, but the context rebuts it.

Assuming, however, that Lord MacDonnell's interpretation is correct, it would be considered a very mixed blessing. A Mahomedan brought in wholly or partly by Hindu votes would be pledged wholly or partly to the views of his political supporters; he would be used as a counterpoise to his Mahomedan colleague, and, to use a colloquialism, would often be putting a spoke in his wheel. Illustrations of how this may be done are not wanting in the House of Commons. A nominee of the majority posing as a Mahomedan representative would often do more harm to Musulman interests than if they were wholly unrepresented.

The principle of proportional representation possesses no doubt, the recommendation of simplicity as furnishing an easy solu-

## THE MAHOMETAN DEMAND

tion to an unprecedentedly difficult problem. But its simplicity should not, it is submitted, lead us to overlook the prejudice it would cause to the Mahomedans. There is no question the Hindu population largely exceeds the Mahomedan in number; but the real figure in the first case is swelled to its stated dimensions by the inclusion of masses of people whose very touch the real Hindu regards as defilement, with whom he would hold no social converse, and who are called, or call themselves, Hindus for census purposes alone. Communities like those of the Chandals, Chamars, Musahirs, Bhangis, &c.—names familiar enough to the Indian administrator—can never hope to rise in the social scale, or to sit in the same assembly as the caste-people, the real Hindus. They will in all probability never hear of Lord Morley's scheme or take the faintest interest in its working. The Mahomedans number, according to official figures, over 53 millions. They are unequally distributed over the whole country, and vary in material and social conditions, not only in the different provinces, but in the different parts of the same province. The only province in which there is any approximation in the circumstances of the two great communities is the Punjab. Here, the followers of Islam, like the Hindus, are found in all strata of society. Here, therefore, it may be possible to apply the principle of proportional representation without prejudice to the interests of either. But in the other provinces, the conditions are totally different. For example, in the United Provinces, the upper and the middle classes of Mahomedans are mostly office-holders, scholars, professional men, and what in French would be called *rentiers* of different degrees—descendants generally of men who occupied good positions under the former rule. The social importance of the Mahomedans in the life of the province, as has been admitted by successive governors, can hardly be gauged by their numerical proportion. Proportional representation applied to the United Provinces would work enormous injustice to Mahomedan representation, and would create a feeling of resentment, of which indications are already forth-coming. The same remarks apply to the other provinces.

If Mahomedan representation is to have any real meaning, it must be, as the Mahomedans urge, adequate and substantial. If the Mahomedan representatives are to be of any practical use to their people or to the State, their number on the councils and on the other representative bodies must be such as to give their utterances some weight. And this has become especially important owing to the decision of the Secretary of State to give non-official majorities to the provincial councils and the further extension in their powers and privileges.

The importance of a nation cannot always be adjudged on numerical considerations. Whatever may be the view regarding the historical and political position of the Mahomedans, to which the Government of India attaches some value, Mahomedan loyalty is an asset to the Empire which I venture to submit ought not to be lightly put aside.

Yours faithfully,  
AMEER ALI

II

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE TIMES"

Sir,—May I crave the hospitality of your columns for the following answer to Lord MacDonnell's letter to *The Times* of yesterday morning? In that letter his lordship gives an interpretation of Lord Morley's scheme of electoral colleges which an unassisted study of its words would not seem to warrant. "Let it be supposed," says the scheme, "that the total population of the province is 20 millions, of whom 15 millions are Hindus and five millions Mahomedans, and the number of members to be elected 12. Then since the Hindus are to the Mahomedans as three to one, nine Hindus should be elected to three Mahomedans." Again, "divide the province into three electoral areas in each of which three Hindus and one Mahomedan are to be returned. Then in each of these areas constitute an electoral college, consisting of, let us say, 100 members. In order to preserve the proportion between the two religions, 75 of these should be Hindus and 25 Mahomedans." Thus, to the man in the street, the root-idea of the whole scheme is clearly this—"preserving of the proportion between the two religions." Further on we read that the electoral college having thus been formed "would be called upon to elect three representatives for the Hindus and one for the Mahomedans." Here, it is true, we are not told that the representatives must be Hindus in the one case and Mahomedans in the other. But read with the context and in the spirit of the previous portions of the section, the sentence does not seem to admit of any other meaning. If so, my contention holds good, and the doubling of the Mahomedan representation under certain circumstances, as contemplated in Lord MacDonnell's letter, cannot occur.

But the high authority of his lordship's interpretation entitles it to the greatest weight; and it is therefore incumbent upon us to examine what its effect would be if it were adopted as the official view. At the first blush it would seem that nothing would in that event be wanting to make the Mahomedans happy. Not only would they have the proportion of their representatives fixed, but there could no longer be any "hanky-panky" about the elections and they would always be able to send to the Council the men of their choice. But all our hopes, all our pleasant anticipations, are dashed to the ground the very next moment. What is given with one hand is taken away with the other. We are told that the representative of the Mahomedans need not necessarily be a Mahomedan. There is undoubtedly something fascinating about this doctrine of altruistic unselfishness, of brotherly love and self-effacement, which would enable the Mahomedans willingly to elect the Hindus as their representatives, but as a question of practical politics I am afraid the idea is Utopian—judged even by English standards. When the different races and religions of India can settle their differences amicably after this fashion there will be no need for elaborate and long-considered schemes and schedules fixing the proportion of representatives of the various communities on the legislative Assemblies. But the millennium is not yet—certainly not in India. In the present backward condition of the Mahomedans—backward in wealth, political education, and organization—danger to their interests lurks behind any scheme that would permit them to elect non-Mahomedans as their represen-

## THE MAHOMETAN DEMAND

tatives. Intrigues, cabals, undue persuasion or pressure from more powerful Hindu neighbours or patrons, on whom the Mussulman elector may in many ways be dependent, will come into play in the machinery of election to the detriment of true Mahomedan representation. Under all the circumstances of the case, therefore, the Mahomedans would prefer to forego the spiritual pleasure and the privilege of being able to elect members of other communities to represent them in the Council Chambers of the Empire—though they would, of course, not grudge that privilege to any other community that may desire it. The Mahomedans of India as a whole and as represented by the All-India Muslim League, are firmly decided in favour of communal representation as the only way of securing to them their full electoral rights. This demand involves no absurdity, and it has never been shown to be impracticable. Personally I consider it far more workable in practice than the scheme of electoral colleges, about which I have serious doubts. I am, moreover, fully convinced that such communal representation, so far from being a cause of bitterness of feeling or of mutual jealousies, will tend—by removing all sources of chronic irritation and of bickering—quickly to establish amicable relations and friendly co-operation between different Indian communities in the business of the Empire as a whole—a consummation no one could desire more ardently than the present writer, or, what is more to the purpose, the All-India Muslim League.

We now come to the question of the proportion of representation—numerically—which the Mahomedan community of India claims—a question which should not be mixed up or confused as has sometimes been done, with that of the method or system of election. Among the grounds, as stated by Lord MacDonnell, on which Mahomedans base their claim for special consideration, I notice some important omissions. The historical Mahomedan deputation to Lord Minto (of 1906) mentioned one such ground to be “the value of the contribution which they (the Mahomedans) made to the defence of the Empire,” and his Excellency, in acknowledging the address, said :—“And you justly claim that your position should be estimated not merely on your numerical strength, but in respect to the political importance of your community, and the service it has rendered to the Empire.” It is not for Mahomedans to brag of such service, but are they or are they not justified in placing reliance on the words, amounting to a pledge, of a Viceroy of India? In the interests of truth, moreover, it must be stated that for more than a quarter of a century the Mahomedans as a body have been steadfast in their loyalty to the British Government, and have given solid, ungrudging, self-sacrificing support to the British Throne, through fair weather and foul. It is true that, if I may be permitted to borrow Lord MacDonnell’s words, “it would be difficult to express in numbers the value of such considerations” as mere sentiments of loyalty; but it is sincerely to be hoped that the day is far distant when British administrators will ignore or belittle such sentiments—though it must be admitted that “on democratic principles,” judged by the views of their latter-day exponents, it is disloyalty that seems to possess the greater merit. But for all that Lord MacDonnell is not wanting in generosity. He is disposed to treat Mahomedan claims “*for the present*” (I italicize the words)

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with tenderness. But only for the present. This, of course, leaves a sword of Damocles hanging over us. We are not told when it will descend on our devoted heads, but presumably we must prepare ourselves for that catastrophe when, on democratic principles, the partition of Bengal has been cancelled, "the greatest political blunder" of the age rectified, and Bengal rendered peaceful and quiet from end to end—till next time. Then it will be time to put a stop to this temporary "coddling" of the Mahomedans and to "pay them out" for their defection from the "national" movement in India. Finally, the Hindu community may certainly be congratulated on having secured, once again, the powerful advocacy of their old friend and champion, but such advocacy, on the part of one so exalted in rank and position and of such commanding influence as his lordship, when too pronounced in favour of a particular class in India, does not always lead to happy results—to the healing of wounds, the union of hearts. It will, no doubt, be in his lordship's recollection that during the Persian-Nagri character dispute of the period of his rule in the United Provinces of India, his orders led to quite opposite results. The Mahomedans have not forgotten the incident, which caused them great pain.

I apologize sincerely for trespassing to such an extent on your valuable space, but the question is of vital importance to Mahomedan interests, and it is but fair that their point of view should be placed before the public. Want of space leaves me no alteration than that of postponing the consideration of some other aspects of this subject.

Your faithfully,

SYED HASSAN (Bilgrami), MAJOR I.M.S. ret'd.,  
*Hon. Sec., All-India Muslim League.*

## SELECTIONS

### THE XXIVth INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

DR. RASH BEHARY GHOSE'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The fears which for months haunted the minds of some of us have proved groundless. The genial predictions of our enemies so confidently made have also been falsified. For the Indian National Congress is not dead nor has Surat been its grave. It has been more than once doomed to death but, rely upon it, it bears a charmed life and is fated not to die. It is true a few men have left us, but the Congress is as vigorous as ever. We have now closed up our ranks and though some of us clung convulsively to the hope that those who have now deliberately committed political suicide would still continue to fight the good fight and keep the faith they soon found out their mistake. There can be no reconciliation with the irreconcilable.

The first ominous sign of a movement which has since unmasked itself showed itself in the Benares Congress in December 1905, after the reactionary policy of Lord Curzon had culminated in the partition of Bengal. It was at Benares that the boycott of English goods which had been started in Bengal by way of protest against the partition of the province was declared to be legitimate, not however without some opposition from those who thought that such a step might ultimately end in hostility to the Government. The new movement started in 1905 reached its second stage in Calcutta, where there was a stormy session, and an open rupture was averted only by the tact and authority of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. By that time the new party, who made no secret of their contempt for the moderates, had sketched out a comprehensive policy of passive resistance modelled on the Irish Sinn Fein. They insisted on a boycott not only of English goods but of the English Government itself, though their policy was veiled under the name of self-help and self-reliance. The



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relations between the two parties thus became strained almost to the breaking point in 1906, and the struggle had reached a still more menacing stage before we met at Surat last year, when the session had to be suspended amid tumultuous and unedifying scenes. And why?—simply because the Congress refused to be dragged from its old moorings by the new currents which had been set in motion. Our National Congress has, I need hardly remind you, from the very beginning strictly adhered to constitutional methods of agitation and has never encouraged disloyalty of any sort or kind. It is true like all other institutions, it has passed through the inevitable process of evolution, but it has never never faltered in its loyal devotion to the Empire. And at Surat it remained firm to its creed and refused to purchase unity at the price of principle and of loyalty.

Now, I will not wander into the boundless realm of the might have been but will only say this : Those who have gone out of us, were never of us, for if they had been of us they would no doubt have continued with us. Our paths now lie wide apart, and a yawning gulf separates us. It is however permissible to us to hope that these wayward wanderers, if I may say so without offence, will come back to us and be ours again joining hands and hearts with us and fighting under the old banner—that banner to which we have always been true,—and by which we have again solemnly pledged ourselves to stand, never again to part. But we will not, we cannot, we dare not extend the hand of fellowship to them so long as they persist in their present insensate policy.

Brother Delegates, we have been charged with having imposed a new constitution without a mandate from the Congress, but I can hardly believe that our accusers are serious. In the first place there is no question whatever of compulsion or of a brand new constitution. The constitution is not brand new and nobody is compelled to accept it. In the second place, is it not the idlest pedantry to say that the convention which we were driven to summon at Surat when the regular machinery broke down—a convention at which over eight hundred delegates were present,—had no authority at all to act in the unforeseen emergency which

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had arisen ? If we were always obliged to move only in the beaten path, we could not move at all. "In a wilderness," said Maynard on a historical occasion, "a man should take the track which will carry him home and should not stand crying 'Where is the King's highway ? I walk nowhere but on the King's highway'." There are also other precedents familiar to every student of history. But what is the use of speaking of precedents or of history or of the counsels of common sense, to those who for their own purposes, are determined to belittle the Indian National Congress ?

Brother Delegates, I must confess it was not without considerable misgiving that I accepted the invitation of the Reception Committee to preside at the present session as I was then inclined in common with most of my countrymen to take a very gloomy view of our position and prospects. For if the situation last year was full of grave anxiety, the year which is just closing was marked by still more sinister omens. I am not, I trust, a pessimist ; but a succession of repressive laws and deportations under a lawless Law will sap even the most robust optimism. In the course of the last few days, however, the condition of things has entirely changed, and the clouds which darkened the political sky and which we watched so long with fear and trembling are now dissolving in rain. The words of the poet have come true :—

" The clouds you so much dread  
Are big with mercy and shall break  
In blessings on your head."

They are now breaking in blessings over your heads, slaking the parched and thirsty earth. The time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land. English statesmanship which, as Lord Morley justly boasted has never yet failed in any part of the world, has risen to its fullest height at this critical time, and has seized the golden moment, for it knows the season when to take occasion by the hand, not to suppress but to guide the new spirit which England has created in India. To have dropped the policy of conciliation at the present moment would have been a sign not of strength but of weakness. In justice alone lies the strength of rulers—justice

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which owes no account to the little prudences of the hour. And English statesmanship has dared to be just because England has a national conscience. It has dared to be just because it knows no fear. It has dared to be just because it has no real faith in the cult of canteen ballads,—the tinsel imperialism, which tells us that the white man was created only to bear the burden of the brown.

The reforms which have now been announced were foreshadowed in the King Emperor's message which came to cheer us in our hour of deepest gloom and dejection, of affliction and of shame. It was truly a message of peace and good will, full of the most kindly, most sympathetic, most friendly feelings towards his Indian subjects breathing the same noble sentiments which inspired the Proclamation of Queen Victoria. It has been said that the manifesto is spiritless and rather superfluous. It was not, I make bold to assert, spiritless nor superfluous. It was not spiritless, because it solemnly reaffirmed the great Charter of 1858. It was not superfluous because it distinctly announced a policy of progressive development in the direction of self-government.

The language of the Queen's Proclamation, the keynote of which was the equality of races, was perhaps equally plain on one point. But can any one truthfully assert that it received a generous interpretation in practice? Did not a brilliant Viceroy attempt to explain it away in a famous speech and deliberately lay down the policy of excluding Indians from the higher branches of the service? The National Congress protested against this policy, but Lord Curzon would not pay the slightest attention to our protest. He would not be Lord Curzon if he did. We have a right to bring against Lord Curzon the same charge that Shylock brought against Antonio 'He hath scorned my nation'—a nation justly proud of their literature, justly proud of their philosophy and justly proud of their ancient civilisation.

We are now on the threshold of a new era. An important chapter has been opened in the history of the relations between Great Britain and India—a chapter of constitutional reform which promises to unite the two countries together in closer bonds than ever. A fair

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share in the government of our own country has now been given to us. The problem of reconciling order with progress, efficient administration with the satisfaction of aspirations encouraged by our rulers themselves, which timid people thought was insoluble has at last been solved. The people of India will now be associated with the Government in the daily and hourly administration of their affairs. A great step forward has thus been taken in the grant of representative government for which the Congress had been crying for years.

One of the leading features of the proposed reforms which are all based upon a progressive policy, is the extension of local self-government, perhaps the most potent instrument of political education. This is not entirely a new departure, but the policy with which the honoured name of Lord Ripon will always be associated, never had a fair trial. A single-minded English nobleman of the best type, Lord Ripon believed that righteousness exalteth a nation. He believed that a nation like, an individual, has a conscience, and that England's duty to India would be discharged only by making the people gradually fit for self-government. The development of local self-government was, therefore, one of the objects nearest to his heart. But who does not know the fate of the measures introduced by him? Who does not remember the angry controversy which surged round Lord Ripon's administration? Who does not remember the threats of a white mutiny? Who does not remember the open insults to the Queen's representative? It was not the Ilbert Bill which convulsed the Anglo-Indian world but Lord Ripon's attempt to give the local representative councils some actual share in the government of their district. And it was certainly not his lordship's fault if the reforms proposed by him proved an illusion, a mere Barmecide feast.

But we are no longer going to be fed on illusions. Henceforth we shall have an effective voice in directing the policy of the Government in the administration of the country. Henceforth we shall be able to initiate discussion on all questions of public importance, and to pass resolutions which, though they may not be binding upon the Govern-

ment, are sure to receive attention. Indian members will also be admitted to the Executive Councils. The debate on the Budget again will be a real debate and not a mere academic discussion, while the right of interpellation will be considerably widened. Henceforth the executive will not be able to control all provincial legislation. In a word we shall now have something like a constitutional government in the place of an autocratic and irresponsible administration. Lord Morley has also promised, not obscurely, that the Bombay and Madras system will be introduced into the larger sister provinces. And if the principle of dispensing with an official majority has not been for the present extended to the Imperial Council, we have no doubt its application will not long be withheld if the result of the experiment in the Provincial Councils proves satisfactory.

The reform scheme has no doubt been very carefully thought out, but it is impossible to say that it is not susceptible of improvement. And it is quite open to you to suggest such alterations as would facilitate its practical working, and I am sure any reasonable representations made by you will receive every attention from the authorities. I would therefore invite your attention to the best method of securing the proper representation of the people in the Legislative Councils, and in this connection, I would ask you to consider the question of the constitution of the electoral colleges. It would also be for you to consider whether the appointment of an Indian member to the Executive Councils should not be guaranteed by Statute, instead of being left to the pleasure of the Secretary of State for India for the time being. We cannot always have a Morley at the helm in England, nor a Minto at the head of the administration in India.

We do not know what the future destiny of India may be. We can see only as through a glass darkly. But of this I am assured, that on our genuine co-operation with the British Government depend our future progress and the development of a fuller social and political life. Of this also I am assured that the future of the country is now in a large measure in our own hands. And we owe it to ourselves, we owe it to the Government which has generously recognised the

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justice of many of our claims, to show that we are deserving of the confidence of our rulers. And, above all, we owe it to our countrymen to give that generous support to the Government which can alone promote their happiness and lead to further reforms. If we are apathetic or do not wisely exercise the privileges now given to us, we shall show to the world that we are unfit for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. The fault will be ours, the humiliation and the disgrace. Remember that our enemies will always be on the watch and if we fail to discharge our duties properly the fate of the country will be sealed. Speaking for myself, I have no such craven fears. I am confident that we shall all loyally co-operate with the Government in promoting the welfare of the country. And I am equally confident that such co-operation will strengthen existing authority and impart to the administration an efficiency which a foreign bureaucracy with the best intentions can never hope to attain.

To the impatient reformer who thinks that the proposed measures are in some respects inadequate my answer is, as we all know, that to disdain anything short of an organic change in institutions is nothing short of political madness. Reckless change is dangerous, and the most ardent patriot must see the wisdom of accepting reforms, which if they give satisfactory results are sure to lead up to larger reforms. Remember there is no finality in politics. Of one thing I am certain. One thing I know. The nation as a whole will accept these reforms not in a spirit of carping criticism, but with the deepest gratitude.

And this reminds me that if ever there was a time when we ought to rally to the support of Government, of law and of order, if ever there was a time in which all loyal subjects ought to co-operate with the Government, that time is this. And here I must say that we cannot be too grateful to Lord Minto, who has displayed a rare courage and firmness in trying times and has steadily refused, though determined to put down lawlessness to follow the unwise policy of his predecessor, which has given rise to all those troubles he is meeting so manfully.

Lord Curzon seems to think that he has seized the full meaning of the new movement. In his lordship's opinion,

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and we know that what Lord Curzon asserts even once must be true, the whole of the unrest is due to the study of Mill on Liberty and Burke on the French Revolution. He forgot, I may note in passing, to refer to his own Indian speeches, which we can assure him were very widely read by the people of this country. Lord Curzon also speaks of the victory of Japan over Russia and the whispering galleries of the East, and protests against the notion that the readjustment of the boundaries of Bengal—his euphemism for the partition of the province—has in any way contributed to the ferment. Now I confess I can not speak with the authority of his lordship ; for I know of no calculus which can integrate the minute but powerful forces which are stirring in the hearts of New India.

The history of the unrest was sketched by a master hand only the other day in England and I am not presumptuous enough to think that I can improve on the picture drawn by Mr. Gokhale. I may however venture to add that acquittals or very light sentences in some criminal cases in which the accused belonged to the governing race have contributed not a little to the general discontent. Another potent cause which many thoughtful Englishmen have noticed with deep regret is the insolence and the overbearing language of some members of the ruling class. Of course, we do not, for obvious reasons, expect to find in the manners of every Englishman in this country the repose which stamps the caste of Vere de Vere, but aggressive rudeness in language and behaviour might easily be avoided.

By one of those strange ironies of fate, so common in political history, Lord Minto was called upon to face the unhappy consequences of Lord Curzon's policy. He felt himself compelled owing to the growing discontent to enact repressive laws to restrain freedom of speech and of public meetings, but as all experience tells us secret crime invariably dogs the footsteps of coercion. That which has happened in every other country happened in India,—discontent was driven beneath the surface. The effect on those who are too young to be wise, too impulsive to be rational, was simply disastrous. Some of them who at first refused to meddle with Cæsar or

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with the things that belonged to Cæsar and said they would obey him in his place, began to dally with treason ; for the first false step in all such cases generally leads by a tragic necessity to that easy descent with which we are all familiar. But the number of such persons was very small, infinitesimally small. And Mr. Tilak, for many years the central figure in the new movement in which he played a notable part, shall be my witness. That gentleman very candidly told an Englishman who was travelling in this country last year, "Certainly, there is a very small party which talks about abolishing British rule at once and completely, that does not concern us ; it is much too far in the future. Unorganised, disarmed, and still disunited we should not have a chance of shaking the British Suzerainty."

And this reminds me that we have been charged with having maintained an ignoble silence in this time of crisis. Our first answer to this indictment is that we have not been silent. Our second answer is, that we have no faith in mere protestations of loyalty which must be superfluous. When certain British subjects in the Cape told Lord Milner that they were loyal to the Crown, his lordship replied, "Loyal, of course you are loyal, it would be monstrous if you were not." Let us free our minds of cant, of "nonsense talk" to use the language of the Maharaja of Benares, a phrase which, I believe is destined to be historical. What, I ask, would an Englishman say if he was asked to join in a loyal demonstration, what would be his feeling, would he not treat the invitation as an insult ? As I said only the other day from my place in the Viceregal Council, we must be mad if we were really disloyal. But we disdain all spurious loyalty. We are not Pharisees. We do not wear our loyalty on our sleeves, for it must be above all suspicion. To doubt our loyalty is to doubt our sanity. We condemn from the bottom of our hearts all seditious movements and we condemn anarchism most because it is opposed to the laws of God as well as of man. But with the reforms in the administration we are confident that sedition will wear itself out. Anarchism sometimes may die hard. But it will die, it is bound to die, because it is in opposition to the best traditions of our race. Anarchism, I repeat, is bound to die, because



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it is in opposition to all those percepts of pity and of compassion for the lowest of God's creatures, which are our great, our priceless heritage, and which have raised man from a brute, to a height a little lower than the angels.

A season of universal rejoicing is not the time to make unfriendly criticisms on the action of the Government in enacting repressive laws, and I hope and trust that the memory of these drastic measures will now be buried in oblivion in the same grave with the misdeeds of a few misguided political fanatics. We must also remember that though the Government have been armed with some new weapons they have been rarely used. Thus the Public Meetings Act was put into force only in one district and that only for one year. The Press Act again has been called in aid only in three cases. Speaking for myself, I am not enamoured of a measure which is a serious menace to the freedom of the Press. But in fairness to Government we should remember that in the present state of the country a temporary measure of the kind was perhaps necessary. The distinction between the approval of a recent crime and the discussion of an abstract proposition, like the morality of the action of Harmodius and Aristogiton, is always very fine; and those who engage in such discussions in times of public excitement should know that they can only do so at their peril. But though incitements to violence must be punished and organised lawlessness must be put down with the strong hand, the expediency of prosecuting people for seditious writings or speeches is open to grave question. A sustained campaign of repression may be necessary in case of grave peril to law and order, but you cannot prevent the spread of opinions, however mischievous, by sending the speaker or writer to gaol. You cannot imprison the mind. It is always its own place. Outrages, and direct incitements to outrages, must, I repeat, be punished and punished severely. But argument can only be met by argument. Coercion and even the appearance of coercion tend to create only distrust and suspicion. We all know the story of Jupiter and the rustic who listened with attention as long as the god tried to convince him by argument, but when, on his happening to hint a doubt, Jupiter threatened him with

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his thunder, said, "Now I know that you are wrong, Jupiter, for you never appeal to your thunder when you are right."

And this brings me to the numerous prosecutions for sedition during the course of the year. There have been altogether, I believe about twenty prosecutions and as many convictions. In moments of political passion when feeling runs high, an editor or speaker who is convicted of sedition, however rightly, is sure to be regarded by a section of the people as a martyr. But we do not want any fresh additions to the new Indian hagiology. The roll is already long enough. "He has set his heart upon being a martyr," said William the Third of an acrimonious Jacobite, "and I have set mine on disappointing him." Lord Macaulay contrasts the policy of William the Third with that of his father-in-law, who refused to remit a cruel sentence of flogging passed upon a clergyman, saying, "Mr. Johnson has the spirit of a martyr, and it is fit that he should be one." "These two speeches," observes the historian, "would alone suffice to explain the widely different fates of the two princes." I am, I know, stating a mere common place fit to adorn copy books, when I say, that criticism, however trenchant or drastic, cannot do much harm, so long as the administration is in a sound condition. It is sure to come to nought for it must always be powerless against the innate conservatism of a settled and civilized society. The true secret of the power of agitators is, as Macaulay pointed out long ago, the obstinacy of the rulers. A liberal government always makes a moderate people and this is as true of the East as of the West.

It has been said by a well known writer on constitutional law that the legal definition of a seditious libel might if rigidly interpreted put down all prevailing forms of political agitation. But a Jury are not bound by a too strict interpretation of law, and a man, therefore, may publish anything in England, which twelve of his countrymen think is not blameable. In India, where in trials for sedition, the safeguard of a Jury composed of the countrymen of the accused is wanting, a prosecution can only be justified when the public peace is imperilled by wild writings or speeches. As the Court

of Directors said, not only should justice be done, but people should be made to see that justice is being done. Where, however, an Indian is convicted of a political offence I do not know of any glasses which will make his friends see that justice has been done.

However this may be, the severity of the sentences in many cases has undoubtedly called forth very strong comments even from those who have no sympathy whatever with seditious utterances. Braxfield was not a model judge. But no candid man can deny that the convention which sat in Edinburgh aimed at revolution. It was only the harsh sentences that sank deep into the minds of the Scottish people, whose feelings found expression half a century afterwards in the Martyrs' Memorial on Cotton Hill. Now the East may be the East, and the West may be the West, as the uncrowned Poet Laureate of the new imperialism assures us. But the propriety of a sentence is not a question of latitude and longitude. It is also permissible to doubt whether a system which places political offenders on a level with ordinary criminals is absolutely perfect. They should at least be spared the humiliation of herding with felons.

Would it be too presumptuous to hope that if everything goes on well and the country settles down, as it must in a short time, a general amnesty will be granted to all political offenders and that those who have been deported will be restored to their homes? Would it again be too presumptuous to hope that the partition of Bengal will be modified? A more unpopular measure was never passed by the Government. Our grievance may be a mere sentimental grievance, but a sentimental grievance means a grievance that is felt. The wound which was inflicted in 1905 will never heal, and it would be lamentable if the success of Lord Morley's liberal policy was jeopardised in the slightest degree by his failure to undo a grave administrative error,—the greatest blunder, according to Lord McDonnell, ever made in India. I have pleaded more than once for the modification of the partition, and have no desire on the present occasion to repeat myself. But this I am bound to say,

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even the liberal concessions now made may, in some measure, lose their savour; if this great administrative blunder is long allowed to remain unredressed. The partition may be a settled fact, but it is still an unsettled question.

I find I must stop. I should have liked to say a few words on the rapid and appalling growth of military expenditure and the recent addition of an annual burden of Rupees 45,000,000, against which Lord Minto and his Council, always watchful of the interests of the Indian taxpayer, have entered a strong protest. I should have also liked to say something on the delay in carrying out the solemn promise made nearly two years ago, that primary education shall be free and judicial functions separated from the executive. I should have also liked to make a few remarks on the high mortality from plague and malaria, on the University Act and Regulations which many people fear are likely to hinder the growth of high education in this country. But I feel, I cannot detain you much longer.

I cannot, however, conclude without referring to the very severe loss which the Indian National Congress has sustained in the death of Mr. Ananda Charlu. India was still mourning the loss of her foremost lawyer when our friend followed Sir Bhashyam Ayyangar to the grave. A distinguished scholar and a great lawyer, Mr. Charlu will perhaps be best remembered as one of the pioneers of the Congress movement. Behind a playful humour there was in him a singleness of purpose, a devotion to duty and an independence of character, which made him a most prominent figure in the public life not only of Madras but of the whole country. He has been taken away from us at a most critical moment when more than ever his wisdom and experience would have helped us in our deliberations. But as I have said more than once men like Mr. Anand Charlu do not really die, but join the

"Choir invisible

Of those immortal dead, who live again,  
In minds made better by their presence."

It remains for me now only to thank you for the honour which you have conferred upon me. Believe me I am not using merely an idle phrase when I say that I am proud of

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the distinction. I am proud also of my good fortune in being privileged to preside at this meeting, as the present year will be a memorable year in the history of the country. But those who succeed me will, I will make bold to say, be still more fortunate. For they will, I hope, at no distant date be able to congratulate the country on a substantial reduction in the military expenditure and a more equitable division of the burden. They will also, I hope, be able to point to the steady substitution of Indian for European agency in the public service, to the wider and wider diffusion of primary education, to more and more improved sanitation, to a larger and larger reduction of the land revenue and the ultimate repeal of the tax on salt which is still a heavy load on the poor. They will also, I hope, be able to tell the assembled delegates how the success of the experiment which is now going to be made has encouraged the Government to give the people a larger and larger control over the financial and executive administration of the country. They will also, I hope, be able to tell their audience how the Indian is no longer treated as an undesirable alien in any part of the Empire, and how the bar-sinister has been completely wiped out. They will also be able to congratulate the country on the repeal of Regulation III of 1818, a barbarous relic from the past,—an unweeded remnant which ought to have been extirpated long ago. They will also, I hope, be able to point with pride to social and material progress, to the growth of indigenous industries, to the investment of Indian capital in the development of the resources of the country, to improvements in agriculture and to the growing prosperity of the masses now plunged in hopeless poverty. They will also, I hope, be able to tell their audience that the establishment of technical colleges and the promotion of works of irrigation have for ever driven away the gaunt spectre of famine from the land. And when in the fulness of time the people have outgrown the present system of administration and have proved themselves fit for self-government, an exultant President of the Indian National Congress will be able to announce to a united people amid universal rejoicing, the extension to India of the colonial type of Government.

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Pray do not misunderstand me ; and to guard myself against any possible misconception, I am bound to tell you that this ideal can only be realised in the distant future. But to those who say that it is absolutely impossible of attainment and mock at our hopes our answer is plain. We may assure them that we are not the slaves of mere phrases. We are not impatient Utopians filled with ecstatic visions ; for we know of no talisman which can make a nation in an hour. We know that our hopes are not likely to be realised in a day. We know that for years we may not have even a Pisgah sight of the promised land. But to blot out the ideal is, according to the Greek saying, to take the spring from out of the year. It is at once our solace and our inspiration, our pole-star to guide us and our comfort. We know that in the struggle we shall suffer many defeats. But there are defeats which do not involve any disgrace. There are repulses which carry no humiliation. And if ever we are seized with despondency we shall not forget that in a national movement, endurance itself is a victory and the keeping alive of the national spirit is itself an end. Our triumph may be very remote but, depend upon it, we can never suffer permanent defeat. And we are determined to fight the good fight with unextinguishable faith, with unwavering hope and strenuous patience, nerved and sustained by the conviction that a just cause can never fail with the people of England. In quietness and in confidence shall be our strength, and persuasion and discussion shall be our only weapons.

The wisdom of confining ourselves only to aims which are immediately capable of being realised is not true wisdom, for I believe with Lord Acton, most philosophic of historians, that the pursuit of a remote and ideal object arrests the imagination by its splendour and captivates the reason by its simplicity, and thus calls forth energy which would not be inspired by a rational, possible end, confined to what is reasonable, practicable, and just. But we are not impracticable reformers, for we know that there is a time and season for everything and that all questions are not for all times. I repeat we cherish no illusions. We know that the

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way is long and hard, we know the danger of taking even a single unwary step, but we are determined to make the road easier for those who will follow us in ever-increasing numbers. Man goes forth unto his work and to his labour until the evening. But the evening comes before his work or task is done, but others will take up the work which is left unfinished.

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### **HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE SANKARAN NAIR'S SPEECH**

DELIVERED BEFORE THE INDIAN SOCIAL CONFERENCE—1908

Ladies and Gentlemen,—For the last few days, there have been conferences held in this town. The duty that lies before me differs in one respect from that imposed on the presidents of any of those gatherings. The President of the great national gathering which closed its sittings yesterday was able to congratulate his countrymen on concessions recently announced. Both in that assembly and at the other gatherings which met to consider the necessary measures for our industrial regeneration educated Indians spoke with a practically united voice, the dissentients, if any, being a negligible quantity. The material benefits sought for in both these assemblies were patent and understandable by any ordinary intelligence. In another gathering of a religious character, the predominant note was of our conscious religious superiority. None of the Presidents had the unpleasant duty of telling the audience that for our national emancipation certain reforms which required sacrifice, painful and certainly unpleasant, are indispensable. To the active members of the Social Reform Association what I proceed to state will not cause any surprise. To others I would say occasional self-introspection cannot do any harm and may be fruitful. In any event, I would request them to give patient attention to the proceedings of their countrymen among whom we might reckon individuals as earnest, as devoted and as unselfish in the pursuit of the general welfare as we are likely to find in any body of men in the land. This year will be a landmark in the History of British administration in India. We might therefore well pause to take stock of the work already accomplished. In this hall we are accustomed to estimate the progress of India under British rule not by the length of the Railway lines, though they are reckoned in thousand of miles ; not by miles of road, though reckoned in hundreds of thousands ; not by the increase in the extent of the land under irrigation, though reckoned in millions of acres ; nor either by any commercial standard, though

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the increase in the imports may amount to an aggregate total of crores of sterling. Harbours may have been built : towns may have sprung up ; the highest appointments in the services may have been thrown open to us. Legislative councils may have been enlarged. District Boards and Municipalities, composed mainly of the natives of the country, may have been constituted. But we pass them by for the present. We fix our attention on those permanent, immutable changes which will operate through ages so long as India exists. The future of India may be a puzzle to thoughtful men. But it may be safely asserted that out of the turmoil going on we already see emerging around us certain ideals that will dominate the India of the future. At one time the Hindu mind did not revolt from human sacrifices which were not unknown in the middle years of the last century and it even claimed Puranic sanction for them. It tolerated the casting of children into the Ganges ; it approved of female infanticide. It glorified, and, when possible, enforced Sati. Where do we stand at present ? Will any one now sign a memorial like that presented to the House of Commons by a section of orthodox Hindus protesting against Lord Bentinck's resolution by which the practice of burning or burying alive Hindu widows was declared penal ? Though we still hear of rare instances of Sati, I am confident that there will not be any repetition of an incident similar to that which took place only in 1863 when several zemindars and other persons holding respectable position in life forced back into the flames an unfortunate victim who repented of her resolution and sought to save herself from the funeral pile.

To us this revolution in Indian thought more than any other marks our progress under British rule.

### **THE BREATH OF A NEW LIFE**

The result has fully justified the wisdom of those who fought for imparting English education to the Indian youth. The ideals of Western civilization are taking firm root. They are not foreign to Indian thought but in India they were for a long time lost in oblivion or supplanted by other ideals. Now they are cast into a congenial atmosphere which is electrified with the energies that are creating New India. It is impossible to stop the ceaseless and irresistible flow of English literature into the country, permeating Hindu thought, transforming it in some respects out of recognition, altering it in various direction and, even when it fails, leaving indelible marks of the conflict. Everywhere around us, we see the breath of a new life, and the Social Reform movement, is, to my



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mind, the truest exponent of that new life. I regard the institutions that I see around me as so many experimental solutions of the social problem just as our ideas or religious doctrines as so many theocratic solutions of the riddle of life. They are no doubt appropriate at a certain stage of culture. But we have to subject them, every institution as well as every religious doctrine, to further ethical and utilitarian tests and if they are found wanting, we must treat them as inappropriate to our modern life. If unfortunately any religious doctrine comes into conflict with the exigencies of modern life, it does so not as a spiritual but as a secular, anti-social force. At a time when the sacrifice of individual freedom was necessary for survival, when the members of society had to learn at all costs to act in concert and to obey, it is not surprising that the Hindu Church, if I may so call it, should have assumed the form of a highly organized bureaucracy dominated by a powerful hierarchy. But we must now think and act for ourselves. If such a bureaucracy insists upon the retention of its privileges, then it may be that we have to face a combination of class interests, religious sanction and national conservatism. All the same, however, we cannot hesitate to take the steps needed to work out our own salvation. It is here necessary to utter

### **A NOTE OF WARNING.**

In the political arena, malice, obstinate and perverse blindness to the truth, and unworthy motives, are often unjustly charged against critics who honestly point out our unfitness to undertake certain heavy responsibilities for which, in our own opinion, we may be very well fitted. On the other hand, instances are not wanting when equally honest, though unpalatable, criticism is branded as disloyal. Political rancour may to a certain extent be a factor in politics, but in the more important, more strenuous, though less noisy, social struggle in which we are engaged, it behoves us to see that it is carried on with no bitterness but in a spirit of good-will which alone can ensure our common happiness. To those who are struggling for the reforms we advocate, I would say that it is opposed to the whole spirit of our movement to generate in our opponents a belief that we are not only in conflict with ideas but that we bear ill-will towards those who honestly oppose us. No good purpose is served thereby. Though the system that our opponents are fighting for may be detrimental in our opinion to progress, we must remember that it is the inheritance of generations, and we shall be guilty not only of unpardonable sin if we

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bear any ill-will towards the upholders of ancient privileges but also of a great blunder.

We have of course to ask for similar indulgence at their hands. To be uncompromising in the maintenance for our ideals, to denounce what we consider to be the evils that retard our progress, to use in the heat of controversy words that on reflection the speakers themselves may disapprove—these are the ordinary incidents of controversy, and both interest and courtesy demand that we should extend to our opponents the charity that we ask them to extend to us.

In this connection you will forgive me

### A PERSONAL REFERENCE.

I belong to a caste whose treatment of the lower classes is as inhuman as any to be found anywhere in India. I have never hesitated to denounce that treatment. But it would certainly be a shock to me to hear that I hated my race. I trust, therefore, that everything said on this platform will be uttered and received in a spirit of brotherhood and love, and that no one will consider his opponent obnoxious to any but friendly and fraternal feelings towards himself, however the doctrines and usages revered by him may be denounced by the other. That natural spirit of toleration and friendliness is indispensable if our common goal, a happiness and prosperity of the people of India, is to be achieved.

It is specially indispensable now when a fruitful process of thought is going on, which has taken the form of a very critical self-examination and has led to activities in many divergent channels. Some of our countrymen have come to the conclusion that Hinduism is so hopelessly decayed, so incapable of opposing to Western civilization aught but the futile resistance of sullen and unintelligent fanaticism, so impervious to the influx of new ideas and to that freedom of experiment which is essential to progress, that they must perforce separate themselves from the orthodox Hindu community and form new sects or join alien religious communities. Others who draw their inspirations from the golden period of our history, when we were cultured and progressive seek to support the reforms they advocate or to meet the forces of conservatism with religious sanction from holy books. They declare that the Sastras can be reconciled with modern civilization, science and freedom of thought. Some of them think that for giving effect to our ideals it will be quite enough to restore what they hold to be the purity of the old Vedic religion and form themselves into separate sects like the Arya Samajists. Others there are who think

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that almost every reform we now advocate finds support in, if it is not actually enjoined by, the sacred books of India. We have also to accept with regret the fact that there are some who still cling to the traditions inherited by them from of old, undismayed and undeterred by the movement of Indian thought. The stream of life, however, will not stop further, but is flowing into other channels and other seas. Their predecessors in thoughts opposed the legislation for putting down Sati for permitting widow-marriage. In fact it is difficult to name a single step forward taken in India which the orthodox Hindu Church has not met with hostility. If what I may call the orthodox Hinduism is to be a redemptive force for uplifting the Hindus, it cannot be indifferent to the movements which sway our thoughts and actions. If it is callous to them, if it persists in treating every new idea as an insult, it is idle for it to proclaim to the world the splendour of its own past achievements.

### **THE TREND OF PUBLIC OPINION**

But any way, educated India is not going back to the prison house it is escaping from. It is a matter for congratulation that all, without exception, who have received English education, and generally those who have by social intercourse or otherwise come under the influence of Western civilization are agreed that the old orthodox view that a woman is not fit for independence must be discarded. English educated scholars have discovered that the Sastras recognise no impediment even to Vedic learning whether for females or for any caste however low. It has also come to be recognised that castes, if possible, should be differentiated by character and occupation and that the innumerable so-called castes are a menace to the progress of the country. Again, thoughtful minds wish to merge the various races of India originating apparently in territorial divisions as the Mahrattas, the Bengalis, the Tamilians, &c., in an Indian nation. Travelling to foreign countries in search of education is becoming a matter of course, inspite of the risk one has to face on return, and I have no doubt that, by and by, men will wonder at the opposition which now deters the most powerful intellects in the land from availing themselves of the culture that might have been their own and might have proved of inestimable service to the country. Polygamy, excepting among zemindars, is now practised only under circumstances which might justify a divorce in some countries in West. The prohibition as to different castes dining together in this Presidency is not defended, though for various reasons the conviction has not been publicly

## *JUSTICE SANKARAN NAIR'S SPEECH*

translated into general practice. The purdah is universally condemned. The anti-naught movement commands universal sympathy. While the feeling that a man is polluted by the touch of another has completely given way. The opposition to marriage between castes or classes is slackening. Those who have had the curiosity to read the literature of what became afterwards of the so-called Brahmo Samaj Act of 1872 will remember that any marriage between various sub-divisions of the same caste was regarded with horror by the Madras opponents of that marriage legislation. Happily we have advanced far beyond that stage.

### OBSTACLES TO PROGRESS

So far as I am concerned, I have said over and over again whenever I had an opportunity, that, so long as our women occupy a different stage of culture and are subject to a different mode of growth with different ideals, progress is practically impossible. With the existing caste restrictions, with the splitting up of India into a number of territorial communities which, if it does not preclude, certainly stands in the way of social corporate life, no caste or class can be trusted to be fair towards the other castes or classes.

So long as we are not prepared to put our ideals into action by abolishing early marriage, by permitting widow-marriage, by imparting education to females with the same ardour as to males, by discarding caste and by substituting if necessary class divisions based on personal fitness, re-uniting the so-called racial but really territorial communities of India—the self-reliant nationalism of which we now hear so much can only be a mischievous dream. It can only lead to national disaster and plunge us again into that social chaos from which English education is slowly and painfully extricating us. As officials we may be found satisfactory, we may also be powerful critics of the administration, but we can never be safe administrators ourselves. The mental habit which sanctions and enforces the *purdah*, approves and, whenever it is safe to do so, conforces the customary treatment of the Panchamas, Christians and Mahomedans, is not conducive to progressive administration. The emancipation of the down-trodden masses or other classes cannot be safely entrusted to those who cannot divest themselves of this mental habit. Already the Mahomedan community has claimed and has been accorded separate representation on account of the risk of friction between communities dominated by class ideals. Those who have watched the recent demonstrations of loyalty in the provinces by the so-called lower classes will have noticed that they not only denounced the outrages but almost defiantly con-

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demned "Swaraj" as tending to perpetuate their own degradation and expressed their gratitude to the British, a nation—"nation" to quote the language of one of the resolutions,—“that has raised up the down-trodden classes from ages of degradation and planted within them the idea that the spirit within is divine and that the Pariah man develops into a Brahmin by education and training.” It is certain that a continuance of the existing state of things must conduce to bitterness and antipathy on the part of the lower towards the superior castes, as they become educated and that they will follow the Mahomedans in fighting their own interests, even if necessary, to the detriment of the general welfare of the country. The chief obstacle to our progress in this direction is presented by the unyielding attitude of those who stand aloof from modern culture. The essential ignorance in these respects of many of the ecclesiastical heads is supplemented by an arrogance, which leads them to refuse advice and look down with utter contempt on opposition. We hope they will yield to the exigencies of the times and to a beneficent culture, far superior in these matters to their own. In our efforts to take the lower castes with us, we may alienate the higher. Self-interest and spurious patriotism may stand in our way. The natural movement of the lower classes towards a higher standard of existence is blocked by the passive, unsympathising resistance of the higher castes. It is for us, and those who think with us, to tell every class association that they need for their own efficiency as well as for the good of the country, a broad universal spirit of justice and love, that they cannot be indifferent to any of the movements which sway the thoughts and actions of other classes and they must view with sympathy the efforts of others to rise to influence and power, provided the good of the whole community is steadily kept in view. On the other hand, centuries of social opposition do not make a soil in which ideals of loyalty and brotherly feeling to the other castes and patriotic devotion to an Indian ideal can take root and flourish. It is for us to tell them that if one class seeks its own interest at the expense of others it becomes unjust and tyrannical. The leaders of Indian thought apparently are alive to this danger. Recently, suggestions were placed before the Indian public to create constituencies based on caste and religious differences and it is a very hopeful sign of the times that every section of the Hindu public has condemned the proposals of Government to utilise the caste system as a basis of electorates which should return members to the new legislative councils. The Government may be excused

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for attempting to build on the existing foundations of national life.

But these are already shaken and our Government would have fostered our unfortunate separatist tendencies, aye, given them a vitality which they did not possess had they persisted in carrying out their original proposals. They would have put themselves in direct opposition to the best interests of the country. All the Hindu leaders of thought, almost without exception, realized the danger and the matter has been happily dropped. Separate representation of the Mahomedans has to be provided for not only because they wish it, but because they are the representatives of a civilization which is essentially different from the Hindu and Christian. This case, therefore, stands on a different footing. The so-called fusion of sub-castes may be the first step to be taken; that fusion, if effected, will probably tend to destroy the barriers now existing between the different territorial divisions of the same caste, but I am satisfied myself that, except in the case of castes inhabiting the same or adjoining province, there is equal if not greater probability of the destruction of the main caste barriers themselves. To start with, it is impossible, at any rate, in Madras to allocate the classes among the four main castes. India is beginning to realize that nationalism is an impossible dream so long as the caste system stands in the way. Allow me to read to you, with reference to this, an extract from Lord Rosebery's Rectorial Address at Edinburgh :

"The effigies and splendours of tradition are not meant to cramp the energies or the development of a vigorous and various nation. They are not meant to hold in mortmain the proper territory of human intelligence and righteous aspiration. They live and teach their lessons in our annals, they have their own worshippers and their own shrines, but the earth is not theirs nor the fulness thereof."

### **THE POSITION IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY**

I propose to give you very briefly an idea of the position of Social Reform in this Presidency. In Canara, Social Reform is carried on by members of the Brahmo Samaj who have started ladies' associations and a mission for the elevation of the low classes which is doing good work. Men who have returned from England are publicly treated as outcastes on account of excommunication by the Guru. But their relatives and friends freely associate with them and the payment of a small fine secures immunity from any caste trouble. In a short time, there is reason to believe that a trip

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to England will not be attended with any risk so far as the caste is concerned. In Malabar foreign travel never brought the Nairs into conflict with their caste or priests. The provisions of the Malabar Marriage Act have not been largely availed of, partly on account of certain defects in the measure itself and partly because another measure of reform which was in contemplation at the time of the passing of the Act has not been carried out. It is necessary to discuss that question further in this assembly. But the most notable event in the part of the country seems to be the effort of the Tiyars to rise in status by building temples of their own and *claiming a higher position than* the others have been willing to accord to them. In fact throughout the West coast and the Tamil country, the desire for freedom and reform manifests itself not in throwing off the trammels of caste but in claiming, whether rightly or wrongly, to belong to some one of the higher castes. But the claim is one which some of them did not care to put forward and the other classes were not forward in acknowledging till the present time. It is observed in the last Census Report of this presidency: "Kammalans and Kamsolas and Pattunulkarans desire to be classed as Brahmins; the Pallis or Vanniyas, the Shanars and some of the Balijas claim to be Kshatrias; and the Komaties, the Muttans and some few Vellalas state they are Vaisyas. The Pannikans of Tinnevely wish to be treated as Vellalas." In some cases, the claims are resisted with violence, and the Magistrates have often to intervene. These castes are probably following the lines on which reforms proceeded in ancient days. In the North the prospects are more cheering. In the Telugu Districts, ladies have not only started associations for their own improvement but have started girls' schools. There are ladies' associations in almost every important place in the Circars. They get newspapers, hold periodical meetings, deliver addresses on Social Reform and on religious questions, and feed the poor on appropriate occasions. In one place, the Association not only supervises the girls' school but finds conveyance as a labour of love to take the girls to the Government Girls' School. Our association justly attaches real importance to widow-marriage as it is an uncompromising repudiation from the Hindu point of view of the sex inferiority which practically consigns women to a dependant position in life. In all these Districts I am informed that the widow-marriage movement has become comparatively popular; many widow-marriages have taken place and such marriages are attended by respectable members of society;

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enlightened public opinion is strongly in favour of permitting child-widows to marry, and widows so married are freely admitted into Society. There is a Widow Marriage Association with Mr. Lakshmi Narayan, a pleader of Guntur, as its president. The members met in December last year at Rajahmundry, where they thankfully acknowledged the services of Mr. Veerasalingam in fitting terms in an address presented to him. At Tenali, they are probably holding their meeting this day. It is a happy sign of the times that there is a Widow Marriage Association as other associations in favour of particular lines of Social Reform. Among the widows remarried we see Brahmins, Vaisyas and also other castes.

At a meeting held this year by the great leading community at Masulipatam, which was attended by many ladies, it was decided to readmit into caste without any *Prayaschittam* men returning from foreign countries, a resolution which has been put into practice. The rush of students to the West and the East for education has apparently brought about this desirable change. 'Till recently the members of the Social Reform party left the class of dancing girls severely alone, but efforts are now being made to reclaim them and I am happy to inform you that many marriages have consequently taken place amongst them. The heads of many of the families of that caste have taken now to give their girls in marriage and to discard their customary life. Of one community whose hereditary profession is prostitution, the members have resolved to lead the ordinary marriage life. This was only to be expected as there are graduates amongst them and many boys are receiving English education. A woman of the dancing girls' caste has published a pamphlet in favour of reform which is largely circulated. Earlier contact with an alien civilization, the great influence of the writings of Veerasalingam Pantulu, may probably account for superiority in this respect of the Telegu people over the other races in the Presidency.

### IN THE NATIVE STATES

I shall only make a passing reference to the Native States. It is to be regretted that Cochin is still conspicuous by its bull of ex-communication against foreign travel. In Travancore no practical difficulty has been felt by the students who have returned. In that country there was a strong movement on foot for the reform of marriage laws a few years ago, and the advancement of education had produced a strong desire for the reform of the marriage laws. A committee of native members appointed by the Sircar presided over by a distinguished member of the Native Community whom



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I am glad to see here this day has been able to recommend recognition by the legislature of the country of the existing social marriage. This is a measure of reform which the committee of which I had the honour to be a member was unable to recommend as the community were not then prepared to accept it.

It is of a more beneficial and far reaching character than the law now enacted in British India, and I trust that the principles on which those recommendations are based will be accepted by the Government of Travancore. Mysore is honorably distinguished by its efforts in the progress of female education. Some of the papers read by the members at the meetings of the Women's Association at Bangalore published in the *Social Reformer* are full of practical wisdom and sound advice. While referring to the Native States of Mysore and Travancore, I cannot help noticing that our Madras Government has not yet been able to give us a Girls' High School, much less a College for girls, while those States have got Girls' Schools and Colleges for women with their own schemes of study.

Though I have confined my review to this Presidency, I must note the great impetus to Social Reform given by the Gaekwar. The increase in the girls attending the schools is remarkable and the Gaekwar had also ordered that no one should be a member of his Council who observes pollution by touching one of another caste. Association in meals between members of different castes and even of religions is also not only common but practically enforced by his own example. On the whole, therefore, our progress has not been unsatisfactory.

### THE UNREST

Those who are responsible for the horrible crimes that have startled India form but a microscopic minority. They will soon be a memory of the past. The Indian official may also feel justly perturbed at the disrespect shown to authority and the school-master of the lack of discipline in schools. But for every diseased mind that does not shrink from deeds of horror, for every boy that chafes at discipline forgetting that he who has not learned to obey is not fit to command, there are thousands of others in whom the sacred fire of service to humanity burns. They combine in them the Western ideals of female freedom with a solicitude to preserve her from the terrible evils of the civilization of which the survival of the fittest is the key-note. In this, they preserve the best traditions of our Sastras. Their love of Humanity is not bounded by limitations of religion or race or color. As members of our associations, we may be taunted with not being practical. The results already

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achieved do not justify the charge. We are undoubtedly making progress. There is scarcely any reform we advocate which is not accepted by some one or other of the religious sects in India. These various sects attest the capacity of our race for reformation. There can be no doubt that our efforts are bound to strengthen the pure elements in them. We also oppose a barrier more or less effective to the spread of reactionary doctrines. But our aspirations are far higher. Their realisation may be very distant. But they will undoubtedly precede the fruition of the aims of the National Congress as the institutions they desire must follow or at any rate only accompany proved social unity and efficiency and not precede and anticipate it. Undue absorption in some question which has produced the political unrest has retarded the progress of social reform. But that unrest is now for obvious reasons bound to disappear. Let us therefore steadily work towards the consummation of our ideals.

### **WORK FOR THE COMMON GOOD**

We will labour in association with others of whatever class or creed, even with those who may not belong to the Association in the interests of female education and temperance, abolition of existing caste system, emancipation of the depressed classes and, in fact, of every healthy social movement. As far back as our mental vision could penetrate, our village councils have been accustomed in Madras at any rate to deliberate and enforce their commands, to appoint the local governors or rulers, a relic of which custom only recently came before the Courts. I am tempted to give you an example, from the Archæological Reports which, though published mainly for antiquarian and historical purposes, are destined to revolutionise our conceptions of the social and economic history of South India of ancient days, of what was done more than four hundred years ago by the Brahmins of Padaividu in N. Arcot, believed to have consisted of about ten villages, to put down what is even now held to be an intolerable evil. In an assembly they passed the following resolution which is inscribed in the Gopuram of a temple :—

“ If the Brahmanas of this kingdom of Padaividu viz Kannadiyas, Tamiras, Telungas, Illalas, etc, of all Gotras, Sutras, and Sakhas concluded a marriage, they shall from this day forward do it by Kanyadanam. Those who do not adopt Kanyadanam *i. e.*, both those who give a girl away after having received gold and those who conclude a marriage after having given gold, shall be liable to punishment by the king and shall be excluded from the community of Brahmanas.”

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The descendants of those who acted thus in co-operation in the interests of reform may undoubtedly venture to follow in their footsteps, to trust one another and subordinate selfish to common interests and work for the common good.

I shall not detain you further. I have attempted only certain general observations, specific propositions will now be placed before you. On those, I deem it unnecessary to speak. But I cannot help thinking that there are two questions of paramount importance which are necessary for unity of ideals and of action. We have no common language for India, language in which a reformer from the North may address a peasant in Southern India. We have not got a civil marriage law. It is an irony of fate that under what is perhaps the most tolerant Government in the world a Hindu, unwilling to conform to the ritual of the Sastras, a Hindu atheist or agnostic, or one who is not willing to recognize any sect or class—for Hinduism insists on conformity to the social code, not to any particular form of belief or faith—cannot contract a valid marriage. A Hindu in the North will scarcely run the risk of marrying in the South. It is a complaint very often made that persons become Samajists for the purpose of getting married under the Act. This is of course unsatisfactory from the Brahmo Samaj point of view. It is still more unsatisfactory on grounds of general policy. It also shows the necessity of the measure.

I have already detained you long. You would like, I have no doubt, to proceed to something more useful than listening to me and I trust that when we part, we may do so strengthened in the resolve to dedicate ourselves more to the service of humanity and with an increasing feeling of membership with one another which not only makes one wish to bear the burden of another but bring every person to a sense of his responsibility.

## LEADING THOUGHTS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS

### DANGER IN INDIA

The *Nineteenth Century* of December last has an article from Sir Edmund Cox under the rather scaring title, "Danger in India." The range of subjects traversed by the writer is fatiguingly long, his outlook on the political situation in India is viciously narrow, his capacity of throwing mud at those whom he graciously recognises as his 'enemies' is singularly varied, and his scrappy comments on men and things and institutions in India are vastly amusing. He has discovered after long travail and a weary journey through the thorny jungles of Indian politics two iridescent truths : the first that "India is seething with sedition," and the second that "India as a whole, as a political unit, has formed a voice." We are immensely thankful to the writer for these admissions. What are, however, the applications to which he subjects these profoundly original discoveries ?—Why, he has demonstrated the wickedness and the folly and the suicidal madness of the Indian agitator and of the professional "politicals" of India, the typical specimen of which class to him is "the failed B.A." Incidentally there are references to the professed loyalty of the Indian Army and the Mahomedan population, glances at the "perigrinations" of "itinerant M. P.'s" and the outrageous sympathy with Indian seditionists of retired members of the Indian Civil Service, not very friendly comments on the attitude of the Native States and some pretentious comments on the vexed question of the social intercourse between the two races. There is also the time-honoured and hackneyed argument against the holding of simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service. And finally the Native Press and the Government Education Département come in for their share of sweet comments and honeyed epithets. The Indian student is branded as a rabid 'political' whose motto at school is "Politics before lessons any day," for politics have to him only one meaning—"agin the Government;" nor even do his insignificant teacher and the harmless course of studies prescribed for him escape his tirade. The Indian publicist is "the Caliban who has been given a tongue wherewith to curse his Prospero." After fulminating like this through several pages of the *Nineteenth Century*, the writer concludes his brilliant article with this

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fine peroration—"The articulate voice of India, that, not without some justice, claims to represent the majority, emphatically records its conviction that we ought to leave the Indians to themselves and depart bag and baggage. Let this fact be recognised; let the converse also be recognised, that our rule, in spite of mistakes, is on the whole, a just and beneficent rule, and that its supersession would only result in untold misery to millions and millions of people who live happily under its ægis, and that we have not the slightest intention of repudiating the responsibilities which under Providence constitute our most sacred charge."

This peroration is singularly musical: still its music is apt to fall flat on the ears of the average Indian who is being treated to it day after day. The average on-looker on the Indian situation is apt to cry halt instead of crying bravo at such musical performances, for he knows that the powers that be are determined to hold India even at the point of the bayonet if more peaceful means are found insufficient.

It is not our intention to cross swords with this redoubtable champion of the sun-dried bureaucracy. For "that mortal dint," save the professed loyalist, "none can resist." But we think it would not be an exhibition of "calibanism" to subject our friend's many and varied strictures to the logic of healthy political ideas.

Broadly stated, then, the danger in India *is* real. But to the Indian, who takes his stand outside the dusty arena of active politics in a spirit of philosophic detachment, the situation is one that is full of immense hope for the future of India—perhaps also for the future of England. For 'India for the Indians' is a cry that savours of everything that is best and highest and therefore safest in the Indian breast, and this aspiration, if rightly guided, will be an accession of fresh power so far as the Empire is concerned. The Indian does not want to oust the Britisher—but he does demand and that legitimately that he should not be treated as an undesirable and an alien in the land of his birth. His cry is a cry for equality of rights and privileges with every species of man, black or white or yellow, for an aspiration towards a higher and fuller life. The Indian publicist, the Indian teacher, the Indian student, are not therefore "pestilential agitators" "crying for the moon," but putting in a plea for just and fair treatment as rational beings in their own country and in foreign countries which form part of the British Empire. But the average Anglo-Indian, to whom India is nothing more than a hunting-ground for big titles and swelling fortunes, to whom the stability of the empire counts for nothing,

looks askance at these demands and says with a chuckle : " Not so very fast, my friend ! We are here and shall be here, a higher and superior race of men, in spite of you."

" The hungry flock look up and are not fed." For has not the highest official told us that the Canadian fur-coat will not fit easy on the back of the Indian ? And have we not heard homilies preached, in season and out of season, homilies preached from the empyrean heights of Simla and from the council-rooms of the provincial rulers on honest swadeshi and the virtues of discipline ? The average Britisher has still got it to be crammed into his brains that the sober Indian wants nothing more than a fulfilment of those pledges and promises that have been held out to him generation after generation—he wants nothing more than a realisation of his legitimate aspirations. " Thus far shalt thou go and no further " was not said of the progressive spirit of the human race in any soil or in any age, and young India is determined to persevere in the course of political emancipation on which it has launched, with patience and tedious waiting, through the trials of repression, through the blowing furnace of vile slander, with implicit and steadfast faith in the justice of England and the righteousness of its own cause.

The crux of the whole situation lies in this : the view-points of the Indian and of the interested Anglo-Indian on matters Indian—specially where the two races come into conflict—are never identical. What the Anglo-Indian brands as sedition, the Indian (we ignore the professed loyalists who wear their loyalty on their sleeves and air it about in the face of the world) glorifies as patriotism : those whom the Anglo-Indian vilifies as undesirables and irreconcilables often are exalted to the rank of martyrs by the people. Naturally there are customs and manners on which the two races can never find a common stand-point, and a social rapprochement between the two races is jeopardised by the haughty air of patronage assumed by the members of the Imperial race and a conservative attitude of suspicion which characterises the Indian. The writer of the article represents the educated Indian as a vile calumniator of British Rule ; but he forgets how much of this attitude, if true, has been generated by the spirit of arrogant pride and unthinking aloofness maintained by the members of the ruling race from the almighty I. C. S. to the *chota sahib* of a mercantile firm.

The writer pronounces the Indian Education Department as a hopeless failure but evidently his ideal of sound education is very misleading, for has not this same educational policy produced the

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thirst for representative institutions and a public spirit in the mind of the educated Indian? The education imparted to the youth of India is in many respects unsound; but that is because a foreign nation can never wisely guide and control the education of any country. Such an education fails to impart the elementary notions of national duties and, as imposed from without, can never be productive of lasting benefits to the nation. The history of the national movement in India is sought to be traced by the writer: he very aptly cites the glorious advent of the people of Japan and Turkey and Persia into power and representative government, but he cannot find it in his heart to make the natural application of this fact to the case of India.

The writer is in fact more at home in destructive than in constructive work. What would we think of a pilot who sees danger ahead but yet runs his vessel on the rocks—or rather who sees danger ahead and is yet blind to the necessary measures of safety? Such exactly is the charge which we may safely bring home to the writer of the article under review. We do not propose to subject to a too close scrutiny his notions of political economy which are shallow enough, neither do we think it necessary to point out the nature of the constructive schemes which he brings forward—schemes which suggest the patting our Mahomedan fellow-citizens on the back and the opening of the higher grades of the service to the Indian soldier,—schemes which are mere temporary make-shifts and can never solve the problem of India. A broader sympathy, a spirit of tolerance and of general give and take, a more persistent attempt to clear the mind of cant, an honest effort to meet the Indian question frankly and face to face without blinking at hard facts and without a mind to whitewash the patent evils of the bureaucratic administration—these are essential requisites for the Anglo-Indians at the present moment of India's dark hour. This is, however, a question of time, of training, and perhaps, to some minds, also of political expediency. Such a day will inevitably come to India. For India's cause is founded on the bed-rock of justice and expediency and is bound to triumph. In the meantime, when the political sky seems less overcharged with ominous clouds and thunder and lightning, when the proposed reforms seem to promise a new era in the chapter of India's history, it behoves members of both the races to possess their souls in patience, generously to forget and forgive, and heroically to work for a Newer India, when the country's "great age will begin anew and the golden hours return."

## CHRISTENDOM'S DEBT TO INDIA

The Hon. Alex Del Mar discusses in the pages of the December number of the *Indian Review* the very knotty problem of *Christendom's Debt to India*. After marshalling together a large number of interesting informations regarding the Christian doctrine and civilisation and ransacking the history of both Asia and Europe, Hon. Del Mar concludes by laying down the proposition that "the debt of religious doctrine and of religious hope which Christendom owe is not due either to Chaldea or Egypt but to India...It is there (in India) where the origins of Christianity will be found and not in the monuments of Ammon Ra or the temples of Baal."

Hon. Del Mar arrives at the above conclusion by a careful and close study of his subject. When the Pandavas were overthrown, we are told, a great migration of the people took place to the westward upon the shores of the Caspian Sea and the exiled Asiatics in their long journey westward settled in Asia Minor which then became a holy land. On the bank of Iesha they erected the city of Piscenus enshrining the holy Mariamma, mother of God. These people were known as Mygdones. Their gods were Ies, Chrishna and Maya or Maryamma. They had evidently brought from India the legend of Siva and Swyambhara and the doctrine of original sin. The rite of baptism which in India was practised on the Indus, the Ganges and the Christna rivers, was performed by the Mygdones on the Sangarins. It is known that their Messiah was born in 1248 and attained *nirvana* in 1168 B.C. His next *nirvana* was in 616 and his last in 64 B.C., at which date he was known as Christ. During the 2nd Punic War the Mygdones, or the Maryandians by which name they were afterwards called, removed the image of *Maia* to Rome whose citizens were now taught to swear that their ancestors had come from the holy land of Maryandynia or Phrygia. But in course of time all this was changed and the Romans found another holy land which was known as Judia. The Mygdones worshipped an incorporeal god, typified by fire; they had no temples, altars, nor images. In 1517 king Darius conquered Babylonia and Asia Minor and demanded to be worshipped as a Deity. This occasioned a general revolt with the result that Darius was afterwards defeated. The assumption of divinity by kings Cyrus and Darius must have rendered every portion of their dominions untenable by a people paying homage to any other incarnated divinity. The worship of Chrishna or Jasims was a flat contradiction to the pretensions of the Persian Conqueror. The worship of Maia, Maryamma, or Mary—as the



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mother of God—must have been equally offensive to Darius whose own mother was proclaimed the mother of God and whom the Persians were required to worship. The worshippers of any other incarnations, therefore, had to fly the country. In fact a part of the people fled or were allowed by Darius to depart to Bosphorus. About 242 B.C., the Mygdones were permitted, through the intervention of Asoka the Great, to return to India, the country of their origin. This is deducible from the custom of the Malabar Christians who always draw their patriarchs from the Mygdonian city of Antioch. They were afterwards given sufficient opportunity to practise their religion without hindrance or fear.

17 centuries after this event, a Portuguese Navigator, named Vasco De Gama, made his way round the Cape of Good Hope. At Melinda he encountered 4 Malabar traders, who, having sold their cargoes to the Arabian merchants of Melinda, were preparing to return home. DeGama, anxious to obtain a pilot who could guide him to Calicut, invited them on board of his ship, in the cabin of which was a gilded image of the Virgin Mary, holding the Divine infant in her arms. The Indians upon beholding this icon, immediately fell upon their knees, addressed it in prayer and taking some species from their wallets then and there made sacrifice. Upon asking the Indians for an explanation, DeGama was told that they recognised in this image their Mariamma, the mother of God and Christna, her son. In the interest of his expedition, DeGama embraced them as brother-Christians and engaged them to pilot his vessels to Calicut. DeGama removed his ships to Pondarome according to the directions of the Malayan authorities. The people of this coast were worshippers of Ies, Chrishna and Maryamma whom the Portuguese had chosen to recognise as Jesus and Mary and as they were informed that this religion was of great antiquity it occurred to them that the Indians must have been converted by St. Thomas.

Upon leaving Calicut DeGama ran up the coast and landing at a convenient spot erected a cross and image called the place *Santa Maria*. At the Laccadive islands he was boarded by an Italian renegade, who informed him that he was in the service of a Mahomedan prince named Sabay, the sovereign of an island called Goa. In return for this information DeGama seized his informant, subjected him 4 times to the torture, baptised him by the name of Jasper De Gama, detained him as a slave and compelled him, as being now a christian, to betray his master's secrets. What transpired after this led Vasco De Gama to believe that the people in the West Coast of India must be Christian.

## EUROPEANS IN NATIVE STATES

Upon the migration of a branch of the Indian people into Asia Minor and the spread of their civilisation and mythology into the countries of the West and the wonderful and striking similarity found by Vasco De Gama between the religion of the people of the Malabar seaboard and Christianity, Hon. Del Mar builds his theory of Christendom's debt to India.

### EUROPEANS IN NATIVE STATES

'A Retired Dewan' enters into an emphatic and vigorous protest in the December number of the *Indian Review* against the remarks made by the Hon'ble Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E., M.P., in a letter to the *London Times*, that there is a colour-bar for Europeans in Native Indian Governments, and that they have been subject to this disability long before the Transvaal difficulty arose. The writer points out that in Travancore, Mysore, Hyderabad and other native states there is a large number of Europeans holding high offices, besides whom there are a good many European missionaries, planters, miners, merchants and traders. The writer conclusively shows that the disability that Mr. Rees speaks of is the result of the Imperial policy of the British Government and not due to Indian initiative. Before the East India Company acquired political power in India, the Native Rulers had French and other European officers in their service. The British authorities felt that the influence of these foreign European officers was prejudicial to their interest, and took care to introduce in their treaties with Native States a clause that no European should be allowed to settle in their territory without the express sanction of the Paramount Power. But this restriction is practically of no value. The would-be European settler must apply to the British Resident and not to the Durbar for permission to settle, and if the Resident has no objection to raise, the Durbar has none. The European settler is not amenable to the criminal jurisdiction of the State he settles in, except in Travancore and Cochin, the authorities wherein are allowed to try and punish European British-born subjects with a limited jurisdiction, but both the trying officer and his appellate authority must be British-born European subjects and Justices of the Peace appointed by the Government of India.

The "retired Dewan" very justly points out that "in the Native States of Travancore, Mysore, Hyderabad, and others which have lucrative appointments worth the acceptance of Europeans, we find a large number of them holding high offices. Over and

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and above these officers, there are especially in Travancore, Cochin and Mysore, a good many European missionaries, planters, miners, merchants and traders whose influence and power in those States are so great that it is believed that recently a capable Dewan was compelled to vacate his office for the unpardonable offence of discourtesy to Europeans. Mr. Rees was for a time the Resident of Travancore and Cochin, and as such could not have been unaware of the influence which European officials, missionaries and planters exercise, often to the great embarrassment of the Durbars. It is most surprising that *he* should compare European Settlers in Native States with Indians in the Transvaal, for the former are lions in Native States whereas the latter are practically ants in the Transvaal."

### ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA

Lala Lajpat Rai, who is now on a visit to England, contributes to the pages of the current number of the *Empire Review* a characteristic article on the above subject with special reference to government by a privileged class. The writer regrets the extreme ignorance of the English people concerning Indian affairs. The strenuous nature of an Englishman's life, says Lala Lajpat, leaves him no time to devote to the study of Indian problems. It is only when something sensational happens that public attention is focussed on India and Indian affairs.

It is exceedingly difficult for a Britisher to grasp the real state of affairs in India even if he undertakes a trip to India. In ninety cases out of a hundred, outside the Presidency towns, his friends are government officials. The Indians he comes into personal contact with during his brief sojourn are generally those he meets at official or semi-official tea-parties or those belonging to the class which supplies domestic servants to the European domiciles. It is very rare that an Englishman visiting India, determined to see things for himself, maintains that determination for any length of time when actually on the spot. At the outset there is the language difficulty. Accordingly, he who wants to make independent inquiries must seek interpreters and guides, but he can have no better guides than the educated Indians. They have so much to communicate that at times the visitor feels bored. Of late an attempt has been made by educated Indians to show their visitor something of actual village and town life, but the task is, says the Lala, is full of intricacies. When on returning home the visitor,

## ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA

who has gained some knowledge of India and her affairs, attempts to give his experiences, other men taunt him with having allowed himself to be made a catspaw of the 'wily half-educated native.' As the result of all this, public opinion in England in regard to Indian affairs continues to be governed by the Anglo-Indians. The writer considers it a hopeless task to attempt to explain that the Anglo-Indian is not always infallible.

The indifference of the British public to Indian affairs, their readiness to believe everything that the Anglo-Indians say, their failure to see things in their true perspective notwithstanding repeated attempts that have from time to time been made by eminent Indians to set forth the real state of things, have created an almost hopeless situation in India. The faith in British justice has been rudely shaken. It makes little difference which party is in power. The Indians have come to believe that the British Government, be it Tory or Radical, have neither a genuine desire to probe the sore that is gradually undermining British authority in India, nor the moral courage to withstand the accumulated prejudices of the men on the spot.

Lala Lajpat's estimate of the *I. C. S.* is admirable and we make no apology to quote it *in extenso*: "The Indian Civil Service has its own code of morals known as the 'traditions' of the service. It is a closed caste refusing admission to all who are not prepared to conform to its rule of conduct in governing India. Woe to the man who joins issue with the Indian Civil Service. To an Indian it means utter ruin. To a member of the service it means excommunication. To an outsider, whether he be a Governor or a Governor-General, it means a constant worry which makes his residence in India a bed of thorns for him. Lord Ripon felt the force of the power wielded by the Civil Service in India, Lord Curzon quailed before it. There was no peace for him unless the Civil Service was assured that they meant no harm to their class and at heart wanted only to add to their authority, power and emoluments. Every one who desires the stability of the British Empire should realise that all efforts to introduce any substantial or far-reaching reforms in the administration in India are doomed to failure so long as the privileged caste dominates the position. It is one thing to pass resolutions, carry through legislation and make rules here, but it should be remembered that all laws are administered by the Indian Civil Service, and everything depends on the way and the spirit in which rules and laws are carried out. An Indian Civil Servant is assumed to be a master

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of all subjects and can be called upon to perform any duty. He may be an accountant to-day, a settlement officer, a director of education, head of meteorological department, head of joint-stock companies, and a judge of the High Court by turns. This is by no means an exhaustive list of the offices which an Indian Civilian is held competent to fill. The District Officer is generally the head of all the various official activities in his district. As a rule he knows the language of his district very imperfectly and has but little idea of what significance a certain expression carries with it."

British politicians should not forget, when considering the opinions of retired Anglo-Indians, that these persons are interested witnesses. Human nature is human nature everywhere. It must not be forgotten that many retired Anglo-Indians have very near relatives in the Indian Services, who have not all entered by the open door of competition. There are a good many officials who appear to think that they have hereditary rights to rule India.

The writer next turns to the question of 'one-man-rule'. Anglo-Indian civilians are making great efforts to convince Lord Morley that India really suffers from the want of sufficient power and authority in the District Officer. According to them, contentment and prosperity in India can best be brought about by allowing the District Officer to rule like a Rajah, combining all the functions of sovereignty in his own person. According to the advocates of 'one-man-rule,' nothing has proved so baneful to India as the introduction of Western knowledge and Western ideas of government. In their eyes, the greatest curse of India is the educated class, who are clamouring for representative institutions totally foreign to the genius of the Asiatic people. The Lala wonders if these crude critics ever realise that 'one-man-rule' in India is utterly impracticable. As a matter of fact, India has never had 'one-man-rule' in the sense in which the expression is used by Anglo-Indians. In asking for 'one-man-rule', says the writer, the Indian Civilians are asking for the moon. The British Government at home is a Democracy and the only way to rule their dependencies well is to rule them in the spirit of their own democratic laws and institutions.

According to Lala Lajpat Rai, the only course open to our rulers is to advance on democratic lines and to give India the full benefit of representative institutions. It is well to realise the seriousness of the situation before it is too late. The verdict of history and the judgment of posterity await the decision of Lord Morley.

## INDIAN UNREST

Mr. Perceval Landon who is just now touring in India is contributing a series of letters on the much discussed topic of Indian unrest to the *Daily Telegraph*. In these letters, Mr. Landon traverses the whole ground of the subject with commendable diligence but with very poor insight and knowledge. Yet his views, although many are curiosities in their way, serve at least to show from how many points of view the present situation in India can be looked at.

The writer starts with the enunciation of some plain 'truths' of the situation. These 'truths' are as follows :—

(a) We are compelled to continue Indian administration more or less along existing lines, whether that policy is or is not for the ultimate good of the people whose preferences, prejudices, and manners of thought are entirely distinct from our own ;

(b) We can obtain little or no administrative assistance from even the most highly educated of the inhabitants, as they fundamentally lack a power of decision and a willingness to take responsibility ;

(c) The "masses and classes" alike are deficient in nearly all the primary postulates presupposed by the scheme of Western Constitutionalism, especially in that requisite which lays the minority under the duty of abiding loyally by the decision of the majority ;

(d) Our military position is entirely secure.

Finally, the existing unrest may be divided into two almost separate dissatisfactions :

(a) That which has shown itself in the form of open agitation and criminal violence is :

(1) A Brahmin-nurtured disquiet, originated solely on behalf of the Brahmin caste, with the intention of regaining influence of which our occupation of India has deprived it ;

(2) Careless of the rights of the mass of the people ;

(3) Unrepresentative of and unsupported by the great middle classes, who have something to lose by insecurity of life and property.

(b) Side by side with the open ebullition of disloyalty, there exists a latent but far more serious dissatisfaction. "Unsettled partly by the inevitable results of our own grant of free institutions, and even justice, partly by the march of civilisation and science, partly by the ambitions aroused by the result of the Russo-Japanese War, the great bulk of the peaceable and orderly workers of India

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have changed their attitude of unquestioning submission towards the British administrators of India. This disquiet has taken the form of mistrust either of our ability or our intention to enforce our supremacy, and to punish insult as well as outrage—a deduction which the peoples of India have had fair cause to make, thanks to the vacillations of our policy, and to the continual humiliations inflicted from home upon those directly representative of law and order in India.”

The writer calls the present agitation a “Brahmin agitation” and finds no cause of apprehension in it unless the ‘Vaisyas’ (whatever it may mean) come forward to join it. The Brahmins are supposed to be in the bad books of the other castes. With regard to the National Congress, the writer holds that if the unseemly scenes of Surat repeated themselves in Madras a final breach between the Extremists and the Moderates would have been inevitable and the Moderates would in that case have to close up their ranks which the party of violence would find it difficult to outflank.

Mr. Landon violently repudiates the popular charge that the Englishmen out here keep themselves aloof from the natives. Curiously enough, he prefers to lay the blame for this estrangement at the door of the natives themselves. “The plain fact is,” states Mr. Landon, “that however much we wished for social amalgamation, nothing of the kind is possible so long as Hindu and Mohammedan alike refuses to allow his womenkind to be seen by other men. The whole question drops to the ground when it is remembered that it is by the deliberate and unanimous decision of the natives themselves that social intercourse is made impossible.”

The abhorrence of the Orientals to female emancipation and the traditional oriental jealousy are at the bottom of all this difference. Unless the Indian woman is allowed to freely mix with Europeans, no real friendly relation between the native and the European is possible. The writer does not believe also in the alleged brutality of the white man towards the native. He betrays a supreme ignorance of the administration of justice in India as between the European and the Indian when he says that.

“Natives suffer vastly more from natives than from white men, but they have learned that a trumpeted up charge against the European is a safer thing than a complaint, however well founded against one of their own skin.”

He goes on further to say :—

“The question of Indian unrest is wholly unaffected by this traditional slander at the present moment—indeed, were it pressed,

the natives might point to a long series of insults and outrages quietly borne by Englishmen." The writer suspects that "behind the Purdah" in India a good deal of sedition and crime is insidiously carried. Sedition is bound to flourish in the bosom of the Indian woman because

"Her conservatism undoubtedly prompts a vigorous wish that the English would cease to interfere with her people's affairs—a wish that is naturally unchecked by any practical considerations whatever."

Even the Government does not escape Mr. Landon's reproach. Having made the Indian feel that he is the equal of the European by its standard of altruism and moral responsibility, the Government ought to have drawn a hard and fast line between liberty and licence. But the Government did nothing of the sort and consequently, in the writer's own words,

"Boycotts have been organised against our goods, to the accompaniment of gross insult and unveiled threatenings. The Viceroy's car has been stoned in the streets of Calcutta. Our soldiers have been stoned in the streets of Bombay. And yet no action has been taken by us."

In speaking of the blunders of the Government, the writer asks :—

"How can they expect their servants to be willing to take responsibility if they "encourage" them by such an example as that of Fuller? How can they expect an Oriental to remain unshaken in their confidence when they find the Governor of Bombay bullied from home into using the prerogatives of his office against the dictates of common-sense, and notoriously against his own judgment also? Above all, what effect did the late Cabinet suppose would be produced by the dismissal of a Viceroy himself?"

In India, according to the writer, if the experience of the man on the spot is overruled at every turn, his personal dignity is ignored and belittled. Thus British prestige which cannot be done away with in the Government of India is struck at its very root. The indecision of the Government is most glaring and shameful. "The moment trouble arises," says the writer, "we steer to every point of the compass."

In the third article Mr. Landon begins with a characterisation of the 'Brahmin agitation' which is called 'merely the decided attempt of a single and most unpopular caste to restore a class supremacy wholly unrepresentative of the people of India'.

But apart from this agitation and wholly independent of it, there is another kind of unrest gaining ground. It is 'the dumb



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dissatisfaction' of the Vaisyas—a dissatisfaction with which it is impossible to withhold sympathy. The Brahmins are agitating for obvious reasons. But the Vaisya agitation is unconnected with politics. The Sudras are as yet free from unrest and 'all non-Hindus, Mahammedans, Parsis, and native Christians are the supporters of the Government'.

The writer goes on to say :—

"The failure of the Brahmin crusade against English goods is as good an instance as another to show how little the trading classes have been won over by the arguments of the "national" party."

The middle-class disquiet is altogether vague and uncertain and inarticulate. It is due to their losing confidence in the strength of the Government.

"The Hindu," says the writer, "like any other Asiatic will be ruled and easily ruled, but only by the strong hand." Mr. Landon lays great stress on bringing the Indian administration into line with oriental traditions and Oriental temperament.

The third article of Mr. Landon deals with the military position and policy of the government of India. He puts great trust on the military strength of India and asserts that should any trouble arise, internal or frontier, enough army could be told off to deal effectively with it. But the danger is, the writer sinisterly suggests, that a carefully arranged and vigorous campaign has been directed against the loyalty of the sikh regiment; yet this campaign has not yet been attended with much success and one and only one sikh regiment is looked upon with suspicion by the authorities at headquarters. But generally speaking, the movement has no military bearing—"it is political from one end to another," and the seducing of the sikhs is only a 'side-affair' of the program. In the last article, there are some matters which at least can boast of a show of reason. In it, the writer calls the present agitation 'the natural consequence of our liberal and consistent policy in the past and the result of the existent system of education.' Speaking of the unrest in the Punjab, the writer pours his vial of wrath on the Arya Samaj which is 'a virulent Anti-English league managed almost undisguisedly by the senior caste.' The trouble impending in the Punjab was, however, scotched by the swift action of Lord Morley in deporting Lajpat Rai. There have been attempts made in that province to wean away the Sikhs from their loyalty. The writer is hard on Lord Morley for his having withheld his sanction from the Punjab Colonisation Bill. It will be construed, he considers, as a concession to agitation. We have next a description of the Pathans who are biding their

time to invade India when the strong 'hand of the Feringhee' will be weakened or withdrawn. The writer had an interesting talk with Mr. Malabari on Indian unrest in the course of which the veteran Parsi editor is reported to have communicated to him the story of a conspiracy.

"Only yesterday I spoke to Mr. Malabari—and no wiser, no better-informed, no more loyal or level-headed native than he exists in India. With a life's reputation for fearlessness and loyalty to his country, Mr. Malabari's opinion carries as much weight in a Secretariat as in the councils of a Banerjea. Speaking of the present unrest and of those who spread it, he told me that they had come to him with their schemes for the freeing of India from the oppression of the English. The plans were laid before him, and after hearing them to the end he only put one question, a famous question that was put in old days in very different circumstances, what then? The agitators had not a word to say in answer. Then Mr. Malabari put before them the inevitable end of all their intrigues—Pathan domination from Karachi to Cachar. To this day, he reminded them, Afghan mothers croon their children to sleep with the song that remains the life's religion of the Pathan. 'India is rich, my son, Indian women are fair, my son; Indian cattle are fat, my son—when shall my son go south?'"

In conclusion, the writer thinks that unless the final issue could be settled—what is to take place after the British Rule is withdrawn—an air of unreality would continue to pervade the ambition of the malcontents. The liberal policy in India has been a short-sighted policy and an *impasse* has been reached from which there is no outlet without a radical change.

# REVIEWS & NOTICES OF BOOKS

## INDIAN GEOLOGY

[ *Records of the Geological Survey of India* (1908) and Sir Thomas Holland's *Sketch of the Mineral Resources of India* ; both published by the Government of India.]

The general report of the Geological Survey of India during the year 1907 appears in part I of Vol. XXXVII of the Records of the Department. People interested in the progress of geological work very anxiously wait for this general report for, besides giving a summary of the researches published in the *Memoirs* and the *Records* of the year, it also deals with various other results previously unpublished. There has been, comparatively speaking, a delay in the publication of the General Report of 1907 but we hope that we shall have the opportunity of reviewing the one of 1908 not later than the middle of the current year.

The appointment of Mr. Daru to the covenanted list of the department is a matter of sincere pleasure to all Indians, but there is no disguising the general feeling that the fat berths of this department, like those in many others, are usually reserved for the possessors of white skin. We hope that things will look up for the Indian ere long. The deaths of Messrs. Griesbach and Hughes are to be regretted by all students of Indian Geology. The name of Mr. Hughes will never be forgotten specially by the workers in the lower Gondwanas of Bengal, while no student of Himalayan Geology will find better guide-books for starting his own researches than the results published by the late Mr. Griesbach. He was the Director of the Survey for a number of years after the retirement of Dr. King and himself retired when he was succeeded by Mr. (now Sir) Thomas Holland. Mr. Griesbach had his previous geological training in South Africa and was pre-eminently a military geologist having joined in several expeditions and boundary commission, etc, and was well known for his remarkable proficiency with the pencil.

Besides the 6 parts of the *Records*, the publications of the department during the year include 2 *Memoirs*, one dealing with the geology of the Province of Tsang and U in Central Tibet and another with the Fauna of the Himalayan Muschelkalk. There has been as usual a marked increase in the amount of determinative work in the Laboratory. The *Chainpur* meteorite which fell in

the Ghazipur district weighs 7,075 grammes and two other pieces of another stony meteorite which fell near *Vishnupur* (Bankura) have also been obtained.

Dr. Bleeck made a special study of the Jadeite deposits in 1907 of the Kachin hills in Upper Burma. Jadeite is found at Taumaw, Hweka and Mamon and the mines are only worked for 3 months in the whole year. But by working for this short period in the whole year the value reported to be obtained in 1907 was £49,643. After describing in detail the petrology of the locality, the author proceeds to find out an explanation of the origin of Jadeite, the presence of which was at first noted by Dr. Noetling. Several opinions have been propounded as to the genesis of this mineral. The author agrees with Dr. Noetling in holding that jadeite is of igneous origin, intrusive into serpentine, but he thinks that the jadeite-albite dyke originally solidified as a normal nepheline-albite rock and that following an intrusion of granite the nepheline-albite rock was sufficiently metamorphosed to a jadeite-albite rock and that the effects of this contact metamorphism were sufficiently augmented by the abnormal pressure due to orographic movements.

Dr. Bleeck also made a study of the rubies of Naniazeik in the Kachin hills. The rubies occur on the slopes of mountain ranges composed mainly of granite and crystalline limestone. This crystalline limestone has invariably been found to emit an evil smell, supposed to originate from an organic substance possibly *skatole*. The limestone also contains a long list of the contact minerals. It has been established that the crystallisation of ruby in magnesian limestone can be due to piezocontact-metamorphism but the contact minerals that have been found are such as include species some of which can be traceable to this peculiar type of metamorphism while others cannot be formed wholly under this condition and in this area we have the evidence of an intermediate stage between the two extreme types of ordinary contact metamorphism and piezo contact-metamorphism and this also explains the scarcity of corundum in this locality. The limestone of this area is supposed to differ from the ruby-bearing marble of Mogauk and the Sagyin hill genetically, and the Naniazeik marble is possibly due to the alteration of sedimentary limestone of chemico-organic origin.

Mr. Vredenburg has contributed an important paper in which he describes the occurrence of *Physa Prinseppi* Sow., amidst the specimens of Mazar Drik and Des Valley. It is well known

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that *P. Prinsepii* is found very abundantly in the intertrappeans and the discovery of this intertrappean fossil in beds which are unmistakably Maestrichtian corroborates the upper cretaceous age of the Deccan trap. The occurrences of *Cardita Beaumouli* d'Arch and Haime in the intertrappeans of Sind, and in Luristan associated with *Hippurites* and in Egypt with Maestrichtien and Danian fossils are well-known. It has been found out that *Cardita Beaumonti* also occurs in the Axial rocks of Burma showing the complexity of this rock group of Theobald. The rich materials collected in the northern Shan States have been studied and from the discovery of the well-known species *Pteria contorta*, the Rhaetic age of these beds has been established. The fossils collected in the Parahio and Pin valleys in Spiti have been described and the result is in course of publication. Among others no less than thirty-one trilobitean species have been found out and with the exception of one, all others are new. These fossils show a very marked affinity with the middle Cambrian fossils of the Rocky Mountain Provinces of North America. The results when fully published will help us a good deal in understanding the Palæozoic rocks of the Himalayan region.

The survey of the cupriferous belt in the Singhbhum district was finished and two parallel outcrops of the copper-impregnated schists have been established. The borings undertaken point to a wide dissemination of the material instead of concentration rendering economic exploitation hazardous. The dredging of the Namma, a tributary of the Salween in Burma, is not supposed to be very promising and hydraulic mining is suggested instead. Mr. Fermor paid a visit to the manganese-ore of South India and he studied some deposits in Bellary, Belgaum and Mysore. These Southern Indian ores differ in a very important matter from the manganese-ores of the Central Provinces. In Southern India the superficial ore-deposits 'appear to be residual products from the surface alteration of the various lithological elements that constitute the Dharwar system of Schists' while in Nagpore and the adjoining districts the ores 'appear to be an integral part of the crystalline complex, although it is probable that they have attained their present character as bodies composed mainly of clean oxides by alteration of manganese-silicates, possibly through the agency of subterranean water of meteoric origin.' Mr. Fermor has been studying manganese-ores for a number of years and his memoir on the subject is being anxiously awaited by the public. He has described a new manganate, allied to *psilomelane*, as

*hollandite*. A new mineral known as *coronadite* has been described from the copper area of Arizona. *Coronadite* is characterised by a great percentage of lead and its chemical formula is supposed by Mr. Fermor as being reducible to a form closely allied to psilomelane and hollandite, the three minerals forming a group of manganates and of these psilomelane is amorphous, hollandite is the crystalline form of psilomelane, and the large quantity of barium in these minerals is represented by lead in coronadite.

Investigations were carried on for testing new petroliferous areas but nothing very promising has been met with. Sir Thomas Holland has suggested that the large quantities of salt that are found isolated at many places in Rajputana, of which the celebrated Sambhar lake is one, might be carried from the salt-incrusted Rann of Cutch by strong south-west winds blowing into the desert region. To test this theory Dr. Christie has devised and set up an ingenious set of instruments and the results are awaited with interest. A visit was paid to the ancient silver-lead mines of Bandinggi (Shan States). These mines were worked by the Chinese until very recently. The ores are highly disturbed and are chiefly argentiferous galena and zinc-blende with a small quantity of copper pyrites. The well-known stanniferous locality in the Mergui district was visited and the ore, *cassiterite*, has been found under four conditions:—(1) As a constituent of decomposed pegmatite rich in tourmaline and muscovite, known locally as *hera*; (2) in massive quartz segregations in and on the outskirts of granite hills; (3) in quartz-veins and stringers in ground adjacent to decomposing pegmatite and (4) in hill-side talus accumulations due to the disintegration of classes (1), (2) and (3). *Wolfram* has been found to occur within the boundaries of Agargaon in the Umrer tashil (Nagpur) as a constituent of quartz-veins intercalated in mica-schists and tourmaline schists belonging to the Dharwar system. Artesian conditions have been found to exist near Ajmer and the sinking of percolation wells is being experimented upon for the supply of water to this growing city.

A considerable advance was made in the survey of Central India and the area surveyed included the whole of the Pitlawad pargana, the Mehidpur, Indore and Nimanar districts of the Indore state, the greater part of the Jhabua state and parts of Rutlam State. In the course of this survey outcrops of the Lameta rocks were met with in the Jhabua state and a number of fossils was also found. These fossils indicate a change from an estuarine to a marine type.

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The mapping of the Bhandara district in the Central Provinces has been finished and in course of this work were found some sections which clearly show the great unconformity between the Vindhyan sandstones and the vertical beds of Dharwar schists below. Considerable progress was also made in the survey of the Northern Shan states and the most important result recorded is the discovery of a band of graptolites quite different from those found at Zebingyi. These graptolites point to a Llandovery age and the stratigraphical results obtained in the Shan states, up to the present time, are given below :—

Late Tertiary freshwater silts—Late Pliocene or Pleistocene with coal, Lashoi, Namma etc.

Namyan beds—Jurassic (exact horizon not known yet).

Napeng Shales—Rhætic.

Fusulina and Productus limestone—Permo-carboniferous.

Plateau limestone—Carboniferous and Devonian.

Zebingyi graptolite beds.

Kongsha marls.

Namshim sandstones.

Pangshapye graptolite band.

Hive Mawng purple shale.

Naung Kangyi beds.

Chaung Magyi Series—? 'Cambrian.

Archæan schists and gneisses.

}—Silurian.

}—Ordovician.

Sir Thomas Holland's *Sketch* is a neat pamphlet of about 100 pages and is perhaps the best handbook to the mineral resources of India yet published. He gives us in brief a general idea of the geological sketch of India and of the general nature of the mineral industries of this country and then proceeds to sum up the results of various experts on our chief mineral products. He deals specially with the various coal-fields throughout India, with some of the metalliferous minerals, with materials for building such as slate, kankar and clays and lastly with gem-stones. In this work Sir Thomas mentions the neglected condition of the various mineral springs of India and suggests their scientific explorations. For all whom it may concern, Sir Thomas inserts in this pamphlet the various conditions for the grant of mineral concessions with schedules of rents and royalties and a complete bibliography on the subject. The book is furnished with an exhaustive index.

**An Indian Geologist**

## SHORT NOTICES OF BOOKS

We have received several small books for review among which we may mention Messrs Natesan & Co.'s publications and Messrs Ganesh & Co.'s short sketches of the lives of Messrs Tilak and Subramaniya Iyer. As sketches both are interesting. Messrs Natesan & Co.'s collection of Lord Morley's speeches on Indian affairs is a neat pamphlet which we have no doubt will be largely used by Indian politicians for many a long day to come. We hope to notice this work at length in an early issue as well as Lala Baij Nath's short treatise on the *Bhagwad Gita*.

*Abasara* is a small book of poems by a Bengali lady. It is an unpretentious work but contains unmistakable proof of the writer's hold on Bengali diction and verse. Some of the poems are much above the average level.

*Uttar-Paschim Bhraman* (Travels in the North-West) is another Bengalee book of considerable merit. The style of the author is catching and the language elegant and homely. We have gone through this work with sustained interest and congratulate the author on his powers of description and sense of proportion and discrimination. It is indeed an welcome addition to the very limited range of books of travels hitherto published in the Bengalee language.

*Science in Daily Life* is a collection of articles written originally to the *Hindu* by Dr. D. S. R. Rao of Madras. As the writer himself says : "this little book is no scientific treatise ; it is no original contribution to modern scientific thought ; it does not attempt to instruct the wise ; it is mainly intended to initiate the layman into the scientific aspect of every-day life." Though the author, we regret, does not succeed in initiating the layman into the scientific aspects of everyday life, we must say that he presents to his readers a large number of very useful and interesting informations on diet and the preservation of health in a very well-written form. Dr. Rao, however, credits his 'layman' with too little education and intelligence and fills some of his pages with matter which everyman in the street is acquainted with. Accordingly too, his manner of dealing with many complex problems of life, such as matrimony and crime and its cause, is too scrappy. We wish also the book had been better printed and got up.

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### **LIST OF RECENT BOOKS ON INDIA**

**SMITH, VINCENT A.**—The Oxford Student's History of India (Clarendon Press : Oxford 2-6*d*).

**BILIMORIA, JAMSHID H.**—The Letters of Aurangzebe (Translated from the original Persian. Luzac & Co.)

**WATT, SIR GEORGE.**—The Commercial Products of India (Being an abridgment of "The Dictionary of the Economic Products of India." Murray & Co.)

**SURRIDGE, VICTOR.**—India (Romance of Empire Series, With 12 Plates in colour, 5-4.)

**KEITH, A. B.**—The Sankhayana Aranyaka (The Oriental Translation Fund Series, Rs. 5).

**FARRER REGINALD.**—In Old Ceylon (Arnold : 12*s* 6*d*.)

## ARTICLES

### SOME THOUGHTS ON THE PRESENT SITUATION

The situation in Bengal and indeed throughout India at the present moment undoubtedly presents the appearance of a grave political crisis which must sorely tax the utmost resources of the highest statesmanship in effectively dealing with it. But however startling the disclosures and regrettable the ugly developments of the situation may be, they are neither so sudden as to take any but the most superficial observer by surprise, nor anything so alarming as seriously to disturb the equanimity of a well-balanced mind. Calmly considered in the light of history, this situation at its worst may be regarded only as an ominous precursor of one of those natural evolutions which under similar, if not same, conditions have from time to time convulsed human society and marked the progress of the world both in ancient as well as in modern times. These evolutions, however disagreeable in their character, are in fact the recurring manifestations of those latent forces in nature which have in all ages given fresh impetus to stagnant thought and activity, moulded human ideas and institutions and for good or evil shaped the destinies of nations. In the ferment of these evolutions all established orders of things necessarily stand confronted with new ideas and developments which, while they seem to shatter the constitution, in reality serve only to strengthen it. The accumulations of years are thrown into the boiling cauldron and all the dirty elements in society and in human institutions bubble out to the surface to be caught in the cleaning pan and removed. It is on trying occasions like these that conservative despotism and progressive fanaticism, soaring above the tranquil reign of reason and commonsense, wage war in the clouds both to conquer and fall dead at last. The present may be an outburst of this fanaticism; but the sound that has swelled its volume is the roaring of despotism for the first time roused to a consciousness of a threatened inroad into its settled domain. Divested however of its novelty, the situation hardly deserves the exaggerated importance that has been given to it. Even Lord Morley, in spite of the wild shrieks of an alarmist crowd, does not feel that "the discovery involves any question of earthquake," but he prefers "to look upon it as clouds sailing through

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the sky." Those clouds had long been gathering in the horizon and if they have so deepened as actually to indicate a coming storm, there is time enough to seek a safe harbour instead of indulging in heroics and hysterics. Events always cast their shadows before and the unpleasant contingency which has arisen had been long foreseen, or ought to have been foreseen, even by those who have apparently gone mad over it. It would be the merest affection even on the part of a close bureaucracy to deny that they too perceived that there was something rotten somewhere which was slowly poisoning the atmosphere, that things were for a long time not as they should have been and that the situation was gradually drifting out of its ordinary course ; while those directly interested in the safety and well-being of the country had long and repeatedly given the warning signal which however was first rejected with contempt as a covert threat and is now admitted as evidence presumptive of their secret complicity in an organization which is supposed to be responsible for the present crisis. Never was perhaps the facetious Frenchman's quaint and caustic remark more strikingly illustrated that " when John Bull begins to suspect he generally begins at the wrong end." For over twenty years the Indian National Congress, which certainly represented the "better mind" and the best intellect of the country, had persistently and constitutionally urged that the people had very much outgrown the constitution and that there was some danger in allowing the administration perpetually to drift. But for twenty years responsible men in authority contemptuously disregarded these warnings as being both philologically and ethnologically incorrect. It was seriously argued that as there was no *nation* in India there could be no Indian National Congress, and as there was no Indian National Congress, its voice like the ancient oracle was spurious and might be logically discarded. Smart phrases like "microscopic minority," "disappointed place-seekers," "big jumps", "wild visionaries" and so forth were rapidly invented in the salubrious atmosphere of mutual admiration societies as all that was required to silence the clamour and satisfactorily dispose of the issues. Such was the sober reasoning and invincible logic with which the Congress was persistently maligned, misrepresented and discarded. But the philologist and the ethnologist equally forgot that there was a sterner logic of facts which always tries to solve itself without waiting for any one's decision and without paying heed to mere captious criticism. The story of the sieve and the needle, though a fable, is not perhaps altogether a fiction. Is not the Government of a country itself a "microscopic

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minority?" And is it not the mouth that always speaketh, although it is only a microscopic member of the body? Be that as it may, sufficient precaution was supposed to have been taken against all possible danger by effectively segregating the servants of the State and boycotting the Congress. The famous ostrich burying its head in the sand never presented a more lamentable picture of absurd security. Then as one after another most of the rights and privileges of the people began to be tampered with, public discontent began to manifest itself in larger volume and with greater intensity. The climax was however reached when just three years ago the Partition of Bengal was carried out against all considerations of justice and fairness and in the teeth of a frantic opposition from the people. When the tremendous agitation against this fatal measure, carried on in perfectly constitutional methods and strictly confined to legitimate means, was convulsing the country, the Government instead of allaying the excited public feeling went on exasperating it. The Swadeshi movement was ultimately started as a protest and the boycott of foreign articles was resorted to as a passive resistance. Even here the loyalty of the people, though losing faith in the efficacy of constitutional agitation, did not transgress its limits. But a powerful Government unfortunately regarded conciliation as a sign of weakness and unworthy of its strength and its prestige. Suppression of public meetings and repression of school boys, disaffiliation of schools and expulsion of teachers, class distinction fanning the dying embers of racial differences into a flame, quartering of punitive police and military forces and, last of all, a general crusade against the Swadeshi movement, attended with the natural concomitant disorders of a mistaken policy of repression, followed in rapid succession. Again the press and the platform, which have now come in for a large measure of the responsibility of the situation, repeated the warning that all these were driving discontent underground. But the Government openly flouted such discontent, and all the response which these earnest appeals elicited was an open scathing denunciation of *native* character by the highest authority in the land and the real author of these disturbances in an uncouth paraphrase of an epigrammatic text fifty years old. And lastly when a small section of the nationalist party, which, though maligned, abused and discounted, formed the bulk of the educated community, openly undertook to preach to a number of raw, inexperienced and impressionable youngmen, almost unhinged by repressive treatment, the utter futility of constitutional agitation,

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the other and by far still the more powerful and influential section went so far as practically to separate themselves even at the risk of their own position in the country and in no uncertain voice asked the Government to see the danger ahead. But alas ! what was the attitude of the Government ? Conscious of its enormous strength, overborne by its new-born spirit of imperialism and goaded by a jingoistic press both here as well as in England, it derided all these warnings, added more steam to its repressive policy, screwed down all the safety-valves one by one and sat tight upon them with the weight of its bureaucratic power and authority. And now that it has exploded at last, it is amazed and in the fury of its indiscriminate condemnation has joined the Congress, the press, the platform, the moderate, the extremist, the sober councillor and the frothy demagogue—all as confederates to a gigantic fraud that has been practised upon it and parties to a conspiracy which is responsible for the present situation. It is always unwise to close a safety-valve, however strong and powerful a machinery may be. Even this solid earth has her safety valves open in the volcanoes. But other things apart, does not the promptitude with which the Government has luckily succeeded in hunting this conspiracy down clearly point to the conclusion that the authorities were not altogether unprepared for the contingency that has arisen ? And has it not transpired that in the first opening scene of the tragic drama which has thrown such a livid light on the present situation sufficient care had been taken to protect the hero who was the real object of the secret organization, although nothing was done to prevent other lives being sacrificed for him ? It will be for the future historian to say whether the blood of the two unfortunate fair victims can all be distributed among two fanatical school boys, one of whom has bravely paid the full penalty for the atrocious deed, while the other to escape the last indignity of the law has suffered a more shocking indignity—the guillotine of a dead man. The present situation, therefore, though unprecedented and highly deplorable, is after all the natural sequence of events which had long been gathering like clouds and which ought clearly to have been foreseen and provided against. But the question of foresight, though always so important in politics, is perhaps no longer material in the present case. The all-important question now is, (given the situation as it is, what is the remedy and how to restore peace and order and ensure progress and contentment ? It is of course possible for the government to take measures for heroic treatment of the situation. But before the correct remedy can be

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prescribed an accurate diagnosis of the disease must be made, or however violent the disease may be even the most drastic measure may lead only to a most disastrous end.

The present situation in the country which is admittedly one of grave unrest is undoubtedly begotten of mutual jealousy, distrust and hatred between the rulers and the ruled. Want of sympathy and confidence, of dignity and forbearance, are the main features of the strained relation between the two classes. While it is impossible for both the classes to completely dissociate from each other, none can approach the other with that freedom and openness which mutual trust and respect alone can generate. The demarcation does not exist simply between the officials and the non-officials, but extends along the whole line between the Indian and European communities. But how has this regrettable tension arisen after 150 years of a rule which though despotic in its character is not unredeemed by acts of benevolence? That is the question to be solved. Whenever there is discontent and consequent rupture between the people and its government it is generally traceable to one of two causes: It may be due to an irascible temper of the people, or to the rude and unsympathetic character of the administration. According to Burke, in every dispute between a government and its people the presumption is ordinarily in favour of the people; for it is certainly easier for a small coterie of men armed with arbitrary power to go to excesses than for a large community with diverse interests so to combine without provocation as to rush into an unequal contest with those whose smiles are the sunshine of their existence. We are however not required to rely upon this presumption in the present case. Where positive evidence is available, presumption becomes immaterial.

As to the first of the above-mentioned causes, it has to be admitted that the unrest originated in Bengal and that Bengal still continues to be the centre of the agitation which is surging across the country, marking its ravages both in the Deccan as well as in the Punjab. It is also an indisputable fact that the Bengalis have been characterized from the earliest times as the mildest, the most law-abiding, though at the same time the most intelligent, people in India. History does not bear testimony to a single event or incident where even the most ruthless savagery of the Burmese or the *mughls* on the one side, or the most revolting excesses of the Pathans or the Burgies on the other, have ever moved them to any violence or retaliation or even so much as self-defence. Their history under British rule has been an unbroken record of passive

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submission and unblemished fidelity. In the field of ambitious pursuits, their energies have throughout been directed not even to any rivalry of competitive enterprises, but solely to intellectual advancement. Indeed it has been repeatedly said, though by way of disparagement, that no race in India would probably suffer so much from the absence of the British rule as the Bengalis. The natural temper of the Bengalis has always been the reverse of the violent and irascible.

But it is urged that education has changed the natural characteristic of the Bengalis and the liberty of the press has transformed them into "fanatical Ghazis." There never was perhaps a wilder charge or grosser libel preferred against Education. It may not be far beyond the living memory of the passing generation that there was a superstition in this country which with equal pertinacity and with equal force maintained that female education led to premature widowhood. If the Bengalis have fortunately outlived this superstition, the superstition itself seems to have in some shape or other outlived an enlightened administration. The charge against education is a crazy cant opposed to the fundamental principles upon which the world has progressed and civilization has advanced ; while its introduction at a very late stage fairly leads to a strong suspicion against its good faith as well as its genuineness. Lord Macaulay writing in 1858 said,—“it may be that under our system of education the Eastern mind may so expand that imbued with western ideas it may crave for western institutions. I do not know if such a day will ever come ; but if it does come, I shall consider it the proudest day of England.” After half a century of western education ungrudgingly imparted, fostered and encouraged by an alien but an enlightened Government that day has probably dawned ; but the pride of England has degenerated into jealousy and those who have succeeded to the heritage of Burke and Macaulay now looking back with regret devoutly wish that the night had been prolonged. But are they quite sure that if the night had really been prolonged it would have ensured greater security and the present situation might not have come earlier and in a more aggravated form ? If education has in all ages and in all countries served to chasten human nature and broaden its vision, to purge it of its brutish instincts and widen its sympathies ; if in short it is education that has elevated mankind from barbarism to civilization, and above all if education is the root of all settled governments and the mother of peace, order and contentment, is there any reason why it should have produced an altogether differ-

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ent result in this country? Education always evolves order out of chaos, light out of darkness, and if this evolution denotes a change, it never connotes any disorder. And was India after all such a dark spot when she came in contact with European light? She was possessed of a vast literature and an ancient civilization which in some respects is still the admiration of the modern world. If western education has broadened her ideas and extended her views, it has also served to reconcile her to western methods and western institutions. Inspired by an appreciation of western culture, she has practically thrown away her vast literature and discarded her ancient civilization. Her juridical conceptions of right and wrong, of personal liberty and responsibility and even of right of property are all now based upon western jurisprudence, and Manu no longer commands greater and more serious respect from her advanced population than Justinian or Lycurgus. No one disputes the many advantages which the people of India have derived from western connection, but may it not be asked if western education was given to the people of this country solely for *their* benefit, or was it not also intended as the only means to assimilate them with western ideas and institutions and thereby consolidate and strengthen western domination? Such assimilation necessarily involves some sort of partnership and participation; but that domination having been established, the slightest attempt at such participation is now sorely resented as impertinence, ingratitude and even as disloyalty. People are therefore not wanting who honestly believe that, the true explanation of the situation being rather unpleasant, the theory of mistaken education has been conveniently resorted to either for shifting the burden of responsibility, or, as it may well be suspected, as a plea for further reactionary measures. Education which has produced men like Ram Mohan Ray, Ramgopal Ghose, Hurish Chandra Mukherjee, Dwarka Nath Mitter, Keshab Chandra Sen, Rajendra Lala Mitter, Kristo Das Pal, Kashi Nath Trimbuck Telang and Mahadev Govind Ranade cannot easily be stigmatized as productive of sedition or any other undesirable result. Coming nearer to the present time, we are able to refer to the impartial testimony of a most competent and unimpeachable witness on the spot. The verdict of Principal James as delivered in June last at a meeting of the East India Association held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, may well be relied on with some degree of confidence in the disposal of the issue under consideration. Mr. James is not a zealous politician, but a dispassionate Educationist and his opportunities for calmly watching the educational developments of our young men



must be undisputed. In pointing out the grievous error of those who consider University Education to be responsible for that "pitiable scene of mistaken violence at Mozufferpore" and its tragic offshoots, the learned professor remarks as follows:—"There are those who think the attempt to let in the full light of reason and science was altogether mistaken. There are those who think the method was wrong because the garb of our education is Western, not Oriental. There are those who quarrel with the details of our system, and the ground of their quarrel is various. Some blame us for overlooking religion. There are even those who charge us with neglecting morals. And now a change has come over the face of the problem owing to apparent political developments." These developments (by which no sane man would understand anarchism) are, according to the writer, "evidence not of the failure, but of the partial success, of high education in India. For in opening to Indians opportunities for high education, the British nation sought to teach independence of character, courage, manliness, fearlessness in right doing, to inculcate the value of organization, the duty of subordinating the individual for the common good." Mr. James very pertinently wonders why people should betray alarm when the pupils of such a system "are learning to be men and claim for themselves the privileges and responsibilities of manhood?" He firmly winds up his arguments with the following words:—"Education is never really the cause of evils imputed to it in England or in India, but *defect of Education*, and what is another form of the same thing, *misdirected education*. The cure for the ill-effects of imperfect education is *more education and better*."

Thus the causes which have conspired to bring about the present situation cannot therefore properly be traced either to the temper of the Bengalis, or to their education; but must be sought for in some other direction. It must be admitted that compared with other civilized countries education in India has been so far carried on upon a very small scale, and any attempt made to curtail either the scope or the sphere of this limited Education must be attended with the gravest consequences. Already there is a mass of young-men and woman growing up to be a public danger for want of education, and to add to the strength of this class by driving others to swell their rank would be to run the risk of still more menacing the safety and well-being of society. Education is the only basis of a healthy national life and of properly organized society and the more of it the better. Everything in this world has its use as well as its abuse, and if useful knowledge is sometimes misapplied, that

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is no reason or argument why a general crusade should be led against education enforcing ignorance and extending the shadows of darkness in its track. It would be no remedy, but only an aggravation of the situation.

**Ambica Charan Mozumdar**

*(To be continued)*

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## THE HINDU WOMAN'S FRIEND

While the outside world—especially the English world—thinks that India has fallen on cursed days, that the country is fast going to rack and ruin, the people of *Arya Varta* are casting aside the hindering, iron-clad traditions of the past, remodelling society and preparing for a future whose glory will outshine the splendors of the days gone by. The country is in a political convulsion. The people are ignorant and poverty-stricken. The nation is not yet one and indivisible. These certainly are not problems to be lightly passed over. But despite them, India is pressing forward to take its rightful position alongside the other enlightened nations of the world.

Hindustan is making such rapid progress in all departments of life, unobserved, uncheered by the rest of the world, that all outsiders before long will feel constrained to cease classing the Indian as a defunct community, or pay the penalty of ignorance by some-day being knocked on the head. So long as Hindostanees were short-sighted, so long as they were contented to dwell on the achievements of the past, future evolution was out of the question; but they have changed their attitude toward the good old days, and today their pride of the past has assumed a dynamic influence which is goading them to make the present the most constructive period of India. The centuries the land has spent as the victim of stupour and standstillism do not seem to have debilitated or debauched Indians, for they are to-day entering the arena like men full of a new, masterful, all-conquering idea, rejuvenated by their complete, dreamless rest.

The proof of the pudding lies in the eating. Go, wherever you may, in Hindostan to-day and you will find the nation awake—very much awake—live and busy. India is hammering out new standards for herself, not necessarily antagonistic to the old ones, but in their formation Hindostan is not arrogantly refusing to take cognizance of and adopt for its own use the criterions that the ripe wisdom of other nations has brought into being. Instead of imitating a foolish frog, elated with the muddy cesspool and calling it the ocean, India is drinking deep of the waters of life in which

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live and breathe the other members of creation. The nation, which gave munificently in the past, is not hesitating to take wisely now, with a view to preparing herself to once again give large-heartedly to the world. To verify the truth of this statement, the Occidental need not betake himself to Hindustan. All he needs to do is to look about himself and in his own native country he will find one or more specimen of the new manhood of India, at heart Indians but hungering for light, much like Goethe, ready to discriminatingly assimilate knowledge and carry it back to their native land to enrich and enlighten the masses.

Indians have not been awake for many years ; but their constructive work is not being done in the bowels of the earth, hidden and unseen. The foundation has been laid for these many centuries. It is above ground to-day, and on this solid bed the Indians are rearing a magnificent superstructure, without flaws, complete in every detail. The steel frame has been erected, the reinforced concrete has yet to be filled into the inter-spaces, and furnishings have to be installed later, but those who have the gray matter to calculate can estimate from the nature of the framework what kind of a sky-scraper India is raising.

So long as Hindostan was in a stupor, its womanhood played a secondary, half-toy-half-slave role. Sex inequality was the rule. Now that India is re-building the structure of her society, woman is coming to be regarded as the most valuable stone for nation-building, and is coming to be prized—prized even more than the superiority-obsessed man. In the present constructive era, the emancipation of woman is the slogan of India. On this plank all Indians are united. The Hindu is working toward this end. The Mohamedan is striving toward this ideal. The Brahmin and the Pariah equally are interested in this uplift work. Every one, even the most conservative-minded, is fast coming to look upon the being who yesterday was a drudge and to-day is a scullion, as the saviour of India, the mother of the nation.

The most practical work for the emancipation of the Hindu woman, to my mind, is being carried on at Poona. Here Professor D. K. Karve is showing to the Indian society how to file the fetters that have chained woman for many centuries, and permit her to obtain the maximum of happiness from life by usefully serving society. Professor Karve is probably the most representative practical social reformer in India today. While others have busied themselves with seeking to bring about the political regeneration of India, Professor Karve has been quietly and steadily hammering away at a

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social reform which bids fair eventually to be the chief element in reclaiming the country. He is the champion of womanhood, and more especially of that hapless woman, the Hindu widow.

Professor Karve believes that woman forms the corner stone of the home, which, in turn, is a stone in the foundation of the nation. The home where inequality rules is unfit to form a part of a solid base upon which the nation can safely rest, for a wall is as strong as its weakest part, and a single weak spot is a menace to the stability of the whole structure. Given an educated mother and the guarantee can pretty safely be made that her children will be educated; and slavery never can exist among an enlightened people. Therefore Professor Karve has figured that, if he can educate the mothers of India, in a very short time the nation will be able to look after itself. There will be no question of its future. He has refused to be satisfied with considering symptoms as a disease *per se*. He has gone beyond the symptoms and discovered the seat of the trouble, and he proposes to bring about a normal condition by means of educated women. Moreover, Professor Karve is an economist—not merely a social economist or a political economist, but an economist in the strictest sense of the word. He cannot bear to see anything wasted that could be utilized to good advantage. He looks upon an enlightened womanhood as a chief asset of the Nation. He finds that in treating her women inhumanly, in condemning her widows to everlasting uselessness, India has displayed a reckless, criminal wastefulness, and he is trying with all his might to check this prodigality.

Professor Karve is an exemplar. He believes that a policy of "Do as I say, not as I do," is as sinful as it is inexpedient. Because he believed it was a criminal thing to forbid the widow to remarry, he himself married a widow, although up to that time he had been an orthodox Hindu in every respect. Up to the time of his marriage to a widow, Professor Karve had been interested in a number of public enterprises. From his early youth he had shown an exceptional amount of public spirit and a capacity to carry his dreams into quick action. As a boy he started a trading company in his native village and managed it himself. Soon after he began to earn his living in his native town he started an association which was named the "Murad Fund Association." The object of this association was to collect a fund to be disbursed for the public needs of the village. Every head of a family in the village pledged himself to contribute a pie on the rupee to this fund from his annual income. For years this was a success and many works of

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public utility were carried on under its impetus. A *dharamsala* was constructed and maintained, the springs of water in the village were cared for and kept in a hygienic condition, and other reforms were instituted through the efforts of the Association. Another reform initiated by Professor Karve was a movement which brought together the educated people of the district once a year, in May. These various reforms were successful until Mr. Karve married a widow; but this act on his part stopped them and they have crumbled to pieces. As soon as he married, he was outcasted and was unable to take part in these activities which he had fathered and the absence of his direction in the enterprises was quickly felt.

Marrying a widow involved Professor Karve in trouble; but by this practical step he blazed the trail for others to follow. The followable example he set has inspired hundreds of other young men to marry widows. Not satisfied with marrying a widow himself, Professor Karve educated and married his wife's niece—a widow—to a colleague of his, a professor in the Fergusson College. Then he founded the Widow Remarriage Association and, for a number of years, gave his undivided attention to bettering the condition of the luckless lass who had lost her husband and, according to the conventional canons in force, was doomed to a life of misery.

After he had initiated widow-remarriage, Professor Karve perceived that something more had to be done. Enforced widowhood, as an institution, had existed in India for tens of decades and the institution could not be shattered with a single stroke. It would take time and patience and steady, consistent work before widow-marriage would be as common as wild berries. But what about the young widow who, in the meanwhile, was literally living in hell? Should she be allowed to live a life of excruciating misery? Should all the potentiality in her be permitted to go to waste and society lose the co-operation and inspiration she could lend toward the uplift of the common-wealth? These thoughts surged through Professor Karve's brain, and as an answer to the queries he founded the Hindu Widows' Home at Poona.

Professor Karve has wonderful organizing powers, and it is due to this, probably more than to any other factor, that the Hindu Widows' Home has proved such a tremendous success. He began on a small scale in his own home. In the beginning he had only three or four widows and as he had no facilities for teaching them, he gave them scholarships and sent them to the Female Training

## **THE HINDU WOMAN'S FRIEND**

College in Poona. Finally he was able to start a class in his own home, and from that time on the work has gradually increased until it has assumed large proportions. A friend presented him with some land four miles from Poona, near Hingne Budruk, and here he built first a mere hut to accommodate the Home activities, and later building after building, as necessity called for greater facilities. The gradual growth of the Hindu Widows' Home has been characteristic of the man. He never takes a step until he is sure of his ground. He aims at permanency rather than immediate big results. For years he daily travelled back and forth from Poona to the Home, spending all his spare hours in teaching and carrying on the routine work of the institution. Recently, however, public-spirited widows have taken a large part of the burden from his shoulders, leaving him time to do propaganda work and to attend to the general direction of the Home.

Professor Karve's Hindu Widows' Home is unlike other similar institutions in India. Its aim is to educate Hindu widows on broad, *national* lines. The young women are taught to help themselves in all domestic matters, with a view to being useful members of an Indian home in the future. The principles of the Hindu religion are taught, all the religious observances kept. Love of finery and luxury is discouraged. Professor Karve has travelled many miles on foot, endeavoring to create a public sympathy in favor of his work ; and so unobtrusive is he in regard to his radical views that orthodox people who do not countenance widow-marriage give him their implicit confidence. No one, no matter how old-fashioned he may be, objects to the widow being educated to help herself and others, and thereby be, not only independent of the support of her relations and society but, a help to the nation, instead of a hindrance. It is through this simple device that Mr. Karve has worked his way into the most conservative families who have sent their widowed daughters and daughters-in-law to the Hindu Widows' Home, where they are being trained as teachers, nurses, missionaries and house-wives, and in every way are being impregnated with the germ of up-to-date self-help and self-respect.

Professor Karve has attacked the widow-problem in a scientific way. His example of having married a widow himself inspires like-minded men to do the same thing. The conservative ones who would not dream of marrying their widowed charges have been coaxed to educate the widows and thereby give them a chance to forget their miseries by doing uplift work for their immediate relatives and society at large. Professor Karve dreams of establishing

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a sort of widows' society, which will do work similar to that done by the Sisters of Charity the world over. But why should there be so many widows in Hindostan?—asks the professor; and the statistics gathered by the Government supplemented by his own observations tell him that early marriage is primarily to blame for this hapless condition. Mr. Karve is therefore laying the axe at the root of marriage before the twentieth year, and thereby is initiating a reform in Hindu society whose beneficence no imagination, no matter how vivid it may be, can overestimate. The *Mahila Vidyalaya* has been founded by Professor Karve at Poona to achieve this end. It was opened in an old and somewhat dilapidated and inconvenient house, which had the one advantage of costing but a nominal rent. On the opening day, six pupils were in attendance. The school being intended for the education of girls of the middle class and the lower ranks of life, only Rs. 5 to 6 a month are charged for board. Lodging and tuition, and in the case of girls whose guardians cannot afford even this small sum, no charge whatever is made. The *Vidyalaya* at present serves merely as a hostel for residence and the girls attend the local day schools, receiving education along with the boys—a feature which is significant of the revolution that is taking place in the country. Eventually, Professor Karve hopes to be able to build a school for the work of the *Vidyalaya*. The basic principle of the institution is to maintain and educate unmarried girls, admitted on a distinct promise from their guardians that the girls will not be removed from the institution until they are twenty years old. If, on account of peculiar difficulties, the legal guardians are compelled to remove them, they must pay Rs. 5 or 6 a month for the time the girls may have been in the school as a part recompense for the expenses incurred on their account. This proviso is only meant for girls who do not pay for their board at the *Vidyalaya*, and has acted as a successful deterrent. Eight girls have joined the institution and are now being maintained and educated at the expense of the *Vidyalaya*. One of these girls is in the Fergusson College, one in the English Fifth, two in the English Second, and one in the English First Standard and the remaining three are just beginning their studies. The finances of the school, however, are meagre, and further admissions have been stopped for lack of funds. The *Vidyalaya* now contains 22 inmates in all. Two of these attend the Fergusson College, 14 the New English School, and 6 the Navin Marathi Shala. Of the 22 inmates, 14 are unmarried and 8 are widows.

Saint Nihal Singh

## SCHOOL PRIZES

Perhaps in no part of Asia are academical distinctions more valued than in India. That is only natural, for nowhere, in Asia or in Europe, are there more brilliant and successful scholars. And in India again, Bengal is the most go-ahead province for the appreciation of intellectual equipment. Where, if not in the land of the Vidyasagars and the Vidyaratnas, shall intellectual proficiency be admired and rewarded? In that, as in many other respects, Bengal is the France of Asia. If a foreigner may venture to make the conjecture, the mental activity and suppleness of the Bengali, his easy and dexterous assimilation of foreign thought is partly at least due to his copious and flexible language, related to its parent Sanskrit much as French is to Latin. Other Indo-European languages of India, such as Hindi for example, are also derived from Sanskrit through various Prakrits. But Bengali possesses the privilege of being able to add majesty and sonority to its style by borrowing Sanskrit words unaltered and in all their polysyllabic wealth of sound. Be that as it may, no one who knows anything of Bengal will deny that the Bengali genius is essentially literary and artistic, and possesses the merits and, of course, the defects of the literary temperament. Not otherwise is it in France. Frenchmen are, as they themselves admit, a singularly mixed race. A Frenchman of the South resembles an Italian, a Greek, or a Spaniard in all but his speech. One of the East is distinctly Germanic in aspect. The Breton is plainly a Celt as the Welshman. The Norman has many British traits. But to all the common possession of a singularly pellucid, logical and beautiful language has given a common intellectual character, and this displays in an intensely literary and competitive form of education. France, like Bengal, is a land of many examinations, and, in both, examinations are the road to the highly coveted government posts. The tendency is not unknown, to be sure, in other lands. But in France the importance of educational competition is unquestioned, or was unquestioned till the other day, when M. Maurice Donnay, the famous dramatist and Member of the French Academy read a half serious, half humorous essay to the annual meeting of the combined Academies, in which he sounded a note of warning. It has occurred to me that a rough translation of M. Donnay's paper might interest and amuse Indian readers. (It must be remembered that all the great public schools of Paris are under State control and teach a rigorously similar curriculum.)



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"It was a lovely summer day," says M. Donnay, "the day of the distribution of prizes in all the Lycees of Paris. Twelve o'clock was sounding from the great clock of the Sorbonne, the ancient University of Paris, and, the ceremony being over, the pupils and their parents were swarming into the Sunny Boulevard Saint-Mitchel. Some were literally staggering under the weight of prize-books or bore on their arms like bracelets the crowns, green or golden, which had been placed on their heads with an imposing show of tranquil indifference by professors, generals in the army, or even ministers of State. Others, much more numerous, were moving away with a heavier step though they bore no load at all. A crowd had gathered round a hackney coachman who positively refused to drive a successful candidate and his parents to a distant railway station. The boy had really got too many books. And I was amusing myself with this little incident when, amongst the curious lookers-on, I thought I recognised my old school-fellow, Bouvard. But what an aged and changed Bouvard from the lad who sat by me in what was in our time the Lycee Mirabeau, is now the Lycee Gambetta and was once upon a time the Lycee Louis Philippe, but always, I imagine, very much the same type of school.

I had never seen my old school-fellow since we had finished our studies. We exchanged the customary questions and answers, and as he had a small boy by his side, I asked if the lad was his son. 'Yes,' he said, 'he is my son, a pupil of our old school, and therefore a young *camarade* of yours and mine. Prize-day to-day, you know.' "To be sure," I said, 'and how has your boy fared?' "He has got nothing," replied Bouvard with a sort of pride, "not a prize, not an *accessit*; it was not the "before-mentioned Bouvard," but the Bouvard who was not mentioned at all. It was Bouvard the duffer, —in a word, it was my son!" 'Now, thought I, how can Bouvard rejoice at such a calamity!' His attitude shocked all my hereditary ideas as to scholastic rewards. I even wondered for a moment whether disappointment had affected his wits.

But Bouvard was a clever fellow in his way and guessed my thoughts.

"Which way were you going?" he asked.

"Well, I was going home to lunch."

"I will come part of the way with you. My son, let me tell you, is not an eagle of learning or intelligence. But on the other hand he is no dunce. There are fifty boys in his class and he was 23rd. Now, ought I to blame him, to ask him reproachfully why

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on earth he was only 23rd in his class ? What answer is the poor boy to give me ? You can give a reason why a boy is first or last, or even why he is second or last but one. But what conceivable reason is there for being 23rd ? The thing evades analysis. You don't *become* 23rd ; You are *born* 23rd ! This boy was born 23rd and it would ill become me, his father, to blame him, when it is from me that he derives the fact that he is the sort of boy that is bound to be 23rd. Yes, I recognise in him all the modest and moderate qualities that go to form the boy who is 23rd. His intelligence is neither wide-awake nor dormant. His comprehension of things is neither slow nor lightning-swift. He is neither of the type that learns quickly and forgets as soon as it learns, nor of the type that learns slowly and never forgets. No, he learns fairly quickly and forgets fairly quickly. He never criticises the information with which his masters supply him. In his literary lessons he sighs with relief when Malherbe comes round. He knows, I have no doubt, the difference between Racine and Corneille, the simple difference that the former depicts men as they are, the latter men as they ought to be. That is an easy rule to remember. And he is not such an ass as to suppose that half savage Merovingian rulers had the political ideas of contemporary kings and presidents. He is only feebly interested in these departed worthies. And I am not going to spoil his holidays with unjust reproaches.

" Ah, how well I remember the anguish, the terror, with which I looked forward to the holidays ! I never got any prizes either, you know. My poor parents were in despair and attributed my want of success to want of ambition, to laziness, to the worst instincts of human nature, whereas it was all due, I firmly believe, to determinism, to predestination, to heredity, to fate. And they used to exhaust themselves in bitter recriminations, in sinister predictions. But the year in which I failed to pass my Entrance, my vacations were simply pathetic. Have you ever noticed that the prize-givings and Entrance examinations sometimes coincide with notorious criminal cases and that the Sorbonne sometimes announced its decisions at the same time as those of the Assize Courts ?

" That year, as it happened, two young ruffians were tried for some horrible crime and all the town was talking of their doings. My parents gave themselves up to the edifying game of drawing parallels, and through certain far from flattering phrases I was allowed to understand that I was preparing for myself an end like

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these poor lads, who, it chanced, belonged to the middle classes, had some education, had run away from school, had got into bad company in Paris, had ended by murdering an unhappy flower girl and had paid the penalty on the scaffold. At night I used to dream that the executioner had come to my pillow to awaken me. He was horribly like the head-master to look at, and his mouth was full of familiar Latin proverbial phrases, little tin-tak phrases that hurt. He led me out into a great open space where were gathered a hundred thousand young fellows, all matriculated, and they grinned as they looked at me. And I distinctly heard a father say to his son, ' You see, my boy, the results of idleness ! ' "

Overcome by the pathos of these recollections, Bouvard turned to his lad and ejaculated, " Ah, dear 23rd, you shall have the jolliest holiday of your life, that I promise you ! "

" Well," he went on, " life continued when school began. Every year, at the same time, my troubles were renewed, for even grown-up people have their prizes, their decorations, promotions, their ribbons, blue ribbons, green ribbons, red ribbons. They crown, they reward, they crucify. It is just a continuation of school life, only now it is my wife who takes the place of my parents. She compares me to comrades and colleagues who are more gifted or more clever. You can imagine her comments when a friend is nominated to the Legion of Honour, when an acquaintance gets promotion. I need hardly tell you, I suppose, that I am in government service.

" Sometimes she reproaches me, sometimes, what is worse, she pities me and drags me in the mud of her compassion. I am afraid to go home now. I know she will groan and lament because my son is treading in the paternal footsteps. She will tell me tales of parents who, obscure themselves, have been rendered illustrious by their children, and this evening at dinner she will envy the lucky fathers and mothers who will be drinking the health of their children, the dear boys with crowns on their heads, the successful boys that remind the parents of the passage in the marriage-service, " And your children shall surround you like olive-branches." For my wife is an ambitious woman. Thanks to her, I have gone in for literature and politics. I have gambled on the Stock Exchange with conspicuous want of success. I have succeeded in nothing, I *am* nothing. I don't belong to any club, not even a dining club. And so every thing becomes to me a source of worry and vexation. Those confounded journalists and their interviews, for instance. It is just at this time of year when people are leaving town that they

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begin their impertinent enquiries. They get hold of notabilities of all sorts—in politics, in letters, in science, in arts, and ask them their opinion on all the burning questions of the day, whether actresses should be decorated, whether disarmament is possible. Or else it is a question of who is the best critic, the best poet, the best this and the best that. And of course my poor wife remarks that no one will ever ask *me* my opinion on such subjects, or where I spend my holidays, or whether I prefer the mountains to the sea, or how I do my work, seated, lying, or standing up. 'But,' she says sadly, 'they ask *other* people!'

"And by dint of always comparing me with other people, they have spoiled my life for me. I was born 23rd, but since my tenderest infancy they have made it the object of my life to be amongst the first ten. I have never been allowed to be myself and all my modest mediocrity has been robbed of its quiet pleasures by the absurd conviction that I am a failure.

"Talking of interviews, by the by, I see that they have just started the question whether school-prizes ought to be kept up or abolished. They have asked this ridiculous question of the most notorious writers and the diversity of the answers shows once more how, on no matter what subject, men's minds are divided and puzzled. One writer thinks that emulation, especially in a country like France where the love of glory is so widely distributed, is a good incentive to labour. Another thinks that, speaking generally, emulation is not a good method of education since it begets jealousy and other base passions. One states positively that the boys who succeed at school and college always distinguish themselves in after life. Another holds on the contrary that school distinctions prove nothing and are no clue to future eminence.

"Oh, how difficult it is to arrive at the truth, or even at a plausible guess at the truth. On the whole, it would seem that the writers divide themselves into two factions—the "traditionalists" who would keep up the old system of rewards and punishments and the "men of progress" who would abolish them. But no one dreams of consulting the people most interested and taking the votes of the children themselves! It would be amusing, wouldn't it? To take the opinion of the rising generation as to the medals and decorations with which their elders decorate themselves! And especially, you will notice, the "men of progress," who object to rewards being given to their children.

"It is just like parents who smoke themselves and forbid tobacco to their boys. 'You can make yourself as ill as you please,' they

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seem to say, 'when you are grown up.' As for me, this is just one of the matters on which I could have given an opinion worth having. Only no one asks me. 'Naturally,' I said, 'you would vote for suppression.' 'Not a bit of it,' protested Bouvard, 'quite the contrary. You have not understood me. I am not a 'man of progress,' or a revolutionary, much less one who envies others. I am a man of common sense. I think that industry and intelligence should be rewarded, and the more solemnly and publicly the better. It would be absurd to make a successful candidate come and take his prize at the buttery as if it were a common place ration. No, let success be auspiciously rewarded, and that is why I brought my boy to the prize-distribution of our dear old school, though I knew beforehand that no rewards would fall to his lot. I wanted this ceremony to develop in him the sense of human inequality. For inequality is one of the conditions of our life. It is what makes it possible and useful and amusing. It exists everywhere and in everything, in the true creation, among the very rocks and stones and trees. Man must accept it if he wishes to be happy, since there will always be among us the strong and the weak, the great and the small, the good and the wicked, the clever and the simple. That is why I wanted my son to see, for three mortal hours, his luckier comrades mount to the platform and carry off prizes, while he himself remained seated on his bench. I took snapshots of the ceremony and will make them into an album for him to look through during his holidays, without envy or conceit or scorn. No, no, I do not want recompenses to be abolished for children or adults. All that I ask is that it should not be made a reproach either to me or to my boy that as have not obtained them. For heaven's sake, leave us alone. Let it be recognised that, in the social scale, there is place for the people who are always 23rd, since we cannot all be first or last. In our modest existence you should learn to respect the inevitable law of inequality. My ideal is neither a proletariat of super-men or an oligarchy of primary scholars. I am willing that my son should reconcile himself to the idea that industry is not enough with gifts or gifts without luck and that the most consummate learning may be useless without grace, not the grace according to Saint Augustine or Saint Bernard, but a certain charm which is almost physical and which I can best define by telling you of what I once saw with my own eyes. It was during the last exhibition, a gentleman was walking with a young lady on the moving pavement—the "trottoir roulant"—and the man asked, "How many movements do you

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suppose we are extending at this moment ? Six, to my knowledge."

"As many as that ?"

"Yes. In the first place, we are walking on the pavement. That is one. The pavement itself is moving. That is two. The earth is moving round its axis. That is three. It is also describing its elliptic orbit round the sun, which makes four. Our planetary system is being dragged towards a star in the constellation of Hercules. And that is five. And finally that star itself is moving in unknown space, and that makes six." The lady murmured, "Really," and looked interested. But that was because she had caught sight of a hat of the newest fashion. At that moment, they arrived at the end of the rolling pavement. The lady, who had no theories about movements, tripped off with charming ease, but the man, I suppose, he could not co-ordinate the final step with the six other movements, stumbled and fell on his face ridiculously. He had the knowledge, but she had the saving grace and distinction."

And by this time we had got to my door. "Won't you come in ?" I said to Bouvard. "No ? Well, thank you for a very interesting talk. What you have said has interested me greatly."

"I have been a bit long-winded, I know," replied honest Bouvard, "but, you see, I don't often get a chance of expressing my opinion. No one ever asks me for it. For all that, rest assured that the opinion of the people, who are always 23rd, is not negligible. It may even be that our unhonoured legion, like the infantry, decides the world's battles."

And so saying he departed, with his arm on his boy's shoulder.

A Retired I.C.S.

## "UMA'S WEDDING"

[BEING A TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH VERSE OF THE  
FIRST SEVEN CANTOS OF KALIDAS'S *Kumar Sambhavam*.]

### Canto I.

From sea to sea, on east and west out-stretched  
Himalaya stands, the prince of mountains high,  
The seat of godly tribes, along Ind's north ;—  
And serves as'twere the country's measuring-chain.  
This was the "calf" by which Mount *Meru* milked  
Rich Earth below, on Prithu's royal hest,—  
And brilliant gems, wealth-yielding corn obtained.

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By milking deft, of yore ! It is the mine  
Of minerals, rich and varied, known to fame.  
The snows eternal,—though a blemish,—still,  
Its fortunes cannot blot, in virtues lost—  
As dark spots in the Moon, in moon-beams merge !  
The sheen of ores resplendent flames the peaks,  
And hues the cloudlets round in rays diffused—  
That gives to *Apsara* maids, untimely eyes,  
And guiles them to their nightly toilet fair !  
The hunting *Kirats* trail the lions' track  
By pearls they drop here off their claws along,—  
From elephants' crowns dislodged : tho' blood of pray  
Gets washed from beds, down which the glacier flows  
The *Siddhas* roam, now lounging in the cool  
Of fitting clouds around the lower zone ;  
And now, by rains disturbed, the peaks ascending,  
To find the warmth of sunlight beaming there.  
On barks of birches, growing on these slopes,  
*Vidyadhar* maids do write their notes of love,  
In red paint letters set ;—that semblance give  
To these being stained with spots from tusker's drops !  
Here *Kinnars* sing in high-pitched long-drawn tunes ;  
And, winds, that fill the hollow reeds, on heights,  
With music lute-like, lend them harmony !  
There, elephants rub their temples 'gainst the pines—  
Whose trunks yield juicy gum of incense sweet,  
Perfuming all the vale.—At night, in glens,  
Burn lights that need no oil ; phosphoric plants  
Which grow on hill-sides there : to woodmen wild,  
They serve as lamps, as they retire in pairs.—  
Fair *Kinnar* wenches there, can't quicken pace,  
—(For figures swelt and heavy hips forbid)—  
Whilst walk they up the snow-bound hill-paths rough,—  
Tho' freezing cold doth chase their toes anon !

This Mountain high-peaked shelters gloom at day  
In depth of caves, where from the Sun it flees :  
Those who, in greatness, hold their heads on high,  
Protect the lowly e'en, when help these seek.  
The *cham'ris* sport, with moving, long, white tails  
As white as moon-beams bright,—their graceful fans  
Prove royal state to princely Himalay !  
Young *Kinnar* wives, who dwell in caves on high,

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Are spared their blushes in their *deshabille*,  
 As cloud-mists hang like curtains 'gainst their doors.  
 There *Kirats* chase their marked-out game ; and tired,  
 In hot pursuit, they halt and take the mountain-trees  
 That carries sprays from river-cataracts,  
 And freely shakes the *dev's* boughs, and sways  
 The peacock plumes in hunters' girdles stuck.

On high Himalay's mountain-lakes, there grows  
 The *lotus*, catching first the morning's rays.  
 The *Rishis* seven do gather those first-blown :  
 And all the rest—still ope in upward bloom ;—  
 The moving sun e'er sending upright beams !  
 Him of Himadri's realm, the Patriarch  
 Crown'd king for *Soma* in his domains grew :  
 And power he wielded full for kingdom's weal ;  
 To him thus fell the sacred *Yajna's* share.  
 His friend was *Meru*, and to wife he took  
 Noble *Mena* fair, the Pitris' wish-born child,  
 (Whom e'en the *Rishis* esteemed) :—a fitting spouse,  
 And duly wed, to found a royal house.  
 In course of time Himadri's queen, now grown  
 In youthful charms, in dalliance met,  
 To him did bear a son, Prince *Mainuka* brave.  
 He in his day withstood great *Sakra's* might—  
 (Who *Vritra* slew, and clipped the wings of cliffs ! )  
 Defying thus the wounds of thunder-bolts !  
 He wed a *Naga* maid ; his allay was  
*Varun*, the ocean-chief, 'gainst Indra's wrath.  
 Then, came to her, the mountain-queen,—the soul  
 Of *Sati* (*Daksha's* child and *Bhava's* wife) ;  
 Who, life in *Yoga* had nobly sacrificed,  
 In sorrow, o'er her lord's disgrace at her sire's—  
 —Desiring birth again in royal line.

That blessed child, the King of Hills begot  
 On her, his virtuous queen—in rituals pure  
 By strict observance chast'n'd : like fruit obtained  
 Of *Conduct* good to *Courage* nobly joined—  
 Her birth-day gladness brought to all the world,  
 —All 'bodied life,—all moving, and the still ;—  
 The sky looked smiling,—and the breeze dust-free,  
 And flow'rs were showered, while conches blew anon !  
 Her royal mother's fame now bright became



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With beaming halo cast by this fair child,—  
As shines the mountain-slope with minerals rich,  
By vein of gems, lit up with lightning-flash !  
As grew that child, she developed ; day by day,  
Her limbs, as fair as lunar phases new,—  
In beauty clad, as these in light are wrapped !  
By kinsmen loved, she was *Parvati* named,—  
The hill-chief's daughter :—later, she was known  
As *Uma* fair, when to her penance bound,  
Her mother cried : "O ! don't you go, my child !"

A numerous offspring had this king in time ;—  
But still, he held this blooming daughter, dear  
To sight : his fondness ne'er satiety knew.  
A string of bees, in spring, doth ever cling  
To mangoe-blossoms sweet,—though other flowers abound,  
As shines a lamp, by broad flames burning bright ;—  
By three-stream'd *Manda's* flood shines Heaven's path ;  
Like learned men admired in speech refined,  
So glory pure this daughter lent to him.

On *Manda's* sands, she played, and whiled her days  
Of girlhood's joy, with playmates of her age ;—  
Now tossing balls, now toying with her dolls !  
Her native genius stirred her intellect,  
And 'lumined all the lessons taught to her ;—  
Like flights of swans in Ganga's autumn-flood,  
And nascent light in certain plants at night !  
By degrees, she attained her youth : that age,  
Which, without toilet's toil, can charm and win ;  
That, without wine, gives joys entrancing sweet :  
And frames love's shafts without the "flowery bow" !  
Her beauteous frame, well-built symmetry,  
Gained fuller charms, when youthful freshness came ;  
She shone as *picture* painted with the brush,—  
Or like the lily ope'd by bright sun beams !  
Her foot-falls flashed the reddish glow about,  
Off high toe-nails ; and as she trod the earth,  
Her shapely feet like moving lotus looked !  
In figure rounded, she just forward bent,  
While stepping on, in graceful, artless gait :  
As though the geese, attracted to her side,  
Gave rules in steps to her ! and from her, strove  
To learn the music of her "*nupur*" rings !

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Her rounded shins,—her legs nor long, nor short—  
Were planned on beauty's lines : they formed as't were  
The stock of charms, from whence her Maker drew,  
To build her other limbs in lovely shape !  
Her spacious thighs, so faultless fair, became  
For warmth and softness, standard of their kind,—  
*Unlike* the elephant's trunk that's rough to touch,  
Or the plantain-steam, which feels too cold always !  
From all these features fair, her graceful globe—  
—That waist round which the woman's robe-string twines,—  
—Is proved by inference. In fact, in time  
It found its seat on *Siva's* lap,—which none  
Of her sex could, though highly wish'd for, win !  
A line of hair, fair, slender, fresh,—she had,  
That gently dived adown her hollow nave,  
Across her waist-band blue,—and looked a gleam  
Of radiance that its gem-clasp shot below !  
She bore three beauty-lines across her middle,  
That limb so fair, and slender in the mean ;—  
As though the spring of youth erected there,  
The steps for Love's ascent to raptures new !  
Her eyes like lotus blew ; her twin-breasts grew  
As orbs that pressed each other, fair in shape,  
And dark towards : no space between, was left  
For even the thread of lotus-stalk to pierce !  
Her arms were fairer far than *sirish* flowers,  
And softer too : for love once baffled before,  
Subdued now *Hara*, when *these* clasped his neck.  
Her graceful neck above her lofty breast?  
Lent charm to charming necklace there—  
Of rounded pearls fine-strung : which graced  
The throat in turn : The limb and ornament  
From each did equal beauty borrow each !  
The soul of Beauty misses fragrance in the *Moon*,  
And lustre soft in perfumed lotus-bloom :  
In *only Uma's face* that fitful goddess dwelt,  
Contented : finding light to sweetness joined !  
Her lips, bright copper-red, with smiles lit up,  
Had scarce their match : the only parallels  
Were blooming buds on tender leaflets laid,—  
Or pearls contained in lustrous corals' bed !  
When she, in gentle words, did hold converse,

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Her voice, like streams of nectar, flowed so sweet :  
The *Koil's* notes, to those that heard her speech,  
Seemed harsh like music wrong from ill-string lyre !  
Like lotus blue, astir with high-blown breeze,  
Her splendid eyes thin restless glances shot :  
Did she her art acquire from gazelles' gaze,  
Or *them* she taught the way of startled look ?  
Her brows, as if in *anjun* pencilled long,  
And arched in fine outline, in gesture danced :  
Which made the God of Love forget his pride  
For beauty's bow of flowers, that wielded he !  
If *Yaks* could blush, no doubt they would have lost  
Their love of hair in shame, as chanced to see  
The hair the Princess carried on her crown !

She was in fact the Maker's model fair,  
To sight made manifest : He put on *her*  
All Nature's beauteous things, in all her limbs,  
In graceful order set : as though He sought  
To see His beauty shaped in a single frame !

As, once, she sat in Court before her sire,  
In course of rambles free, sage *Narada* came  
And told the king, she would, in time, become  
The "better half" of *Siva* in love-match wed.  
So, e'en in youth though *Gouri* grew, the king  
Did not another match secure, or seek ;—  
To *Fire* alone can holy sacrifice  
Be consecrate, and not to other rays.  
Still, *not* until that God of gods had sought  
Fair *Uma's* hand, could *he* the bridegroom ask :  
The good for honour's sake would fain adopt  
Cold silence, lest their wishes meet rebuff.

Since *she*, in former birth, had shaken off  
Her mortal coil, in holy flames herself,  
(Offended by her sire's slights),—the widowed God  
Had social ties foregone, and *single* lived,—  
Alone, a hermit far 'mid solitudes  
Of sweet Himalayan vale,—where *Ganga's* sprays  
Did wet the tall *deodar*, and musk-deer roamed  
The slopes, with ringing *Kinnar* music filled.  
*Pramatha* hordes abode those rocky glens,  
(With boulders strewn, where copped the *Silajit*,)  
Their crowns adorned with mountain *Punnaga* flow'rs,

## "UMA'S WEDDING"

Their bodies, clad in birch-bark polished soft,  
And painted fine, with yellow rock-grown hue.  
There roved the hunched bull, whose hoofs cut up  
The snow-clad face of stones,—whose sight  
Scared off the "*Gubby*" cow, and which loud,  
Impatient of the lion's roar, bellowed ! —  
'Twas *there*, the God,—himself a shape divine  
Of eight essences, *he*, that could ordain  
The boons for penance wrought,—did now perform  
A hermit's task *himself*, before the Fire  
By holy fuel fed,—his aims unknown !

Himadri's king first found th' ascetic God,  
And laved his feet in worship,—whom the Gods  
Revered in *Swarga* high ; whose grace  
Above all merit was ! The Princess next  
With two companions went, by royal 'hest,  
To minister to *Siva's* austere needs.

E'en though, her presence as a serving maid  
Did some'at in his hermit's way did stand,  
He demurred not : 'Tis *those* that can restrain  
The mind in balance,—though by tempting urged,—  
And live them down,—who can be '*Siges*' called.  
And thus did she remain : *She* gathered flow'rs  
For daily offerings, and the altar washed\*  
With deft hands clean ; ablution's rites  
Were duly look'd to ; *she* the water drew,  
And sacred *kusas* did collect :—Her toils  
Repaid, with gladdening morn-beams from *his* crown !

End of Canto I

Sures Chandra Sark

## REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

**THE CONGRESS  
AT MADRAS** It was a very disappointing affair from two points of view—the Indian National Congress that met at Madras during the closing week of the last year. The impression had been deepening in the public mind for sometime that the Congress had come to the parting of the ways and a hope was consequently entertained in many quarters that with a new constitution and with such a brilliant President as Dr. Rash Behary Ghose it would open a new chapter of self-reliant activity and that its debates would rise superior to the ill-informed and humdrum discussions with which it has contented itself for the last 22 years. If it is the idea of the leaders of the Congress that its only function is to focus educated and informed public opinion in India in one place and to adopt some resolutions on the more important questions of Indian administration and government, in that case the Congress must be pronounced to have outlived its necessity and there can be no justification for its further continuance. The Congress has no need to be, if it is wanted only to adopt resolutions and hear some speeches on the current questions of the day. That's done in a far more effective way in the thousand and one platforms scattered all throughout the country. Of course as an educative agency it has some value, but it is too dear for the price. The Congress can reach the educated classes only by its resolutions and speeches, but these are just the classes which are reached every day by the cheaper and more convenient agency of the Press.

We must say that the present leaders of the Congress are not making sufficient good use of this great national institution. This year the Congress should have given a great deal of its attention to, should have at least set a whole day apart for the consideration of, the work of organisation and agitation. It should have taken a step not only in focussing but also in guiding, controlling and shaping public opinion on various questions of public interest. It should have at least discussed the chance of bringing the extreme section of the Indian Press into a due sense of its responsibility or of dissociating itself from its ridiculous heroics. It should have initiated some scheme of popular education and should have appointed committees to devise a scheme of secondary

## EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

and technical education, note all sanitary wants, and watch the municipal and District Board administrations in the country. These things have to be done through the agency of a representative national institution, and if the Congress will not or does not care to do them, the people shall also cease to care for the Congress. It seems to us to be a ridiculous position that the Congress should only be anxious to advice the government and mark time and never take up any work itself. The position of an Advisor-General may be comforting enough for a time, but it does not do for evermore, nor does it satisfy the many-sided activity of a growing and progressive nationality.

The second disappointment is that there was no improvement either in the Resolutions adopted or in the speeches made thereon. We do not blame either the Subjects Committee or the speakers to the various Resolutions for the perfunctoriness of their performances, for they had no time to give sufficient attention to the study of the subjects that were brought before the Congress. The official draft of half-a-dozen Resolutions were sent round when most of the delegates had packed their luggages for Madras. Some of the Resolutions were never published or circulated before the meeting of the Subjects Committee and some were drafted only on the spot. Most of the well-known speakers went to the Congress uncertain of the Resolutions they would be called upon to speak to. Various gentlemen undertook or were persuaded to speak on subjects which they had never given much thought upon. How on earth can any one expect under the circumstances either the Resolutions to be satisfactory or the speeches to be illumining ?

On the questions of Lord Morley's reforms and the purification of the administration of justice, many people had expected that the Congress would lay down some carefully thought-out scheme and make some definite proposals. The Congress should have at least strongly urged the substitution of election for nomination as the only means to admission to the Councils and should have also given its vigorous support to Lord Morley's scheme of electoral colleges upon the institution and successful working of which depend to a very great measure the possible chance of a coalescence of the Hindus and Mahometans in the future. Regarding the method by which at present members are chosen for the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and of the Governors of Bombay and Madras, the Congress certainly should have suggested some change. These responsible offices of the State should no longer be filled in by nomination, nor should their incumbents depend upon guber-

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natorial favour for their promotion or to their elevation to the various provincial satrapies. As for the repeal of the whole of the Regulation III of 1818 and similar other measures, it is not only out of the question but injudicious ; however that be, the Congress might very strongly have denounced the entire series of political laws that have come into the Indian Statute Book since 1905. Not that the Congress has done nothing in the above matters, but the Resolutions bearing on these subjects have an air of vagueness and perhaps also of half-heartedness about them. All this was undoubtedly due to hurry—a hurry which cannot be excused in a public organisation.

Now, as to the speeches. If Mr. Gokhale made a satisfactory speech on Lord Morley's scheme of reform it was because for the last twelve months he has given his best thoughts to it. If Mr. Bhupendranath Basu succeeded in moving the Congress to tears on the question of the Bengal deportations it was because he had interested himself a good deal recently on behalf of his deported countrymen. Wisdom only grows with knowledge and the Congress cannot ignore that fundamental law without running the risk of being treated lightly by the informed public outside.

We, however, fail to see the beauty of the present arrangement and do not understand why the Resolutions of the Congress should not be framed and circulated at least three months before the Congress and its principal speakers chosen about the same time. Why should not again written papers be encouraged—not on all the subjects, but on such questions as education, sanitation, taxation, public expenditure, municipal reform, excise and the administration of justice ? There are less than a dozen powerful and effective speakers in all the Congress. Why should not the rest know the limitations of their powers and commit their ideas to writing and raise the general level of the debates ? It is the careful marshalling of facts and statistics, the close reasoning and a clear exposition of all the points of a question that render a discussion valuable and not the frothy vapourings of a mere aspirant to fame. To put forward as many facts as can be availed of, as many arguments as can be used, as many points of view from which a proposition can be attacked, in fact as much light as can be thrown upon any subject—that should be the method of every Congressman who is ambitious to enlighten his fellow-beings on any question of public interest. If he is not prepared to do all this, or if he is not a captivating orator like Surendranath, he has no business to mount up the platform and take up the time of the Congress.

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It appears to us that the leaders of the Congress do not believe in progressive evolution and seem to think that though the Congress has attained majority it has not *yet* outlived its boyish spirit of demonstration. They still cannot think of a better programme of work for the Congress, even of a sounder and more informed method of discussion of its Resolutions. It is still declamation and clap-trap that the Congress is made to like and appreciate. But it is high time to give it a change of programme. We have no doubt that if the responsible leaders of the Congress would give half as much time to it as they have given to concert measures for keeping out a large class of irreconcilables and extremists, the Congress could very largely be improved and the country greatly benefited. However that be, this year the Congress has allowed a golden opportunity to slip by, and we have no doubt that the organisers of the next Congress at Lahore will duly take note of the observations we have made above.

**The Mahometan  
Deputation and the  
Hindu Depor-  
tations**

The fate of India has somewhat oscillated between deportation and deputation for sometime past. The Government of India has taken to deportation and the people of India to deputation. Deputation in India and Deputation in England—that seems to be the order of the day. Of these, the most successful appears to be the one that recently waited on Lord Morley to press before him the claims of special Mahometan representation. Syed Amir Ali who has married an English lady and has made England his home has got very much agitated over the prospects of Mahometans being returned to the reformed Indian Councils by a majority of Hindu votes. As a representative of orthodox Islam, he won't be comforted at anything less than special Mahometan representation all along the line. Syed Amir Ali's cry of class representation has been warmly taken up by all the branches of his Moslem League and a real agitation has been got up in less than a month's time over this question. As a result, we have Lord Morley climbing down and giving away a good plank of his scheme of Electoral Colleges. To hold the scales even ought to be the ambition and effort of every strong-minded ruler, but in the present instance Moslem agitation has proved stronger than even Lord Morley himself. If it is to be a question of class representation in India, what about the Sikhs, the Christians, the Buddhists, the Jains and the dozen other important classes into which the Indian people is divided? Once you acknowledge the principle of class representation, you do not



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know where to find the end of it in a country like India. Did not Lord Morley himself, as Mr. John Morley, enunciate the principles on very memorable occasions that India should be governed *not* on Asiatic lines nor with 'the quackery or cant of sentiment'? And now as a peer of the United Kingdom, he seems to have recanted those principles, for it is exactly on Asiatic lines and with the 'cant of sentiment' that he is anxious to rule India. Being very much confounded by the theory of 'the balance of social forces', Lord Morley has now acquiesced in the principle of special class representation, and the future history of India will take its shape from the fact how this principle is translated into reality.

While Lord Morley has eaten the humble pie and yielded to the pressure of Mahometan agitation in an *unjust* cause, he is turning a deaf ear to the piteous appeals for *justice* on behalf of the Hindu deportees from these provinces. It seems that no amount of new light, facts or argument will move Lord Morley to do justice to the men who have all on a sudden been deprived of their personal liberty without any trial or charge. Perhaps Lord Morley himself is not aware that it is not the foundation of the British Empire in the East that has been made secure by the deportation of the nine Bengalee gentlemen, but that the Regulation III of 1818 was put into operation only to cover police ineptitude of a very hopeless kind. The boycott agitation, instead of being suppressed, has caught on like wildfire; and while several European firms are standing on the brink of ruin, the police are amusing themselves in a fool's paradise. A large number of very daring dacoities have taken place in both the divisions of Bengal without the police being able to find any clue thereof. The body of a young boy was found dead and mutilated in a public street at Dacca and the affair has remained a mystery to this day. How the revolvers that killed Narendranath Goswami in the Alipore Gaol was smuggled into the prison compound, the Police and the C.I.D. have failed to discover between them. Nor has the murderer of Inspector Nandalal Bannerjee been yet tracked to his den. And worst of all the Police failed to secure any evidence against the persons whom they intended to send up as a third batch of accused in the Alipore conspiracy case. This is, in all conscience, a long enough list to the discredit of the Bengal Police and the Criminal Investigation Department. But instead of being ashamed for all this ineptitude and instead of waiting for evidence to bring any of the deportees to trial, they bethought of the Regulation III

## EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

of 1818 as the best way out of the difficulty and persuaded the Government of India to believe in a story of widespread conspiracy to disturb the internal peace of the Indian Empire. This must have been a very clever move to bring about the simultaneous collapse of the boycott movement, of the national volunteers organisation, and of the *Samitis* by one single blow. Now we ask Lord Morley in all seriousness if the Regulation in question was ever intended to deal with boycotters, with suspected murderers and with people who are supposed to have helped with funds or advise an anarchist society? For, after all, the nine Bengalee deportees can be divided into these three groups and possibly in no other way. We really donot know if 'boycott' can be described as a crime either against the Society or the State, but this we know that the Regulation III of 1818 was never meant to do duty for the Penal Code. If the Police cannot detect crime or bring home offence to any individuals or class of persons, it should be punished or censured for its ineptitude and there should be an end of the matter. The Regulation in question should never be put into operation in any case where crime remains undetected by the Police. It is a pity that Lord Morley does not see this and is making a very ugly use of a very dangerous weapon. The fact of the matter is that the Hindus are just now in the bad books of the Government, and the authorities will very nearly swallow every plausible story against them and go a long way in putting them down. If this be according to Lord Morley's sense of justice, woe be to the man who ever dares speak ill of the Police or runs counter to its wishes !



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## DIARY FOR JANUARY & FEBRUARY, 1909

Date ...

1. Mrs. Sorojini Naidu, the Indian poetess, receives a Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal for her efforts to relieve distress during the last Hyderabad flood.

2. Ramesh Chandra, brother of Babu Mukunda Lal, the swadeshi Jatrawalla of Barisal is arrested on a charge of sedition and remanded to hajat.

Babu Bhuban Mohan Das Gupta, a practising Kaviraj of Barisal, is arrested on a charge of cutting a telegraphic wire at his native village, Gaila (in the district of Backergunge).

3. Serious Bakr-id riots take place in the mill districts of Titagarh. Military and armed police are called out. Many persons are killed and injured. An arrest of a number of Mahomedans is made.

The famous temple of Trichur in Tinnevely is desecrated.

4. Another serious disturbance occurs at Serampore among the mill-hands over the cow-killing question. Fifteen men are said to be killed and wounded.

5. The Viceroy convenes a meeting at Government House for the purpose of raising a fund to help the sufferers by the recent catastrophe in South Italy and Sicily.

The District Magistrate of Lahore confirms his conditional order of confiscating the "Quami" Printing Press and the "Inqbal" newspaper for publishing an article entitled "Swaraj, Boycott and National Education."

6. The following Eastern Bengal *Samitis* are proclaimed by a notification in the Gazette of India Extraordinary :—(1) The *Anushilan Samity*—Dacca ; (2) The *Swadesh Bandhab Samity*—Barisal ; (3) The *Bratt Samity*—Faridpur ; (4) The *Shurhid Samity*—Mymensingh ; (5) The *Sadhana Samity*—Mymensingh.

9. The additional wing of the Calcutta High Court Buildings is formally opened by the Viceroy in the presence of a very large and representative gathering of ladies and gentlemen.

The accused in the Bighati dacoity case are remanded for trial by the Special Tribunal of the High Court to be formed under the new Act.

10. King Edward has a prolonged audience with Lord Morley and discusses with him fully the condition of affairs in India.

11. Judgment in the Burdwan Arms Act Case is given sentencing all the three accused, Satish Chandra, Naran Chandra and Hrishikesh, to 2 year's rigorous imprisonment.

12. Judgment is given in the Jamalpore Riot Appeal by the full Bench consisting of the Chief Justice and Messrs. Justice Harrington

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and Brett. The Chief Justice agrees with Mr. Justice Harrington in upholding the judgment of Mr. Justice Fletcher. Mr. Justice Brett dissents.

The "Pantha" sedition case is taken up and adjourned, the accused Kiran Chandra Mukerjee being released on a bail of Rs. 5000.

13. In the Alipur Bomb trial a lively discussion takes place upon the question of the editorship of the defunct *Bande-Mataram*.

The accused in the Serampur Riot case are let off with small fines.

15. A meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council takes place in which the question of the military charges is discussed.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal celebrates its 115th anniversary with great ceremony, the Viceroy attending.

A disturbance resulting in three Sepoy being killed and 1 native officer wounded is reported on the North-West Frontier.

The Bengalee play of the name of "*Matripuja*" is declared seditious by the Bengal Government.

15. Sir John Hewett gives an interesting address at Lucknow on Mahomedan education.

16. A severe hail-storm blows over Lucknow.

A bomb is exploded on the Connaught Road, Poona, injuring a Mahomedan.

17. President Roosevelt in Washington expresses great admiration for the way the British have hitherto conducted their rule in India.

Mr. Hari Raghunath Bhagwat, B.A., editor of the weekly *Bande-Mataram*, is arrested at Poona on charges of sedition.

18. At Cawnpore a European Lady Doctor turns a convert to Hinduism.

At Barisal, Mukunda Lal is sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment and his brother Romesh to nine months for the publication of a book of songs entitled *Matri Pujar Gan*. Mukunda waits another trial on a charge of sedition.

Mr. P. B. Khare, acting editor of the Marhatta weekly paper *Kal*, is arrested under a warrant charging him with sedition.

19. In the Kolhapur Sedition case the accused Joshi and others are sentenced to various terms of imprisonment and fine.

The Bombay High Court upholds the conviction of the editor of the *Swarjya* but reduces the sentence.

20. The marriage of Lord Charles Fitzmaurice, son of Lord Lansdowne, with Lady Violet Elliot, daughter of the Viceroy, is solemnised in the St. Paul's Cathedral of Calcutta.

In the *Sandhya* sedition case the rule confiscating the Press is made absolute.

22. The dead body of an up-country Mahomedan is found decapitated and terribly mangled near the polo ground in the Calcutta Maidan.

Another printing press at Howrah is attached by the order of Mr. Forrest, District Magistrate, for publishing a vernacular weekly called the *Sulav Hitaist*.

23. Nabin Chandra Sen, a famous Bengalee poet, dies at Chittagong.

24. The Howrah Town police raid the well known Hindu temple at Bhat Bagan where some arms and ammunition are found.

25. In the Midnapur Bomb Case the assessors find all the three accused "Not guilty" on all the charges. The Judge reserves judgment.

27. Another ghastly murder of a Kabuli is discovered on the maidan near the Red Road.

Lord Morley received at the India Office a deputation of Mahomedans who pressed their claims before him for special communal representation in the various Councils of the Indian Empire.

28. The report on Public Instruction of the Madras Presidency is published.

29. In the Nagpur Statue case, Damie, a student, is sentenced to 2 years imprisonment.

30. In the Midnapur Bomb Case the Judge, disagreeing with the assessors, sentences Santosh and Jogjiban to ten years' transportation each and Surendra Mukerjee to 7 years' transportation.

Sachindra Ghose, a student of the 4th year class of the Dacca College, is expelled for the reason that his name was found on the list of members of the Dacca *Anushilan Samity*.

31. Queen Victoria's statue at Benares is defiled.

## FEBRUARY

1. King Edward's approval of the appointment of Sir Lawrence Jenkins as the successor of Sir Francis Maclean, Chief Justice of Bengal, is announced in India.

3. In the Madras High Court, Mr. Powell, Public Prosecutor, files a petition on behalf of the Government applying for an enhancement of the sentence passed by the Sessions Judge of Kistna in the *Swaray* sedition case.

The annual meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal takes place in the hall of the Society's building. The President, the Hon. Mr. Justice Mukerjee, makes a long speech giving a brief review of the last 25 years' work.

4. In the second *Kal* sedition case, Mr. Khare, the editor puts in a written statement admitting responsibility for the article but contends that the article is a legitimate criticism on the policy of the British administration. The Magistrate frames charges under Section 124A and 153A. I.P.C.

Sir William Lee-Warner applies at Bow Street, London, for a summons against a Brahmin, Mr. Kunja Lal Bhattacharjya, for assault. It is alleged that Mr. Bhattacharjya approached Sir William with a petition to Lord Morley enquiring about the sudden deportation of 9 Bengalee gentlemen, when Sir William most filthily abused Mr. Bhattacharjya and the latter retaliated by striking Sir William with his stick.

5. A Hindu lady jumps from a moving train near Lahore to save her honour from the attack of three drunken white soldiers.

7. The Mahomedans hold a meeting in the Calcutta Town Hall to consider the question of high Collegiate education for the Bengali Mahomedans.

8. The 8th Divisional manœuvres, in which 10,000 troops are taking part, begin at Lucknow.

9. In the Kolhapur seditious placards case the Judge delivers judgment convicting all the accused except two, the sentences varying from one year to three months.

10. Babu Ashutosh Biswas, Government Pleader and Public Prosecutor of the 24 Parganahs, is shot dead in the precincts of the Alipore Suburban Magistrate's Court by a Bengali youth named Charu Chandra Basu.

11. Mr. Khare, editor of the *Kal* of Poona, is sentenced to six months' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1000.

12. Mr. Bhattacharjya, the assailant of Sir William Lee-Warner in London, is bound down for six months.

A social gathering of the *Mahila Silpa Samiti* takes place at the Bethune College, Calcutta.

The annual meeting of the Temperance Association is held at Poona under the Presidency of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale.

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13. The Governor of Madras is boycotted by the non-official European community of Cocanada during His Excellency's visit to that station.

14. Mr. Bepinchandra Pal in a speech at Edinburgh characterises Lord Morley's proposed reforms as "political lollipops."

15. In the Kolhapur Bomb Case, Baput and Gokhale are sentenced to 7 years' hard labour.

16. In opening Parliament, King Edward VII states that the reception of the measures designed for improving Indian administration has given him deep satisfaction and expresses the strong desire that the steps to be taken "for giving effect to the policy announced in my Message of last November to the Princes and People of India may impartially protect the interests and advance the welfare of all races, classes and communities in my Indian dominions."

A Public Meeting is held in the Calcutta Town Hall to express horror and regret at the murder of Babu Asutosh Biswas and to take steps to perpetuate his memory.

17. A serious riot takes place at Kotappa Konda near Guntur in Madras during the progress of the *Sivaratri* festival, resulting in the death of two rioters and several police officers, including a European Superintendent, being seriously hurt.

18. Lord Denham introduces, on behalf of Lord Morley, the India Councils Bill in the House of Lords.

19. Judgment in the Burdwan Arms Act case is given acquitting one and convicting the other two.

The second Indian Medical Congress is opened at Bombay by His Excellency the Governor.

20. The accused in the Etwah conspiracy case is sentenced to 14 years' transportation.

In the House of Lords, Lord Morley moves the second reading of the India Councils Bill.

In the House of Commons a series of questions is asked by Mr. Mackarness M.P. regarding the Bengal deportations.

21. A Railway collision takes place near Delhi.

22. Sir L. Hare opens an Industrial Conference at Dacca in which he makes a speech condemning boycott in unmeasured terms.

23. In the Imperial Legislative Council the question of the amendment of the Whipping Act is discussed.

24. A Bengali youth is arrested at Karachi for making seditious speeches.

# NOTES & NEWS

## GENERAL

### **Biggest Water Tank in the World**

The Corporation of Calcutta has just placed an order for a colossal steel water tank, with a capacity of nine million gallons, with Messrs. Clayton, Sons & Co., the well-known Leeds engineers, at a price of £91,367. The tank will have to carry a weight of practically 40,000 tons of water, and it will contain over 700 tons of steel work. It will rank as the biggest water tank in the world.

### **India's Hoarded Wealth**

On the authority of Mr. William H. Michael, the United States Consul-General at Calcutta, the Washington Bureau of Manufactures states that India's accumulated hoards of wealth, locked up in strong iron boxes and secreted, amounts to one billion five hundred million dollars, and this vast sum is being augmented annually to the amount of fifty-five million dollars. A few eminent authorities say that the figures are exaggerated, whilst others, no less prominent, contend that the figures are not large enough.

### **Lord Morley's Tribute to Lord Curzon**

Considering the vilification Lord Curzon has received from Radicals in the House of Commons, the tribute paid him recently in the House of Lords by Lord Morley was naturally, as he himself said, "consoling." "You will never send to India," said the veteran Secretary of State, as he faced the ex-Viceroy across the table, "and you have never sent to India, a Viceroy his superior, if indeed, his equal, in force of mind, in unsparing remorseless industry, in passionate and devoted interest in all that concerns the well being of India. With an imagination fired by the grandeur of the political problems India presents, you never sent a man more eminently successful than when you sent Lord Curzon." Complimentary?

### **The Goddess Kali and Contemporary Politics**

A Bengali firm sent orders to Germany for several thousands of small looking-glasses with the picture of Kali on the back. Kali's representation in Bengal universally takes the figure of the goddess standing erect, lolling out her tongue, and trampling the prostrate body of Shiva. Kali is black, her tongue is red, but Shiva is white with ashes. The Bengali firm ordered that these colors should be faithfully adhered to. The German firm in a letter thus refuses the order: "Dear Sirs:—We regret our inability to make the mirrors with the picture which is apparently horrible. It is clear to us that you have made the white Shiva look like the Britishers in India and the black Kali is a black native of India, trampling the white man under foot."

### **Arming Bengalis from America**

The Victoria (America) correspondent of the *Morning Post* thus wires to his journal under date February 23:



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"A Sikh veteran who was giving evidence in a case at the local police court stated inadvertently that the Indian Priests in the cities of Victoria and Vancouver were engaged in collecting money from their fellow-countrymen for the purpose of purchasing arms and ammunition for the use of the disaffected Bengalis in India. The transaction was to be carried out through the agency of a Bengali living in the United States port of Seattle, and the arms and ammunition were to be shipped surreptitiously to Calcutta under the guise of merchandise. From Calcutta they were to be distributed among the disaffected Bengalis. The authorities of British Columbia are closely investigating the matter." Very good yarn, indeed!

### The Bengal Deportees

The destination of the deportees from Bengal has been kept secret all these months, and no official information of any kind has so long been vouchsafed to the public. It now appears that the following is the correct list of places of detention:—

1. Aswini Kumar Dutt of Barisal—Lucknow.
2. Krishna Kummar Mitter of Calcutta—Agra.
3. Satish Chandra Chatterjee of Barisal—Bassein.
4. Subodh Chandra Mullick of Benares—Bareilly.
5. Shyam Sunder Chuckerbutty of Calcutta—Thayetmyo.
6. Monoranjon Guha of Giridih—Insein.
7. Sachindra Prasad Bose of Calcutta—Rawal Pindi.
8. Pulin Behari Das of Dacca—Montgomery.
9. Bhupesh Chandra Nag of Dacca—Fatehgarh.

### British Authority in Bengal

The following 'news' appeared in the London *Times* early last month: "Information from Eastern Bengal shows that the deportations and the disbanding of the Samitis have exercised the sobering effect which was expected. The simple villagers round Barisal acted on the principle that the man to whom they had to defer was the man who exercised authority. Many signs have indicated that Aswini Dutt was this man. He controlled the supply of the magistrate's servants, ordered the people to buy dear country-made instead of cheap Manchester dhoties, placed pickets before the dealers in European goods, and had this man beaten and that ostracized for refusing to obey his orders. The British Raj seemed helpless to protect the loyal natives or to defend British trade. Now a great change has taken place. The people realize that the British Raj is the dominant power. The attitude of the people has accordingly become civil, and they are eager to please. There are many indications that the baneful tyranny has passed away and that British authority has again asserted itself."

### The Increasing Military Burden

It may have been perfectly right to increase by £ 300,000 the amount payable by India for Imperial troops, but the manner of doing it was not at all happy. The Romer Committee, of which the Indian Chief-of-Staff (Sir Beauchamp Duff) was a member, recommended the increase, and the Government hastened to adopt the recommendation. But they did not consult the Indian Government at all, and they refuse to lay before Parliament either the Report of the Committee or the despatch conveying the decision to Calcutta. That is a high-handed course, and it is just the kind

of thing upon which Indian agitators seize in order to arouse discontent. The truth, probably, is that some small portion of the Report it would not be wise to publish, but that does not excuse the complete secrecy it is sought to preserve, or the way in which the Indian Government has been ignored. As regards the latter, it is commonly said in India that Downing Street was never so arbitrary as since Lord Morley took the reins, which probably means that the permanent officials have more power.

### **Romance of Telegraphy**

The fact that a direct overland telegraph line has just been established between London and India does not at first sight suggest anything very startling but it conveys the news of one of the most astonishing feats in the history of telegraphy. It is difficult to realise the full significance of this fact. It means, for one thing, that there are no intermediate re-transmissions. The operator's key is pressed in London, and the electric signal produced comes out in India with the speed of lightning; that is to say, in the infinitesimal fraction of a second. It means that, during the past few years men have been carrying a line further and further east across Europe to Warsaw, then south-ward, to Odessa, skirting the Black Sea to Tiflis, invading Turkey in Asia, stretching away to Teheran, through Tabriz and the wild country of the Persian tribesmen down to Karachi and the coast of the Arabian Sea. The romance of this direct line to India cannot be told in a few words. Besides the difficulty of electrical adjustment rendered by the differences of climatic conditions over such a long line, the unknown men who have carried the line have also had to defend it. Tabriz, through which it passes, has been in a state of siege for months, and communication over this part of the line, which is constantly destroyed in the encounters of the two opposing parties, has only been kept up with the greatest difficulty by the staff of the Indo-European Telegraph Company who have established this direct line at the risk of their lives.

### **Buddhist Architecture**

In a paper recently read before the British Academy, Professor A.A. MacDonell dealt with "The Evolution of Ancient Indian Architecture." He said the study of archaeology was relatively more important in India than in perhaps any other country. It was fortunate therefore that the destruction of these archaeological remains had been resisted by the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act passed by Lord Curzon. In this paper the lecturer traced through a period of nearly 2,000 years the development of Indian architecture. He said that in the earliest period of Indian history (1500-500 B.C.) architecture was of wood. In those pre-Buddhist days temples or images were unknown. Indian religion did not begin to express itself in structural form until a comparatively late period. The use of brick, he said, first appeared in the fifth century B.C. and from the middle of the third century B.C. the Buddhists began to build in stone. The history of Buddhist architecture could be divided into three different periods from 250 B.C. to 650 A.D. All the evidence available pointed to Hindu religious architecture being derived from earlier Buddhist types. The Indo-Aryan style of architecture was found only north of the 20th degree of latitude.

## **THE INDIAN WORLD**

The origin of the Indo-Aryan style spire had always been a puzzle to archaeologist. It could not, said the lecturer, have had any connection with the pyramidal Dravidian tower nor with the long waggon-headed Buddhist assembly hall. The lecturer's final conclusion was that the evolution of the Buddhist stupas (topes) on the one hand resulted in the Chinese pagoda and the Indo-Aryan temple, and that the Buddhist monastery, on the other hand, was the proto-type from which was developed the Hindu temple of Southern India.

### **The Sale of Drink in India**

A white paper has been issued in England containing the views of the Government of India with regard to representations made to the Secretary of State with reference to the sale of drink in this country. Mr. Herbert Roberts, M.P., in 1907 introduced a deputation on the subject and said : "The dominant fact in the situation which we desire to bring to your notice is the steady expansion of the revenue drawn from drink in India. I will only refer to two figures. In the year 1874 the amount, roughly, of revenue drawn from liquor was  $1\frac{3}{4}$  millions per annum. In 1906 it amounted to  $6\frac{1}{2}$  millions per annum. Now, we recognise that some of the cause of this expansion of revenue are quite outside executive action, but we feel that behind this fact of the enormous increase in the revenue drawn from drink sources in India there are facts which demand the consideration of the Government of India. There is one point in the situation in regard to which the Government of India have complete control, and that is in reference to the facilities for drinking—the number of licences which are granted." These representation were afterwards embodied in a document which was forwarded by the Secretary of State to the Government of India. It was accompanied by a letter expressing a desire to receive "a full expression of the views of your Government upon the statement, both in respect of the extent to which the consumption of liquor has increased in India in recent years and the cause of such increase, and also with regard to the recommendations made for improving the excise administration." In their reply the Government of India say : "It must be admitted that there is a tendency for the consumption of alcoholic liquors to increase among certain classes of the population. The tendency, however, is in our opinion sufficiently explained by causes which are already known. The increasing material prosperity of the people, the steady growth of industrial enterprise, the construction of important public works leading to the more regular and extended employment of labour, the rise in the rates of wages for agricultural and artisan labourers and for domestic servants, the unsettlement of popular ideas and beliefs, and the relaxation of social and religious restrictions on the use of spirituous liquor owing to the spread of Western education, have all contributed to increased consumption."

## **COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL**

### **Railway Materials**

The progressive expansion in the imports of railway material continues, and the figures of the last official year attained the

highest level on record. During the last four years they have shown :—1904 Rs. 67,389,600, 1906 Rs. 84,929,000 and 1907 Rs. 98,874,000. (Rs. 15 equals £1).

### **The Taste for Onions**

The large Tamil and Telugu population of Burma and the Straits appear not only to take their special food stuffs with them, but to have spread a taste for some of these among the people with whom they have settled. A remarkable instance is that of onions, the area under cultivation of which in the Madras Presidency has increased from 27,284 acres in 1905-06 to 47,858 acres in 1907-08, while the value of the exports to Burma and the Straits has risen from Rs. 4,82,193 to Rs. 7,58,844. The trade in onions in Madras has now assumed such proportions that the Madras Port Trust is making special arrangements to provide for it.

### **Last Year's Imports**

From the last official year's 1907-8, returns of imports into India, an advance was shown almost everywhere. Iron and steel were imported to the value of Rs. 97,516,000 as against Rs. 75,682,000 in the previous year; railway material Rs. 72,008,000 as against Rs. 41,581,000; machinery and millwork Rs. 65,853,000 as against Rs. 57,900,000; hardware Rs. 31,654,000 against Rs. 26,535,000; copper Rs. 20,634,000 against Rs. 13,931,000; glass Rs. 14,452,000 against Rs. 12,114,000; timber Rs. 8,025,000 against Rs. 7,928,000; paints and colours Rs. 6,937,000 against Rs. 5,675,000, etc. These figures speak for themselves, and require no explanation. The United Kingdom supplied nearly 66 per cent.

### **Government Enterprise**

In the United Provinces steps are being gradually taken to carry out the recommendations of the recent Industrial Conference. Many of the features of the scheme will require the sanction of the India Office, and hence progress, so far, has not been great. An advance has, however, been made in preparing plans and selecting sites, and the industrial school at Gorakhpur and the carpentry school at Bareilly are being constructed. Three experimental weaving schools have been started and it is proposed to have a central weaving school at Benares. The industrial school at Lucknow is being extended and its equipment improved; the machinery and plant have already been increased and new workshops and a boarding house are to be created. The attendance at the industrial school is said to have largely increased.

### **Magnesite in Southern India**

According to an official report magnesite of great purity occurs in several places in Southern India. The largest and best known is near Salem in the Madras Presidency where the area occupied by the white magnesite veins has been named the "chalk" hills. Prospecting operations in this area have been in progress for some years, but the industry may now, it is said, be described as having passed into the mining stage. From an account of the remarkable purity of the mineral now being raised, it is expected to command a special price for the preparation of the refractory bricks of crystalline magnesia to be used for the linings and hearths of steel

furnaces, and for lining the fire-bricks of electric-calcium-carbide furnace. So far the production from the Salem "chalk" hills has been small, amounting to only about 2,000 tons a year.

## India's Exports to United States

According to the official report Indian exports to the United Kingdom show a relative decline. Twenty years ago the United Kingdom took more Indian products than all the other countries combined. Since then Germany's increase is three times that of the United Kingdom and the increase of the United States two-thirds that of Germany. Since 1890-91 the chief increases to leading countries have been figured out thus:

		Amount.	Per cent.
United Kingdom	...	\$44,210,000	39
Germany	...	50,210,000	323
United States	...	38,025,000	271
France	...	9,575,000	34
Belgium	...	7,530,000	46
Austria-Hungary	...	10,335,000	106
Italy	...	6,170,000	48

During this same period of eighteen years the exports from the United States to all the British Indias advanced only from \$4,655,979 to \$11,886,858, while the imports therefrom increased from \$20, 304, 319 to \$61, 489,287.

## Sugar in U. P.

Sir John Hewett said he would bless the day when not a single ton of sugar would be imported into the United Provinces, the home of sugar industry in India. Since this utterance was made many efforts have been made to float new companies and induce old concerns to manufacture sugar on improved methods. But as yet the Province is far off from realising the ideal set before it by His Honour. It is painful to learn from the trade returns of India that in November last India imported sugar worth Rs. 155 lakhs against Rs 90½ lakhs in the same month of the year previous in weight 74,000. Java and Mauritius, between them, sent in five-sixths of the total in proportion of about three to one. It is indeed cold comfort to be told that not many years ago Indians supplied themselves with the sugar which they consumed and large quantities were exported abroad by the East India Company. The competition was commenced by the importation of small quantities of refined sugar from Mauritius and the West Indias, and gradually but surely the Indian refineries had to close their doors before the inrush of the imported article. In 1895 there were 247 sugar factories and refineries, in 1900 only 203 and to-day there are only 30 of any size or importance and sugar forms one of the largest items of the import trade. Five years ago the value of imported sugar was Rs. 603 lakhs and last year Rs. 1,004 lakhs, an increase that may well cause the Swadeshi patriot to think. Even religious and patriotic sentiments must at the end give way to economic consideration particularly with a poor people as we Indians are. How long can the indigenous sugar-maker hold out when foreign refined sugar sells at Rs. 9 per maund, the Indian made by modern processes at Rs. 12 and Benares sugar, the indigenous from start to finish, at Rs. 16?

## SELECTIONS

### LORD MORLEY ON THE INDIAN REFORMS

#### DEPUTATION OF INDIAN MAHOMEDANS

At the India Office, on the 27th January last, Lord Morley received a deputation of the London branch of the All-India Moslem League, who waited upon him in order to represent to him the views of the Musulmans of India on the projected Indian reforms. The deputation was composed of the following representatives of the Mahomedans :—Syed Ameer Ali, C.I.E., the president ; Mr. C. A. Latif, the vice-president ; Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami, the hon. secretary of the All-India Moslem League ; Mr. Ibni Ahmad, hon. secretary of the All-India Moslem League, London branch ; Mr. Abdeali S. M. Anik, hon. treasurer ; Mr. Zahoor Ahmed, hon. joint secretary ; Mr. Masudul Hasan Siddiqi, hon. assistant secretary ; Dr. Abdul Majid, LL.D., barrister-at-law ; and Dr. M. A. Ansari, B.A., M.D. Lord Morley was accompanied by Mr. Buchanan, M.P., the Parliamentary Secretary ; Sir A. Godley, the Permanent Under-Secretary ; and Sir C. Lyall.

Mr. Syed Ameer Ali, addressing Lord Morley, went over the same ground in stating the points in which certain of the proposals embodied in the Government's scheme are viewed with apprehension and misgiving as being likely to prove detrimental to Musulman interests. The deputation disclaimed all idea of asking for anything in derogation of the just rights of other people ; all they wanted was that the interests of the two great communities should be co-ordinated ; that neither the one nor the other should be in a position to say that its interests were either sacrificed or subordinated to the interests of the other. In particular they submitted most strongly that it should be left to the executive authority to determine upon considerations of Imperial policy and of local conditions and circumstances how the different communities should be represented. Their people would not be content with any representation which was less than substantial or adequate. They also suggested that there should be a representative from both the communities as advisers of the Government of India. They recognized that the task of the Secretary of State was one of the most stupendous that any Minister of the Crown had ever undertaken, and felt sure that in the treatment of the question at this stage the balance would be maintained fairly and equitably.

Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami, on behalf of the All-India Moslem League, spoke of the principle of communal representation, meaning by that the representation of Mahomedans by Mahomedans. They had placed before Lord Morley suggestions of a possible scheme, at the root of which lay two practices existent in India at present. The first was the fixing by executive authority of the relative proportion of Hindus and Mahomedans on municipalities and other local bodies, the relative numbers of the two classes in the population being taken as only one element. That

principle should be extended to all municipalities where practicable. In the second place in some municipalities in the Punjab there were different registers for Mahomedans and Hindus, and there was no reason why that practice should not be extended.

Lord Morley in reply said :—It is not too strong an expression to say that I am delighted to meet you to-day, because I have always felt in my political experience, which is now pretty long, that it is when face answers to face that you come in that way to points of controversial issue. I have listened to the very able speech of my friend, Mr. Ameer Ali, and to the speech which followed with close attention, not merely for the sake of the arguments upon the special points raised, but—what is more important than the special points very often and, I am sure, in this case—because the underlying feeling and the animating spirit of those two speeches are to me full of encouragement. Why ? Because instead of—as I rather anticipated, or did till a few days ago—a rather hostile attitude to our reforms as a whole, I find that you receive them and welcome them cordially and with gratitude. I cannot say with what satisfaction I received that announcement, and how much it encourages me. If you will allow me, I will, before I come to the special points, say a few words upon the general position, because it is very important—very important to you and to us of his Majesty's Government.

### A HOPEFUL OUTLOOK

It is only five weeks, I think, since our scheme was launched, and I am bound to say that at the end of those five weeks the position may fairly be described as most hopeful and most promising. I do not think that the millennium will come in five more weeks, nor in 50 weeks ; but I do say that for a scheme of so wide a scope to be received as this scheme has been is a very promising and hopeful sign. It does not follow that because we have launched our ship with a slant of fair wind that means the same thing as getting into harbour. There are plenty of difficult points which we have got to settle ; but when I try from my conning-tower in this office to look round and read the signs in the political skies, I for one am full of hope and confidence. The great thing is that in every party both in India and at home—in every party, and every section, and every group—there is a recognition of the magnitude and the gravity of the enterprise on which we have embarked ; and that will have a very remarkable effect. I studied very closely the proceedings at Madras, and I studied the proceedings at Amritsar, and in two most able speeches made in both those places I find a truly political spirit in the right sense of the word—in the sense of perspective and proportion—which I sometimes wish could be imitated by some of my excellent English friends. I mean that issues important enough but upon which there is some difference are put aside—for the time only, if you like, but still put aside—in face of and considering the magnitude of the great issues which we present to you in these reforms. On the other day, in *The Times* newspaper, there was a very long and most interesting communication from Bombay, written, I believe, by a gentleman of very wide Indian knowledge and even level-headed humour. Now, what does he say ? He takes account of the general position as he found it in India shortly after the Despatch

## LORD MORLEY ON INDIAN REFORMS

arrived. "I might have dwelt," he says, "upon the fact that I have not met a single official who does not admit that some changes which should gratify Indian longings were necessary, and I might have expatiated upon the abounding evidence that Lord Morley's despatch and speech have unquestionably eased a tension which had become exceedingly alarming." That is a very important thing, which I believe Parliament has recognized—certainly it is recognized in the Cabinet.

### VIEW OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

We are not free to do altogether what we would like. We cannot fold our arms and say that things are to go on as they did before, and I rejoice to see what this gentleman says there. He is talking of officials, and—I speak quite frankly—I always felt from the beginning that if we did not succeed in carrying with us the goodwill of that most important and powerful service, the Indian Civil Service, there would be good reason for suspecting that we were wrong upon merits, and even if we were not wrong on the merits there would be good reason for apprehending formidable difficulties. I have myself no end of confidence in them. I sometimes see in some journals of my own party suspicions thrown upon the loyalty of that Service to his Majesty's Government of the day, whoever and whatever that Government may be. It is absurd to think anything of the kind. If our policy and our proposals receive the approval of Parliament and the approval of officials, such as those spoken of in *The Times* the other day, I am perfectly sure there will be no more want of goodwill and zeal on the part of the Indian Civil Service than there would be in the officers of his Majesty's Fleet, or his Majesty's Army—it would be just the same. I should like to read another passage from that letter:—"It would probably be incorrect to say that the bulk of the Civil Service in the Bombay Presidency are gravely apprehensive. Most of them are not unnaturally anxious"—I agree, it is perfectly natural that they should be anxious—"but the main officials in whose judgment most confidence can be placed regard the future with the buoyant hopefulness without which an Englishman in India is lost indeed." I think all that is reassuring, and no sign nor whisper reaches me that any responsible man or any responsible section or creed, either in India or here, has any desire whatever—except wrong-headed individuals, such individuals exist, I dare say, even in India—to wreck our scheme. That is a very important position to start from. And let me go further. We could not have a better sign—I am always told to realize the magnitude of what we are about, that statesmen abroad outside these realms capable of reflection are watching us with interest and wishing us well—than the remarkable and splendid utterance of President Roosevelt the other day at Washington. And if we turn from Washington to the East, in Europe, I know very well that any injustice, any suspicion that we were capable of being unjust to Mahomedans in India would certainly have a very severe and injurious reaction in Constantinople. I am alive to all these things. Mr. Ameer Ali said he was sure the Secretary of State would mete out just and equitable treatment to all interests if their views were fairly laid before him. That gentleman did me no more than justice when he said that. The Government are most zealous and earnest, acting in thorough good faith, in the desire to press forward these proposals. I may tell you that our Bill, which will be submitted to Parliament,



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its assent being necessary, is ready. I will introduce it at the first minute after the Address is over, and, when it reaches other places, it will be pressed forward with all the force and resolution that Parliamentary conditions permit. There will be no time lost. These are not mere pious opinions or academic reforms; they are proposals which are to take Parliamentary shape at the earliest possible moment; and after taking Parliamentary shape, no time will, I know, be lost in India in bringing them as rapidly as possible into practical operation.

### THE MAHOMEDANS' COMPLAINT

Now the first point Mr. Ameer Ali made was upon the unfairness to the members of the Mahomedan community, caused by reckoning in the Hindu census a large multitude of men who are—not entitled to be there, in short. I cannot for many reasons follow that argument. I submit that it is not very easy—and I have gone into the question very carefully—to divide these lower castes and to classify them. Statisticians would be liable to be charged with putting too many into either one or the other division, wherever you like to draw the line. I know the force of argument, and am willing to attach to it whatever weight it deserves. I wish some of my friends in this country would study the figures of what are called the lower castes, because they would then see the enormous difficulty and absurdity—absurdity of applying to India the same principles that are very good guides to us Westerns who have been bred on the pure milk of the Benthamite word—one man one vote and every man a vote. That dream, by the way, is not quite realized yet in this country; but the idea of insisting on a principle of that sort—and I should not be surprised if my friend here (Mr. Buchanan) heard something of it before he is many weeks older—is absurd to anybody who reflects on the multiplicity of these varied castes.

### MIXED ELECTORAL COLLEGES

Then there is the question of the joint electorate—what is called the mixed electoral college. I was very glad to read this paragraph in the paper that you were good enough to send to me. You recognize the very principle which was at the back of our minds when we came to the conclusion of the mixed electoral college. You say:—"In common with other well-wishers of India the Committee look forward to a time when the development of a true spirit of compromise or the fusion of the races may make principles indicated by his Lordship capable of practical application without sacrificing the interests of any of the nationalities or giving political ascendancy to one to the disadvantage of the others. But the Committee venture to think that, however ready the country may be for constitutional reforms, the interests of the two great communities of India must be considered and dealt with separately." Therefore, to begin with, the difference between us in principle about the joint electorate is only this. We are guilty of nothing more than that we were premature, in the views of these gentlemen—we were impatient idealists. You say to me, "It is very fine; we hope it will all come true, but you are premature; we must wait." But though premature I observe that your own suggestion in one of those papers adopts and accepts the principle of the scheme outlined in our despatch. It is quite true to say, "Oh, but you are vague in your despatch;" but a despatch is not a Bill.

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A Minister writing a despatch does not put in all the clauses and sections and subsections and schedules. It is the business of a Minister composing a despatch like ours of November 27, 1908, to indicate only general lines—general enough to make the substance and body of the scheme intelligible, but still general. I should like to say a word about the despatch. It is constantly assumed that in the despatch we prescribed and ordered the introduction of the joint electoral college. If any of you will be good enough to look at the despatch, you will find that no language of that sort—no law of the Medes and Persians—is to be found in it. If you refer to paragraph 12 you will see that our language is this ;—

“I suggest for your consideration that the object in view might be better secured, at any rate in the more advanced provinces in India, by a modification of the system of popular electorate founded on the principle of electoral colleges.”

You see it was merely a suggestion thrown out for the Government of India, not a direction of the Medes and Persians stamp. You say, “That for the purpose of electing members to the Provincial Councils, electoral colleges should be constituted on lines suggested by his Lordship composed exclusively of Mahomedans whose number and mode of grouping should be fixed by executive authority.” This comes within the principle of my despatch, and we shall see—I hope very speedily—whatever the Government of India disclose objections to its practicability. Mark, electoral colleges constituted on lines “composed exclusively of Mahomedans whose members and mode of grouping should be fixed by executive authority”—that is a proposition which is not outside the despatch, but whether practicable or not is a matter for discussion between us here and the Government of India.

### ALTERNATIVE PLANS DISCUSSED

The aim of the Government and yours is identical— that there shall be (to quote Mr. Amcer Ali's words) “adequate, real, and genuine Mahomedan representation.” Now, where is the difference between us? The machinery we commended you do not think possible. What machinery? Mixed electoral colleges. Well, as I have told you, the language of the despatch does not insist upon a mixed electoral college. It would be no departure in substance from the principle of our suggestion that there should be a separate Mahomedan electorate—an electorate exclusively Mahomedan ; and in view of the wide and remote distances in the area constituting a large province, I am not sure that this is not one of those cases where election by two stages would not be in the highest degree convenient, and so there might be a separate electoral college exclusively Mahomedan. That is, I take it, in accordance with your own proposal. I do not commit myself to it off-hand, but, thinking it very carefully over with experts, a proposal of that kind—an exclusively Mahomedan electorate sending their votes to an exclusively Mahomedan electoral college for the purpose of choosing a representative to sit in the provincial legislative council—is not outside the Despatch ; and we shall see what view the Government of India take upon a proposal of that sort. There are various methods by which it could be done. In the first place, an election exclusively Mahomedan might be direct into the legislative council. The electorate might vote for a man to sit in the legislative council. I fancy that would be impossible by reason of

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distance. In the second place, you could have an election by separate communities to a local board, and the local board should be the electoral college, the Mahomedans separating themselves from the other members of the board for that purpose. Thirdly, the members of the local board, the communities being separate in the same way, could return a member for the electoral college. Fourthly, you might have a direct election to an electoral college by the community, and this electoral college would return a representative to the legislative council. These, you see, are four different expedients which will deserve consideration for attaining the end, having a more or less direct vote, and an exclusively Mahomedan voice in returning Mahomedan representatives.

### MOSLEM AND HINDU

I go to the next point, the apprehensions lest if we based our system on numerical strength alone a great injustice would be done to your community. Of course we all considered that from the Viceroy downwards—and whether your apprehensions are well-founded or not it is the business of those who call themselves statesmen to take those apprehensions into account and to do the best we can in setting up a great working system to allay and meet those apprehensions. If you take numerical strength as your basis, in the Punjab and Eastern Bengal Mahomedans are in a decisive majority. In the Punjab the Moslem population is 53 per cent. to 38 per cent. Hindu. In Eastern Bengal 58 per cent. are Moslem and 37 per cent. are Hindu. Therefore, in those two provinces, on the numerical basis alone, the Mahomedans will secure sufficient representation. In Madras, on the other hand, the Hindus are 89 per cent. against 6 per cent. of Moslems, and, therefore, numbers would give no adequate representation to Moslem opinion—in fact, no representation at all. In Bombay the Moslems are in the ratio of  $3\frac{3}{4}$  to 14 millions—20 per cent. to 77 per cent. The conditions are very complex in Bombay, and I need not labour the details of this complexity. I am inclined to agree with those who think that it might be left to the local Government, either with the assent of the Central Government or otherwise, to take other elements into view required or suggested by local conditions. Coming to the United Provinces, there the Moslems are  $6\frac{3}{4}$  millions to  $40\frac{3}{4}$  Hindus—14 per cent. to 85 per cent. This ratio of numerical strength no more represents the proportion in the elements of weight and importance than in Eastern Bengal does the Hindu ratio of 37 per cent. to 58 per cent. of Moslems. You may set off each of those two cases against the other. Then there is the great province of Bengal, where the Moslems are one-quarter of the Hindus—9 millions to 39 millions—18 per cent. to 77 per cent. I do not know, but the case of Bengal deserves its own consideration.

### THE PROBLEM BEFORE THE GOVERNMENT

We all see, then, that the problem presents enormous difficulty—how you are going in a case like the United Provinces, for example to secure that adequate and substantial representation which it is the interest and the desire of the Government of its own sake to have, in order that it might be rightly acquainted with the views and wishes of those for whom it is making and administering laws. No fair-minded Moslem would deny in Eastern Bengal, any more than a

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fair-minded non-Moslem would deny it in the United Provinces, that this is a great difficulty. You see, gentlemen, I do not despair of finding a fair-minded man in a controversy of this kind. From information that reaches me I do not at all despair of meeting fair-minded critics of both communities, in spite of the very sharp antagonism which exists on many matters between them. But, whatever may be the case with Mahomedans and Hindus, there is one body of men who are bound to keep a fair mind, and that is the Government. The Government are bound, whatever you may do among yourselves, strictly, and I will even say sternly, to keep a fair mind and to deal with this problem in that spirit. Now, what is the object of the Government? It is that these Legislative Councils should represent truly and effectively, with a reasonable approach to the balance of real social forces, the wishes and needs of the communities themselves. That is the object of the Government, and in face of a great problem of that kind algebra, arithmetic, geometry, logic—none of these things will do your business for you. You have to look at it widely and away from those sciences, which are excellent in their place, but not always when you are solving profound, complex political difficulties. I think if you allow some method of leaving to a local authority the power of adding to the number of representatives from the Mahomedan community, or the Hindu community, as the case may be, that might be a possible and prudent way of getting through this difficulty. Let us all be clear of one thing, namely—and I thought of this when I heard one or two observations that fell from Mr. Ameer Ali—that no general proposition can be wisely based on the possession by one community either of superior civil qualities or superior personal claims. If you begin to introduce that element, you can see in a moment the perils to that peace and mutual good will which we hope to emerge by-and-by, though it may be longer than I think. You cannot imagine anything more perilous to that peace and good will than a position of that kind. I repeat that I see no harm from the point of view of a practical working compromise in the principle that population, numerical strength, should be the main factor in determining how many representatives should sit for this or the other community; but modifying influences may be taken into account in allotting any numbers of such representatives.

### THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

As regards Indian members on the Executive Council, if you will allow me to say so, I think it was dubious tactics to have brought that question forward. We were told by those who object, for instance, to recommend to the Crown an Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive—we were told that it will never do, that if you put a man of one community in, the other will demand a second. Well, those who desire a recommendation of that sort to be made to the Crown certainly will not have their path made any more easy for them by this kind of manifestation. But, as it has been mentioned, I should like to speak quite plainly and frankly. The Executive Council in all—this will not be in the Bill—consists of six members. Suppose there were to be two vacancies, and I were to recommend to the Crown the appointment of one Mahomedan and one Hindu, the effect would be that of the six gentlemen one-third would be non-English. That may be all right, but it would be a very serious step. Suppose you say you

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will bring in a Bill then. That is much more easily said than done. I am talking perfectly plainly. You would not get such a Bill. I want to talk a little more plainly. I want to say that reference to the Hindu community or the Mahomedan community in respect to the position of the Viceroy's Executive is entirely wide of the mark in the view, I know, both of the Viceroy and of myself. It is not the principle upon which a representation of this kind will be made—certainly not by me so long as I hold the office of Secretary of State, and I am perfectly sure it will not be approved by his Excellency. If, as I have already said I expect, it may be my duty by-and-by to recommend to the Crown the name of an Indian member, it will not be for a moment for the sake of placing on the Viceroy's Executive Council an Indian member simply as either a Hindu or a Mahomedan. Decidedly we are of opinion that the Governor-General in Council will be all the more likely to transact business wisely if he has a responsible Indian adviser at his elbow. But the principle in making such a recommendation to the Crown would be to remove the apparent disability in practice—for there is no disability in law—of an Indian holding a certain appointment because he is an Indian. That is a principle we do not accept; and the principle I should go upon myself—and I know Lord Minto would say exactly the same—is the desirability of demonstrating that we hold to the famous promise made in the Proclamation of Queen Victoria in 1858, that if a man is fully qualified in proved ability and character to fill a certain post, he shall not be shut out by race or religious faith. That is our principle, and beyond that I for one shall not be induced to go. There is a very great deal more to be said on this important subject; but to-day I need only tell you—which I do with all respect, without complaining of what you have said, and without denying that in practical usage some day there may be means of alteration for meeting your difficulty—I do not know, I have no right to bind some one else who may fill my post—I see no chance whatever of our being able to comply with your present request.

### CONCLUSION

I have endeavoured to meet you as fairly as I possibly could. I assure you we are acting in earnest, with zeal and entire good faith; and any suggestion that any member of the Government, either in this office or the Government of India, has any prejudice whatever against Mahomedans for the purposes of political administration in India, is one of the idlest and most wicked misapprehensions that could possibly enter even into the political mind. I am greatly encouraged by having met you. I am sure that you speak in the name of important bodies of your own countrymen and of your own community; I am sure that you are going to look at our proposals in a fair and reasonable spirit, and that you are giving us credit for a desire to do the best that we possibly can in the interests of all the communities in India, including also the interests of the British Government. I can only tell you further, if you will take it from me, that if this action of the present Government—his Majesty's Government, the Government of India—fails and miscarries, and is wrecked, it will be a considerable time before another opportunity occurs. You will never again—I do not care whether the time be long or be short—you will never again have the combination of a Viceroy and a Secretary of State who are

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more thoroughly in earnest in their desire to improve Indian government, and to do full justice to all bodies of the Indian population.

The deputation thanked Lord Morley for his reception, and withdrew.

### LAJPAT RAI'S CRITICISM

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE TIMES".

Sir—Permit me to offer a few observations on the controversy that is going on in your columns on the subject of Mahomedan representation on the Legislative Councils of India, when the latter are reconstituted in accordance with Lord Morley's scheme.

(1) I think it will be relevant to inquire on how many occasions within the last 47 years or so, ever since the Indian Councils Act of 1861 came into force, the Legislative Councils of India had to deal with questions exclusively or specially affecting the Moslems of India, as distinguished from their non-Moslem countrymen. It might also be important to know how many times, if at all, there was a conflict of opinion between the Hindu and Mahomedan members of these councils. It is not perhaps so well known as it ought to be in this country that in all matters of inheritance, marriage, divorce, dower, &c., Hindus are governed by the Hindu law and Mahomedans by the Mahomedan law. The Legislative Councils are not supposed to meddle with or modify the provisions of any of these laws. Besides, even independently of this, there is little or no chance of any measure coming before these councils by which the interests of one religious community may be more injuriously affected than those of the other.

(2) Great stress has been laid in certain quarters on special consideration to be shown to Indian Mahomedans on the ground of their loyalty and military service. Are we to understand, then, that the extension of franchise in India is being granted as a reward for loyalty and military services to the Empire? If so, how is it that no ex-Lieutenant-Governor has as yet raised his voice for special representation being granted on that ground to the Sikhs, the Gurkhas, the Rajputs, and the Jats? It might also be interesting to tabulate the services rendered by the Mahomedans, the Sikhs, the Gurkhas, the Rajputs, and the Jats in military expeditions on the North-West Frontier, in Egypt, China, and Abyssinia and find out on which side there is a balance.

(3) With reference to the argument based upon the fact of the Hindus including large numbers of untouchables and low castes, it should be noted that if there are untouchables and low castes among the Hindus there are the same castes or classes among the Mahomedans as well. If the census figures of 1901 are at all reliable, we find that the Punjab alone claims to have over half a million of Chuhra, Mochis, and Mussallies, as against lesser number of Saiyyads and Pathans, the two of the highest castes of Mahomedans. Roughly speaking, the former three castes number about 660,000, while the latter two only 500,000. That is in spite of the fact that most Hindu converts to Islam belonging to low castes have a peculiar knack of conferring a higher caste status on them at the time of the census.

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(4) In the course of the controversy it has been admitted that even in the Punjab the Hindus and the Sikhs are better educated and more enterprising, and that they are more "affluent" than their Mahomedan countrymen. They are certainly better agriculturists (see Mr. Ibbetson's Census Report), and as good, if not better, soldiers. But under Lord Morley's scheme the Mahomedans of the Punjab will have a larger number of seats on the Legislative Council of that province than their Hindu and Sikh countrymen, because they are numerically in a majority in the province. In one of the letters published by *The Times* over the signature of a distinguished Mahomedan, language was used to signify that the scheme was likely to give satisfaction in the Punjab. If so, why ought not the same principle to hold good for the rest of India?

(5) I do not wish to say one unkind word in reply to the argument based upon the so-called historical and political importance of the Mahomedans of India, vast majority of whom are only the descendants of Hindu converts, and are as much divided into castes and sub-castes as the Hindus. But does the All-India Moslem League seriously think that backwardness in education, want of organization, and want of enterprise are substantial grounds for claiming a larger representation than their numbers entitle them to?

(6) As the representative character of the Indian National Congress has so often been ridiculed by Anglo-Indians and Moslems together, will it not be pertinent to ask if the All-India Moslem League, an organization started only two years ago, is more representative in character than the Indian National Congress? This does not involve any slur on the gentlemen who profess to speak in the interests of the Indian Moslems. Their education and position entitle them to a right to do so, but is there any reason to credit them with an exclusive right to speak for the general body of the Mahomedans in India, and deny the same to those of their co-religionists who belong to the Indian National Congress? While no sensible man can cavil at the educated Mahomedans agitating for the protection of the rights of their co-religionists within proper bounds, I think it will be on the whole well in the interests of order and peace in India if, in doing so, they were to avoid saying and doing things which may be calculated to create an impassable gulf between Hindus and Mahomedans, because to me it seems that good will between the two communities is even more valuable than seats on the Legislative Councils.

I am, &c.,

LAJPAT RAI.

## MR. LOVAT FRASER'S LETTERS TO *THE TIMES*

### I

#### THE POSITION IN THE DECCAN

The visitor to India, especially if he is a stranger to the country, very soon concludes that unrest and sedition seem much more alarming and vivid in England than they do upon the spot. The ingenuous traveller who expects to be greeted with bombs on Ballard Pier, and revolver shots at the Victoria Terminus in

Bombay, is wont to be somewhat surprised at the universal placidity which confronts him. The external characteristics of life in India still remain unchanged, and the less observant and discerning sections of the English community are even inclined to assert that no change has taken place. Such comfortable complacency by no means represents the real situation, but it might be quite possible for an incurious tourist to travel from end to end of India without discovering that the position of affairs had in any way altered during the last ten years. Unless he was acquainted with the comparatively small number of men who really thoroughly understand the condition of India, he would further find the conversation of his own compatriots singularly confusing. In some quarters one hears that the real danger spot is in Western India, and that the Deccan is on the verge of an organized rising. In others, that unrest exists only in the two Bengals, and that the rest of India is absolutely quiet. Some people hold that the apostles of violence lurk chiefly in the Central Provinces, particularly at Nagpur; and there are a few who say, "If you seek for the true home of sedition and anarchy, you must go to the bazaars of Lahore."

The truth is, of course, that symptoms of rather alarming character are not, and have not been for many months, confined to any one province of India. Even mild-mannered Madras has had its share of trouble and riot. But in order to form a clear conception of existing conditions, and of the unpleasant possibilities they portend, it is necessary first to appreciate the probable limitations of any further hostile demonstrations against British rule which may occur in the near future. The fevered imagination which sees visions of rebellious forces sweeping over the countryside, and coming into ordered conflict with British troops, is utterly perverse. There is not, and there never has been, the slightest possibility of an organized revolt upon an extensive scale which would have had the smallest chance of continuous success. There is not at this juncture the least visible prospect of any widespread disturbances which the rulers of India could not rapidly suppress. It cannot be too strongly asserted that there is no justification for unworthy nervousness or undue apprehension, in England or in India. If the native army ceased to be faithful, or if Great Britain found herself engaged in a death-grip with another Power, the outlook might be different; but neither of these contingencies calls for present consideration.

#### THE EXTREMISTS' PLAN OF CAMPAIGN

There is, however, need in India for unceasing vigilance and preparedness. It must be plainly said that Extremism, as the public have agreed to term the movement which is frankly hostile to the permanent continuance of British rule, is not dead, nor is it likely to die. Some of its leaders are now behind prison walls, but the movement still goes on. All the reforms in the world will not terminate its uncompromising activities. The Extremists attract the younger men to their ranks, and they preach a gospel which exercises a fascination over most wild and ardent spirits. Their adherents are probably far more numerous than is commonly supposed; the number of their passive sympathizers must be very great. Extremism has no present intention of coming out into the open. Its devotees mean to work, as they have worked hitherto,



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in secrecy and stealth. Isolated assassinations; the insidious cultivation of animosity in the rural districts; the fomenting of riots in the great cities; the acquisitions of control over large bodies of workers in the industrial centres; the spread of their propaganda among the native *employees* of the railway and postal and telegraphic services—these are among the methods they adopt. At the best they can only produce sporadic and muddled anarchy in isolated districts for limited periods, whenever a favourable opportunity occurs; but they may, in course of time, make continuous peaceful administration very difficult, and the lot of lonely and unprotected officers rather dangerous. It is no answer to such possibilities as I have sketched to say that they are not very visible. Of course they are not visible to the wayfarer; if they were, they could be quickly dealt with. But it is reassuring to know that those in authority are amply alive to the realities of the situation, and are steadily preparing for emergencies.

At the same time, it would be easy to exaggerate the capacity of the Extremists to create grave trouble for the British in India. The Deccan is a case in point. I have not on this occasion visited the Deccan without detecting any untoward and sinister symptoms; but I have had the advantage of discussing the situation in the Deccan with men acquainted with all its aspects. The Deccan reveals both the strength and the weakness of the Extremist movement. It furnishes an instructive object-lesson. There is some reason to believe that a little too much has been made in London of the dangers of the Deccan by amiable visitors from India who are not above telling horrific tales for their own purposes. The truth seems to be that, though the situation beyond the Western Ghats causes some amount of anxiety, and may conceivably develop at some time or other a more serious phase, it has its brighter side, and there is no discernible likelihood of grave difficulties arising.

### THE MAHRATTAS

The Deccan is the home of the Mahrattas, the last race to exercise any real power in the heart of India. The Mahrattas still cherish the memory of Sivaji, the founder of their vanished greatness. They are secretive folk, with a capacity for deft intrigue far beyond that of any other Indian race. The Brahmins of the Deccan are famed for the subtlety of their intellect. The Chitpawan Brahmins, many of whom have blue eyes, recalling the legend that they are descended from the crew of some forgotten viking's longship wrecked upon the Konkan coast, include among their caste the most clever and the most dangerous men in India. The emotional Bengali calls aloud upon the whole world to witness his deeds; the Chitpawan, whose bent of mind is far more practical, works in silence, and he persists. Not all among the Brahmins of the Deccan deserve, or should receive, condemnation, but some of them have furnished the influence which has of late years inspired the Extremist propaganda in every part of India. The whole of the agitation which has flung the country into strife really began in Poona. Even in Bengal though the Bengalis did the shouting, it was Poona that provided the brains which directed the Bengali Extremists. Yet throughout all the troubles of the last two years the Deccan has, with one slight exception, remained comparatively quiet, perhaps rather ominously quiet.

What is the worst that can be said about the Deccan to-day, so

far as can be ascertained ? The demeanour of the people is not as a rule truculent. A certain quantity of arms finds its way into the southern districts, but the quantity is probably not very great. The manufacture of bombs has been attempted, and no doubt is still being tried, in Poona and elsewhere ; but there are only three recorded instances of explosions, all harmless. That Extremism is rife in at least four collectorates is beyond question. Brahmin emissaries pervade the villages, sowing sedition and preaching hostility to the British Raj. They are even said to be bidding the stalwart men to hold themselves in readiness. The numerous "Nationalist" schools which have been established, after the method widely practised in Bengal, are spawning-beds of virulent disaffection. Even some Government educational institutions are known to contain students who are "extremists to a man". The Deccan is honeycombed with secret societies, and it may be said with responsible certainty that the predominant feeling in this large and important area is very different from that expressed at the Madras Congress. At Sholapore, for instance, only one man could be found who was willing to go as a delegate to Madras, but there were 50 eager volunteers for the prohibited Extremists' Congress at Nagpur. And if the bulk of the people in the rural districts have no very clear perception of the issues either way, they are far more susceptible to the incitements of itinerant Extremists than they are to the appeals of the Moderates, who have very little influence among them.

On the other hand, there are many reassuring circumstances even in the Deccan. I find very general testimony which appears to me to be reasonably convincing, that the Extremist movement has never really obtained anything resembling a firm grip upon the cultivators. They are inclined to be restive and perhaps suspicious of British authority, but it may still be said that the efforts of the Extremists have made no deep impression upon them. The patient kunbi still plods upon his way, rather puzzled, but largely unheeding. Mr. Tilak and his coadjutors have tried for ten years to arouse the ryots of the Deccan, and on the whole have never met with marked success. They began with the apotheosis of Sivaji and the annual Sivaji celebrations, but the peasant takes small interest in historical reminiscences. Then came the Cow Protection Society, which still lingers in existence, but was never a potent force. The Ganpati *melas* followed, and at the annual Ganpati saturnalia the country folk were taught to sing seditious songs under the guise of religion. That was a more effective device, but its results were somewhat transitory. The latest, and by far the most ingenious, of all the schemes of the Extremists in the Deccan has been the inauguration of a widespread temperance movement which really served as a cloak for political propaganda. It was cleverly devised, because the crusade against liquor had its genuine side ; but though at first it met with considerable acceptance, and its operations were even extended among the mill-hands of Bombay, it has proved a comparative failure. In short, even the astute Deccani Brahmins have never hit upon a cry which has really roused and united the cultivators.

It was confidently declared at the time that the arrest of Mr. Tilak would be the signal for general rising in the Deccan ; but, though the people were excited, they never stirred. The

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solitary outrage which followed his conviction occurred at Pandharpur, a rather fanatical place of pilgrimage; and the incident throws some light upon the limitations of existing tendencies. A large mob assembled at Pandharpur, and resolved in turn to sack the local treasury, the police station, and other public offices; but, their courage apparently failing them, they marched to an isolated mission station outside the town and proceeded to shout and throw stones. An unfortunate lady missionary who ventured out to harangue the crowd was knocked down and cruelly beaten with stick; but so long as the enterprise of Pandharpur continues to be the measure of Deccan activity, the situation can scarcely be called immediately alarming. The stories of the systematic collection of funds in aid of various phases of the Extremists' movement appear to be exaggerated. Emissaries certainly try to levy money in the towns and villages for propagandist purposes, but they meet with very little response. An amusing proof is that after the most persistent and heart-rending appeals the important town of Nasik contributed the exiguous sum of £3 towards the defence fund raised for Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal. There seems to be no mock drilling of sham volunteers, as in Bengal. The project for inducing the people to refuse to pay land revenue assessment, an Oriental adaptation of a no-rent campaign, never came to anything. Finally, the influence of one of the most powerful of the princes of India has been exerted on the side of law and order. The Maharaja of Kolhapur has been, and remains, a loyal supporter of established authority. He is the Chhatrapati Maharajah, the head of the whole Mahratta race. Even Scindia and Holkar render him a sort of voluntary fealty. His lightest word is probably still more potent among the Mahrattas than all the mandates the Government could ever write. He knows something of Brahmin intrigue and persecution—no man more so. He broke the power of the Brahmins who were battenning upon his State, and they revenged themselves by excommunicating him and denying that he belonged to the warrior caste. No one has done so much of late as the Maharajah of Kolhapur, under very difficult conditions, to maintain and strengthen a spirit of loyalty in the Southern Mahratta country.

### THE BOMBAY RIOTS

One other circumstance which has materially affected the condition of the Deccan remains to be noted. The arrest and conviction of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak last year, on charges of sedition, almost paralysed his associates for some time. They have never quite recovered from the shock, and though Extremism has not ceased its furtive activities in the Deccan, it now seems to lack organized control and direction. It must be mentioned, however, that the episode in which Mr. Tilak was the central figure further coincided with some rather ugly discoveries in this teeming and cosmopolitan city of Bombay. It was only during the several days of rioting which followed Mr. Tilak's conviction that the spread of a seditious and dangerous propaganda among the mill-hands of Bombay was made clear. There are over a hundred thousand people employed in the mills on Bombay island. They are ignorant folk, whose minds are easily inflamed, and they form a compact mass of humanity which yields readily to the wily arts of the agitator. When the riots broke out in Bombay last year, it was found that the ground-

work for an organized outbreak among them had been carefully prepared. Fortunately the preparations were still at that time very incomplete. The danger has not, however, disappeared, and evil influences are still at work. There is no need to indicate in detail the designs which are believed to have been cherished. It is sufficient to say that the authorities, now they are amply forewarned, are not likely to be very long at a disadvantage if further disturbances occur. The point to be emphasized is that these urban conspiracies of the Extremists among large masses of industrial workers, in Bombay and elsewhere, are a menacing form of Extremist activity, for the plotters can always reckon upon being reinforced on the first sign of trouble by the many lawless characters who lurk in the bazaars. Extremism flourishes most and threatens the greatest possibility of future difficulties in the big cities, and in the subordinate ranks of the services on which we depend for our communications in India. We have grown to rely too placidly upon our railways and our telegraphs in this country, and do not recognize their extreme vulnerability. The lessons of the railway and the telegraph strikes of last year have apparently left no lasting impression. One learns with some astonishment that no definite steps have even now been taken to establish Marconi installations in the most important centres of India.

It is an unpleasant but a very necessary task to dwell upon these disagreeable aspects of the present condition of the Indian peninsula. I have tried to set forth the most prominent factors of the situation in Western India without exaggeration. I repeat that they present no cause for grave alarm, but it would be foolish to remain silent concerning them. After all, they are only the deep shadows in a picture which has many gleams of sunlight. Lord Morley's despatch has been to the Moderates a message full of hope for the future. The Secretary of State said many months ago, "We must rally the Moderates," and he really seems to be doing so. The Bombay Moderates are firmly convinced that the new reforms will convey a genuine share of control, and they have returned from the Congress full of gratification and proud anticipation. Whether their elation will continue if it is announced that the politicians who claim to have been largely instrumental in winning for Indians a share of executive control are not promoted to the posts now to be created, is quite another matter, while Sir Pherozeshah Mehta who is still the most powerful leader of the Indian Moderates assured me last night that, if there are any serious modifications of Lord Morley's proposals, "the reaction will be terrible."

## II. (*Dated Calcutta*)

### THE REFORMS IN INDIA

It is not until one reaches Calcutta that one realizes the full significance of the change of public opinion in India during the closing months of last year. The recent "alarms and excursions" have been followed in Bengal by an outward calm which is as welcome as it is unexpected. Men say: "Had you come here in October you would have had a different tale to tell"; but I can only speak of conditions as I find them. Even around Government House, the great white building in the heart of the European quarter, within earshot of the roaring traffic of the streets, there are

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no signs of special precautions. At the race meeting the other day it was difficult to believe that any serious trouble had ever been feared in the capital of India. The crowd of smartly-dressed Englishmen and Englishwomen who thronged the well-kept lawns, the perspiring Babus who swarmed round raucous-voiced book-makers imploring them to take their money, suggested a community far removed from bombs and anarchy. I do not, however, lay great stress on present external characteristics, though they are instructive. I judge rather by what one hears on all hands from Englishmen and Indians alike. A city filled with apprehensions generally makes its fears audible, but in Calcutta the recent unrest has for the time being almost ceased to be a topic of conversation. The general testimony is that a better feeling has arisen, and that the wave of disturbing influences has largely spent itself. Other waves may follow, but they are not yet visibly in motion.

### DEPORTATIONS AND THE PARTITION

It would be easy and gratifying to ascribe these soothing conditions to the programme of reforms recently promulgated. After careful inquiry, however, I have rather come to the conclusion that a more potent factor in the repression of tendencies to disorder was the sudden deportation of nine turbulent individuals on December 13. The rumour flew through the bazaars that 27 more persons were marked down for deportation. It was not true, but men with guilty consciences walked warily thereafter. A notable feature of the situation is the comparative placidity with which the deportations were received. The native Press has already almost ceased to write about them. It must be said quite frankly that a further contributory cause has been the change of Lieutenant-Governors. There can be no doubt that in the last year or two Bengal has been allowed to get very much out of hand. The advent of Sir Norman Baker was at once felt to portend that a firmer policy would be pursued, and that there would be no more hesitation about taking stern measures if necessity arose. The rapid decline of the *sumities*—the corps of "National Volunteers"—is a curious proof of the change of attitude among the more militant Bengalis of the younger generation. Under the new Criminal Law Amendment Act passed recently the Government of India took unto itself power to declare such associations unlawful. In Calcutta the National Volunteers are not waiting to be proscribed. Many of the bands are incontinently dissolving of their own accord.

At the same time, it must be also acknowledged that the new reform scheme has done a great deal to win back the better class of Bengali politicians to a less contentious frame of mind. The sweeping character of the promised concessions fired their imagination and produced an outburst of emotional thankfulness which one hopes (a little dubiously) may endure. The deputation to express thanks to the Viceroy is stated by those who saw it to have been one of the most remarkable sights ever witnessed in Calcutta. Indians of all shades of creed and political opinion took part in it. Ancient feuds were temporarily adjusted. Men sat side by side on the same sofa who had not spoken to one another for years. It is true that many of the people who thus expressed their thanks reassembled at a later date and passed resolutions reaffirming the boycott of English goods and appealing for the reunion of the two Bengals; but their meeting was perfunctory in character, and was

pronounced a failure. The boycott is practically dead, and is not likely to be revived. Its most vehement advocates use European products in secret. The agitation against the partition is dying, even in Bengal, and is almost unregarded in the other provinces. The story assiduously spread by Congress leaders, that the Government intend after a sufficient lapse of time to reunite the two provinces, is emphatically denied by the authorities here. They are too firmly convinced of the administrative value of the division to attempt any modification now ; and there is the further fact that any reversal of policy might have dangerous results. The Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal are slowly awakening to their opportunities in the new province. They are organizing among themselves, and are taking a keener interest in politics. The Nawab of Dacca, who is a far more capable man than is commonly supposed, has 18 million Mahomedans in Eastern Bengal at his beck and call to-day. That compact mass of followers of Islam would bitterly resent any suggestion of the repeal of the partition. In many practical ways the new province is making progress. The port of Chittagong is developing at a rapid rate. The time must come when Dacca will have a High Court of its own. The Calcutta High Court, despite its large number of Judges, is choked with work. The question of a further increase in the Calcutta Judgeships is bound to arise again before long, and then, perhaps, Eastern Bengal will receive the High Court it needs. The partition stands in no need of renewed vindication, for it has been entirely justified by results.

#### THE MAHOMEDANS

Naturally, talk in Calcutta, in political circles, turns very largely upon the projected reforms and their possible consequences. I have not met any one, official or non-official, who does not express approval of the principles which have inspired the reforms. Criticism is directed solely to details of the new measures, but as some of these details raise issues of the highest importance, reference must be made to them. The foremost controversy rages round the question of Mahomedan representation. If there is any person of weight and influence in Calcutta who endorses Lord Morley's suggestion of electoral colleges, I have still to meet him : and I have seen many people. The sole exception which has come under my notice consists of some able anonymous articles in the *Amrita Basar Patrika*, which argue that the electoral principle must ignore religious differences, and place Hindus and Mahomedans on a common and indistinguishable basis, because all are Indians first. That is a Hindu and a Congress argument which will leave the Mahomedans unmoved. The Mahomedan question bristles with difficulties. I am assured by those best qualified to judge that the tension between Hindus and Mahomedans in many parts of the country has rarely been so great as it is to-day. One recalls the extremely insistent and perhaps foolishly menacing attitude of many leading Mahomedans at the time of the memorable deputation to Lord Minto more than two years ago, an attitude which was fortunately duly chastened before they reached the Viceregal presence. Lord Minto very properly responded with reasonably definite assurances which for the time allayed Mahomedan anxiety ; but the Mahomedans now await with somewhat peremptory expectancy the fulfilment of those assurances. They do not discern much prospect of fulfilment in the reforms as at present propounded. Even in

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Eastern Bengal, despite the numerical superiority of the Mahomedans, despite their steady awakening, political power still remains mainly in the hands of Hindus. The Mahomedans have still to learn the complex art of electoral organization. In the Western Punjab, where Mahomedans also predominate, the local bodies are almost entirely in the hands of Hindu lawyers. In the Bombay Presidency the scattered population of Mahomedans, rather depressed in *status*, presents a still more awkward puzzle.

Opinions differ as to the best remedy. Some officials favour a widespread resort to nomination among Mahomedans ; but all the Mahomedans I have met resent the idea of nomination, because they think it would imply political inferiority if the Hindus elected their representatives. The Aga Khan, who may be regarded as the chief spokesman of the Mahomedans, takes, I am told, that view ; but I am also told that many Panjabi Mahomedans would welcome nomination. The alternative is some sort of communal representation for Mahomedans ; but, as qualified Mahomedans also have votes for the local bodies, which are the proposed general electoral units, it would follow that they would vote twice over if they also elected their own separate representatives. Lord Morley dislikes the idea of giving the Mahomedans two votes, but some eminent officials here hold that it would be the least objectionable solution of a serious difficulty. A modified expedient, favoured in some quarters, would be to give Mahomedan political organizations the power of returning members ; but to that project the National Congress, which is almost entirely Hindu, would certainly object. The only real point of agreement among the disputants is that the present proposals will never do.

### OTHER DIFFICULTIES

Other Impressions I have formed concerning difficulties connected with the enlargement of the Legislative Councils are accentuated by my inquiries in Calcutta. Take, for instance, the Imperial Legislative Council. Lord Morley and his advisers rightly insist upon the retention of an official majority in the Imperial Council ; but it is not easy to discern what the official members, who have no executive functions, will find to do. After all, the real needs of India are administrative rather than legislative. Contentious measures are rarely introduced into the Imperial Council. Official members of high rank and large pay are kept in Calcutta for four months, with practically nothing to occupy their time. I called on one such member the other day. He said :—

“ I have been here about six weeks. I have been present at one or two meetings, and have, perhaps done two hours' solid work the whole time. I have no office to attend, hardly any papers to examine, no correspondence worth mentioning to transact. The Bills before Council this year do not concern my province at all. I pass my days in enforced idleness, and now they are going to appoint several more men to similar idle posts.

The Indian non-official members do not, of course, take such a depreciating view. They rejoice at the entirely wise privileges accorded to them for Budget discussions, interpellations, and special resolutions. They rejoice, too, at the most unwise concessions of the right to ask supplementary questions, which has been granted to them against the advice of the Government of India.

How they propose to avail themselves of that particular boon is clearly indicated in a recent article in the *Mahratta*, the journal which was so long conducted by Mr. Tilak. The *Mahratta* says :—

"The power to ask supplementary questions, in the hands of well-informed and skilful interrogators, must result in exposing the jugglery and the fraud of the patent official replies. A skilful cross-examiner may fairly hope to put the official member to shame by making him appear either ignorant or dishonest."

That is exactly what will happen, given an official member inexperienced in the art of facing "heckling" and a clever Hindu lawyer with one question on the paper and six supplementary posers in his mind. Supplementary questions in Parliament often nonplus able Ministers under the protection of an alert Speaker. In India, where native politicians have nothing to learn from Irish Parliamentary methods, they will be a constant means of casting undeserved ridicule upon the authorities.

#### INDIAN EXECUTIVE MEMBERS

As to the momentous innovation of the admission of Indians as executive members of Councils, opinions here very largely resembles those in Bombay. All Indians welcome the change; most officials are either openly or tacitly opposed; comparatively few officials frankly support it. The general official view is that in any case Congress politicians should be rigidly excluded from high executive office for the reasons I advanced in a former letter; yet it says something for the growing breadth of view of Indian Civil Service that I have found men here in high place who say they would be willing to see Congress politicians appointed, under certain conditions. One such officer, whose name is now a household word in India, said :—"I would take the best men available, regardless of whether they were prominent in the Congress or not. Telang and Tyabjee, former Judges in the Bombay High Court, were both past-presidents of the Congress; but they were none the worse Judges on that account." As to that point, however, it must be remarked that the functions of executive Councils present very different issues from those connected with High Courts.

After having had numerous discussions, in England and in India, with those who have had a large share in framing the reforms, I may venture to suggest that in two respects the framers of the scheme have been conspicuously at fault in this matter of executive members. The tendency at Simla and Calcutta seems to have been to regard the question far too exclusively as it affects the Viceroy's Council. That is not, perhaps, the main issue. The Viceroy's Council and the Imperial Legislative Council are both safeguarded. The real trouble will come, if it comes at all, in the provincial Councils, both Executive and Legislative, and the position in the provinces does not seem to have been sufficiently considered. The other great mistake has lain in the tacit assumption in most official quarters that the Indian executive members of Council could always be amiable and inoffensive gentlemen who were not identified with Congress politics. Perhaps that is an idea which has been even more prevalent in the India Office than in India itself, where the coming difficulties are beginning to be more clearly realized. The Congress leaders say :—"We have won this victory after 20 years of agitation. Are we to have no share in the fruits of our success? Is



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participation in Indian politics to be a bar to high executive appointments?" I am convinced that, though this attitude of the Congress leaders may have been foreseen, it has been far too lightly discounted. They do not mean to be thrust into utter darkness, and the first selections of executive members will probably be the signal for a widespread agitation.

To the objections to such selections already noted one other may be added. Some of the big landholders in Bengal, the men with a great stake in the country, are already quietly making known their dislike of the new reforms. They think we have gone too far at one jump. They fear power will pass too exclusively into the hands of that portion of the educated classes which has everything to gain and little to lose. They talk of a "Vakil Raj." And I have undeniable proof that these views prevail with far greater intensity among the princes of India, the men upon whose loyal co-operation we may have largely to rely if trouble ever arises. They are conservative in their methods of rule, and they foresee that the impending changes in British India may create strife between themselves and their own people. It may be worth considering, even now, whether we have not moved too rapidly in a country where progress must always remain an affair of long pauses.

### THE CHANGE IN CIVILIAN OPINION

It is not without some misgivings that I continue to dwell upon the objections to the new scheme rather than upon its better side. Renewed contact with the problems now arising for settlement in India makes one feel afresh that they are far more complex and involved than they appear to be when contemplated from the distant standpoint of doctrinaire England. One gropes, as it were, almost in the dark, and beset by a fog of doubt, towards certain ultimate conclusions. One is bound to remember that, if we were to give at all, it was necessary to give generously and in no half-hearted spirit. Grudging concessions would have been worse than useless at this critical juncture. And there is one consideration, hitherto unrecorded, which, in my belief, goes far to outweigh all the criticism to which the new reforms may be subjected. Nothing surprises me more in India than the process of mental readjustment which a large proportion of the Civil Service—still the finest service in the world—seems to have undergone of late. Men may criticize and express disapproval upon points of detail, but the broad conviction that large changes were necessary is unexpectedly general. One hears in many quarters views expressed which would have been regarded as entirely heterodox two years ago. I do not think the spirit now visible is really new, but convictions which many men long cherished in secret are now openly expounded. The policy of reforms has made the change of attitude visible; it has focussed it and brought it into the light. The new leaven is at work, and it is likely to produce some very remarkable results. An able civilian said to me the other night :—

"If the reforms had done nothing else than change the point of view of the Civil Service, if they were full of mistakes, they would still have been worth the doing. We have realized that we must reconsider our position. We have got to take our coats off. We have got to pay more heed to the desires of the people, and to rely less exclusively upon our own judgment. I believe that the

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great result of these changes will be that we shall bring ourselves into far more intimate contact with the people, and that the old reproach of aloofness will to a great extent disappear."

All that I have heard leads me to confirm this opinion. Closer contact with the people, if rightly exercised, can only produce the best possible results. The English in India have never fully realized, and have never properly utilized, the enormous prestige which inevitably attaches to them as the ruling race. They will still lead, as they have always led, if they will only "take their coats off."

### III. (*Dated Dacca*)

#### CRITICISM OF THE PROPOSALS :

In this vast neglected province of mighty rivers and green ricefields one realizes vividly the immensity of India. Here beyond the Ganges 30 millions of people are left absolutely untouched by the new reform schemes. Beyond a few perfunctory resolutions in the Bar libraries, which in Eastern Bengal have a somewhat sinister reputation, the province is barely conscious that reforms are in the air. It is universally admitted that, no matter what safeguards are devised, the high-caste Hindus will, at elections here, maintain their domination over the Mahomedans who constitute the majority of the population. It is also maintained that in the whole Province there is not a single individual, of either creed, both qualified and willing to become an executive member of Council. It is, moreover, absolutely clear that the reforms will leave entirely unaffected the very dangerous underground influences at work among the Hindu population.

I do not generalize from the case of Eastern Bengal, where the conditions are exceptional and peculiar ; but the situation here affords a luminous proof of the grave mistake of thinking of India collectively. There are other vast areas where similar oblivion of reforms exists.

The satisfaction which the new scheme has given to Western-educated Hindus in all the large cities of the country may be freely admitted. It has temporarily removed all visible antagonism to the Government among the Moderates. The word has gone forth for the abatement of the agitation.

It must also be reasserted that the Civil Service has received the proposals in no hostile spirit and is prepared loyally to carry them out. Many civilians sincerely welcome them, but I have come to the conclusion that the predominant feeling in the service is that the scheme goes too far and that some of the provisions are dangerously unwise. The men best acquainted with the realities of India are not the men who have really exercised most influence in preparing these reforms. By a strange coincidence, both in the Government of India and at Whitehall, there has recently been an influx of officials whose Radical tendencies perhaps exceed the soundness of their judgment and the breadth of their knowledge. Progressive tendencies are, no doubt, needed in the Government of India ; but the manner and the method of framing this scheme have not commanded confidence.

#### THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

The least questionable feature of the reforms is generally admitted to be the enlargement of the numbers and powers of the

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Legislative Councils. Had Lord Morley stopped there, little criticism would have been heard; yet even in the Legislative Councils, as it is proposed that they should be constituted, serious defects will probably arise. It used to be said that India was a paradise for the English middle classes. Lord Morley, it is now said, is making it a paradise for the Hindu middle classes. There will be no tenant representation anywhere. Lawyers who have acquired, or who hope to acquire, landholding rights will gain most of the power. The masses of the cultivators will have far less protection than before, and it may be predicted that, with the abandonment of official majorities on the Provincial Councils, it will be difficult to pass any land legislation whatever.

It is remarkable that the exceedingly important point raised by Lord Lansdowne in the debate in the House of Lords has passed almost unregarded. Hitherto, appointment to the Legislative Councils have been, for the most part, while nominally elective, really by recommendation. Lord Morley apparently proposes to substitute pure election without any right of vote. Such an abandonment of the prerogative of refusal to accept elections is utterly unsuited to the conditions of India. In some form the vote should be retained. It is certain, for instance, that in some areas undesirable men now undergoing deportation would be returned for the Councils. The gratuitous concession of the right to ask supplementary questions may be noted as equally unwise.

### ATTITUDE OF THE MAHOMEDANS

As to the Mahomedans, though Lord Morley's recent statement has, to some extent, relieved their anxiety, grave apprehensions still prevail. Ali Iman's polite pronouncement on behalf of the Moslem League must not be taken too literally. The prevalent feeling is that the Mahomedan aspects of the question have been far too hurriedly considered and that postponement for a much more careful study is necessary before a decision is made. The Mahomedans remain restive. They know the danger of being overweighed by their Hindu compatriots. They dislike the idea of a widespread resort to Mahomedan nominations, because such a course implies inferiority, and, on the other hand, they fear to face the elections. The risk of rousing Mahomedan antagonism is still so considerable that the utmost caution should be observed in dealing with the question. It needs far more careful investigation than it has received.

### INDIAN EXECUTIVE MEMBERS

The crux of the whole controversy is, however, the appointment of Indian executive members of Council. All acknowledge therein Lord Morley's greatest concession of power. No feature of the reforms is regarded with greater doubt by the majority of civilians and by most thoughtful men who understand India. It was Lord Minto and not Lord Morley who first proposed the admission of Indians to the Viceroy's Executive Council. The Viceroy wanted to show that race is no bar to an appointment to the highest available office of State. It seems generally agreed that there is far less objection to the appointment of an Indian to the Viceroy's Council than to the appointment of Indians to Provincial Councils. The duties are different and the safeguards greater in the former case.

The most inexplicable feature of the whole scheme is that this principle of Indian executive members should have been subsequently applied to the provinces also. The Viceroy's original proposal related solely to his own Council. Even the National Congress, I believe, has never specifically asked for provincial executive members.

The duties of the executive members in Madras and Bombay call for very great administrative experience. Their functions differ largely from those of the executive members of the Viceregal Council, because they touch every branch of the governmental system. These posts should not be placed in the hands of untied men. In other provinces the question assumes an even stronger form. It is bluntly said in India that Executive Councils are to be foisted on Lieutenant-Governors of other provinces simply in order that Indians may be appointed to them. It is asserted, though it is not within my own knowledge, that with one exception, none of the Lieutenant-Governors wish to have Executive Councils at all. They are not like the Governors of Bombay and Madras. They are men of vast experience of India and accustomed to direct rule.

#### PROVINCES NOT CONSULTED

A very strong ground for criticism, which I have confirmed by personal investigations, is that the whole scheme has been considered and framed far too exclusively from the point of view of the Government of India, though it is the provinces that will really be chiefly affected by its working. The Provincial Governments were practically only consulted about the enlargement of the Legislative Councils and the advisory councils now abandoned. It may sound incredible, but it is nevertheless a fact, that it is only within the last few days that provincial Governments have been consulted either about the creation of Executive Councils for themselves or the appointment of Indian executive members. They had only a week in which to give their views on this grave fundamental alteration in the administrative system. What is practically a new scheme has been suddenly placed before them with a request to pronounce upon it almost by return of post. Such frantic haste is not in accord with wise and prudent legislation. The whole portion of the scheme relating to provincial Executive Councils should be abandoned.

I find a general consensus of opinion that the adoption of the advisory principle in any form whatever would be unworkable and undesirable.

Two other points remain to be noted. The first is that no measures however generous and conciliatory, will serve to stem the anti-British and revolutionary movement which undoubtedly exists among widespread sections of the population. My despatches during the last few days have shown the grave possibilities of menace that some aspects of that movement may in future imply. We may rally the Moderates and win back the waverers, but there is a large and increasing portion of the people whom no concessions will really placate. That consideration ought to warn us to be cautious in surrendering any portion of our power.

The other point is the widespread impression throughout this side of India that there is some intention of re-opening the question of the partition of Bengal. It ought not to be necessary at this time of day to point out that any further meddling with that

question would be suicidal. Lord Macdonnell's indiscreet speech tended to reawaken an agitation that seemed to have been finally allayed.

### **THE INDIAN COUNCILS BILL**

#### **FULL TEXT OF LORD MORLEY'S SPEECH**

Viscount Morley of Blackburn in rising to move the second reading of this Bill said :—I invite the House to take to-day the first definite and operative step in carrying out the policy which I had the honour of stating to your lordships just before Christmas, and which has occupied the active consideration both of the Home Government and of the Government of India for very nearly, if not even more than, three years. The statement was awaited in India with an expectancy that with time became almost impatience, and it was received in India—and that after all is the point to which I looked with the most anxiety—with intense interest and attention and various degrees of approval, from warm enthusiasm to cool assent and acquiescence. A deputation waited upon the Viceroy a few days after the arrival of my despatch, unique in its comprehensive character; both the Hindus and Mahomedans were represented; it was a remarkable deputation and they waited upon the Viceroy to offer their expression of gratitude for the scheme which was unfolded before them. Then a few days later at Madras the Congress met and they, too, expressed their thanks to the Home Government and to the Government of India. Almost at the same time the Moslem League met at Amritsar, and they were warm in their approval of the policy which they took to be foreshadowed in the despatch, though they found fault with the defects they thought they had discovered in the scheme, and implored the Government, both in India and here, to remedy those defects. So far as I know—and I do beg your lordships to note these details of the reception of our policy in India—there has been no sign in any quarter, save possibly in the irreconcilable camp of organized hostile opinion among either Indians or Anglo-Indians. The Indian Civil Service I will speak of very shortly. I will pass them by for the moment. The noble marquis (Lord Lansdowne) said truly the other night that when I spoke at the end of December I used the words "formidable and obscure" as describing the situation, and he desired to know whether I thought the situation was still formidable and obscure. I will not drop the words, but I think the situation is less formidable and less obscure. Neither repression on the one hand, nor reform on the other, could possibly be expected to cut at the root of anarchical crime in a few weeks, but with unfaltering repression on the one hand and vigour and good faith in reform on the other, we all see good reason to hope that we shall weaken, if not destroy, the forces of anarchy.

#### **THREE CLASSES OF INDIAN REFORMERS**

There are, I take it, three classes of people that we have to consider in dealing with a scheme of this kind. There are the extremists, who nurse fantastic dreams that some day they will drive us out of India. In this group there are academic extremists and

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physical force extremists, and I have seen it stated on a certain authority—it cannot be more than guessed—that they do not number, whether academic or physical force extremists, more than one-tenth, I think, or even 3 per cent of what are called the educated class in India. The second group nourish no hope of this sort, but hope for autonomy or self-government of the colonial species and pattern. And then the third section of this classification asks for no more than to be admitted to co-operation in our administration, and to find a free and effective voice in expressing the interests and needs of their land. I believe the effect of the reforms has been, is being, and will be to draw the second class, who hope for colonial autonomy, into the third class, who will be content with being admitted to a fair and full co-operation. A correspondent wrote to me the other day and said: "We seem to have caught many discontented people on the rebound and to have given them an excuse for a loyalty which they have badly wanted." In spite of all this it is a difficult and critical situation, but by almost universal admission it has lost that tension, which strained India two or three months ago, and public feeling is tranquillized certainly beyond any expectation which either the Viceroy or myself ventured to entertain. The situation has become, at all events, more hopeful and I am confident that the atmosphere has changed from being dark and sullen to being hopeful, and I am sure, your lordships will allow me to be confident that nothing will be done at Westminster to cloud that hopeful sky. The noble marquis the other day said—and I was delighted to hear it—that he, at all events, would give us, with all the reservations that examination of the scheme might demand from him, a whole-hearted support here and his best encouragement to the men in India. I accept that, and I rely upon it and lean upon it because if anything was done at Westminster, either by delay or otherwise, to show a breach in what ought to be the substantial unity of Parliamentary opinion in face of the Indian situation, it would be a very great disaster. I would venture on the point of delay to say this. Your lordships will not suspect me of having any desire to hurry the Bill, but I remember that when Lord Cross brought in the Bill of 1892, Lord Kimberley, who was so well-known and so popular in the House, used this language, which I venture to borrow from him to press upon your lordships to-day:—"I think it almost dangerous," said Lord Kimberley in February, 1892, "to leave a subject of this kind hung up to be perpetually discussed by all manner of persons, and having once allowed that, at all events, some amendment is necessary in regard to the mode of constituting the Legislative Councils, it is incumbent upon the Government and Parliament to pass the Bill which they may think expedient as speedily as possible into law." I think the consideration of social order and social urgency in India make that just as meet to be remembered to-day as it was then.

### THE MAN ON THE SPOT

The noble marquis, the other day, in a very courteous manner, administered to me an exhortation and an admonition and homily—I had almost said a lecture—as to the propriety of differing to the man on the spot and the danger of quarrelling with the man on the spot. I listened with becoming meekness and humility, but then it occurred to me that the language of the noble marquis was not

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original. Those noble Lords who share the bench with him listened with deep murmurs of approval to this homily which was administered to me. They had forgotten that they once had a man on the spot, the man there being that eminent and distinguished man whom I may perhaps be allowed to congratulate upon his restoration to health and to his place in this Assembly. He said this, which, the noble marquis will see, is a fair original for his own little discourse ; it was said after Lord Curzon had thrown up the reins :—"What I wish to say to high officers of State and members of Government is this, as far as you can, trust the man on the spot. Do not worry or fret or nag him with your superior wisdom. They claim no immunity from errors of opinion or judgment, but their errors are nothing compared with yours." The remonstrance, therefore, of the noble lord (Lord Curzon) to the noble lord sitting near him, is identical with that which I have laid to heart from the noble marquis.

### SUPPORT TO THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT

The House will pardon me if I for a moment dwell upon what by implication is an innuendo conveyed in the admonition of the noble marquis. I have a suspicion that he considered his advice was needed ; he expressed the hope that all who were responsible for administration in India would have all the power for which they had a right to ask. Upon that I can, I think, completely clear my character, for in December last, shortly before I addressed your lordships, Lord Minto, having observed there was some talk of my proposals, telegraphed these words, and desired that I should make use of them whenever I thought fit, having in view my addressing the House :—"I hope you will say from me, in as strong language as you may choose to use, that in all our dealings with sedition I could not be more strongly supported than I have been by you. The question of the control of Indian administration by the Secretary of State, mixed up as it is with the old difficulties of centralization, we may very possibly look at from different points of view, but that has nothing to do with the support the Secretary of State gives to the Viceroy, and which you have given to me in a time of great difficulty and for which I shall always be warmly grateful."

The Marquis of Lansdowne.—I think the noble viscount will see from the report of my speech that the part he has quoted had reference to measures of repression, and that what I said was that justice should be prompt, that it was undesirable that there should be appeals from one Court to another, or from provincial Governments to the Government in Calcutta, or from the Government to the Secretary of State for India. I did not mean to imply merely the Viceroy, but the men responsible for local Government.

Viscount Morley.—I do not think that when the noble marquis refers to the report of his speech, he will find I have misrepresented him. At all events I have on the whole given all the support the Government of India or anybody else concerned had a right to ask for.

### THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

Three years ago when we began these operations I felt that there was abundant evidence that a vital element for success was that we should carry the Indian Civil Service with us, and that if we did not do this we should fail. But human nature being what it is, and temperaments varying as they do, it is natural to expect a certain

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amount of criticism, minute criticism, and observation and I have had proofs of that, but will content myself with one quotation, from a very distinguished member, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, well-known to the noble lord opposite. What did he say, addressing the Legislative Council a few weeks ago? "I hold that a solemn duty rests upon the officers of Government in all branches, and more particularly, upon the officers of the Civil Service, so to comport themselves in the inception and working of the new measures as to make the task of the people and their leaders easy. It is incumbent upon them loyally to accept the principle that these measures involve the surrender of some portion of the authority and control which they now exercise, and some modifications of the methods of administration. If that task is approached in a grudging or reluctant spirit we shall be sowing the seeds of failure and shall forfeit our claim to receive the friendly co-operation of the representatives of the people. We must be prepared to support, defend and carry through the administrative policy, and in a certain degree even the executive acts of the Government in the Council in much the same way as is now prescribed in regard to measures of legislation; and we must further be prepared to discharge this task without the aid of a standing majority. We will have to resort to the more difficult arts of persuasion and conciliation in place of the easier methods of autocracy. This is no small demand to make on the resources of a service whose training and traditions have hitherto led its members rather to work for the people than through the people or their representatives. But I am nevertheless confident that the demand will not be made in vain. For more than a hundred years, in the time of the Company and under the rule of the Crown, the Indian Civil Service has never failed to respond to whatever call has been made upon it or to adapt itself to the changing environment of the time. I feel no doubt that officers will be found who possess the natural gifts, the loyalty, the imagination, and the force of character which will be requisite for the conduct of the administration under the more advanced form of government to which we are about to proceed." These words I commend to your lordships. They breathe a noble spirit and admirably express the feeling of a sincere man.

### THE RIVAL SCHOOLS: LORD CURZON'S ADMINISTRATION

The Bill is a short one, and will speak for itself; I shall be brief in referring to it for I have already made what was practically a second reading speech. I may point out that there are two rival schools, and that the noble lord opposite (Lord Curzon) may be said to represent one of them. There are two rival schools, one of which believes that better government of India depends on efficiency and that efficiency is in fact the need of our government in India. The other school, while not neglecting efficiency, looks also to what is called political concessions. I think I am doing Lord Curzon no injustice in saying that during his eminent Viceroyalty he did not accept the necessity for political concessions but trusted to efficiency. I hope it will not be bad taste to say in the noble lord's presence that you will never send to India and you have never sent to India a Viceroy his superior, if indeed, his equal in force of mind, in unsparing remorseless industry, in passionate and devoted interest in all that concerns the well-being of India. With an imagination fired by the grandeur of the political problem India presents, you never



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sent a man more eminently successful than when you sent Lord Curzon. But splendidly successful as his work was from the point of view of efficiency, he still did leave in India a state of things, when we look back, not in consequence of his policy, not completely satisfactory, such as would have been the crowning of a brilliant career.

### POLITICAL CONCESSIONS

I am as much for efficiency as the noble lord, but I do not believe—and this is the difference between him and myself—that you can have true, solid, enduring efficiency without what are called political concessions. I know risks are pointed out. The late Lord Salisbury, speaking on the last Indian Councils Bill, spoke of the risk of trying occidental machinery in India. Well, we ought to have thought of that before we tried occidental education; we applied that, and occidental machinery must follow. It was inevitable that you must bring your proposals into harmony with dominant sentiments of the people in India. The Bill of 1892 admittedly contained the elective principle, and now this Bill extends that principle. The noble lord will remember the Bill of 1892, of which he had charge in the House of Commons. I want the House to be good enough to follow the line taken by Mr. Gladstone, because I base myself on that. There was an amendment moved and there was going to be a division, and Mr. Gladstone begged his friends not to divide, because he said it was very important that we should present a substantial unity to India. This is upon the question of either House considering a Bill like the Bill that is now on the table—a mere skeleton of a Bill if you like. I see it has been called vague and sketchy. It cannot be anything else on the principle explained by Mr. Gladstone: "It is the intention of the Government (that is the Conservative Government) that a serious effort shall be made to consider carefully those elements which India in its present condition may furnish for the introduction into the Councils of India of the elective principle. If that effort is seriously to be made, by whom is it to be made? I do not think it can be made by this House, except through the medium of empowering provisions. The best course we could take would be to commend to the authorities of India what is a clear indication of the principles on which we desire them to proceed. It is not our business to devise machinery for the purpose of Indian government. It is our business to give to those who present Her Majesty in India ample information as to what we believe to be sound principles of Government; and it is, of course, the function of this House to comment upon any case in which we may think they have failed to give due effect to those principles." I only allude to Mr. Gladstone's words in order to let the House know that I am taking no unusual course in leaving the bulk of the work, the detail of the work, to the Government of India, and discussion, therefore, in this House and in Parliament will necessarily be not upon details. But no doubt it is desirable that some of the heads of the regulations, rules and proclamations to be made by the Government of India under sanction of the India Office should be more or less placed within the reach and knowledge of the House, so far as they are complete. The principles of the Bill are in the Bill and will be affirmed. If your lordships are pleased to read it a second time, and the committee points, important as they are, can well be dealt with in committee. The view of Mr Gladstone was cheerfully accepted

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by the House then, and I hope it will be accepted by your lordships to-day.

### THE POSITION OF THE MAHOMEDANS

There is one very important chapter in these regulations which I think now on the second reading of the Bill, without waiting for committee, I ought to say a few words to your lordships about—I mean the Mahomedans. That is a part of the Bill and scheme which has no doubt attracted a great deal of criticism and excited a great deal of feeling in that very important community. We suggested to the Government of India a certain plan. We did not prescribe it, we did not order it, but we suggested and recommended this plan for their consideration—no more than that. It was the plan of a mixed or composite electoral college, in which Mahomedans and Hindus should pool their votes, so to say. The wording of the recommendation in my despatch was, as I soon discovered, ambiguous—a grievous defect of which I make bold to hope I am not very often in public business guilty. But, to the best of my belief, under any construction the plan of Hindus and Mahomedans voting together in a mixed and composite electorate would have secured to the Mahomedan electors, wherever they were so minded, the chance of returning their own representative in their due proportion. The political idea at the bottom of that recommendation which has found so little favour was that such composite action would bring the two great communities more closely together, and this idea of promoting harmony was held by men of very high Indian authority and experience who were among my advisers at the India Office. But the Mahomedans protested that the Hindus would elect a pro-Hindu upon it, just as I suppose in a mixed college of say 75 Catholics and 25 Protestants voting together, the Protestants might suspect that the Catholics voting for the Protestant would choose what is called a Romanizing Protestant and as little of a Protestant as possible. Suppose the other way. In Ireland there is an expression “shoneen” Catholic, that is to say a Catholic, who, though a Catholic, is too friendly with English Conservatism and other influences which the Nationalists dislike. And it might be said, if there were 75 Protestants against 25 Catholics, that the Protestants when giving a vote in the way of Catholic representation would return “shoneens.” I am not going to take your lordships’ time up by arguing this today. With regard to schemes of proportional representation, as Calvin said of another study, “excessive study either finds a man made or makes him so.” At any rate, the Government of India doubted whether our plan would work and we have abandoned it. I do not think it was a bad plan, but it is no use, if you are making an earnest attempt in good faith at a general pacification, out of parental fondness for a clause interrupting that good process by sitting too tight.

### THE MAHOMEDAN DEMANDS

The Mahomedans demand three things. I had the pleasure of receiving a deputation from them, and I know very well what is in their minds. They demand the election of their own representatives to these Councils in all the stages, just as in Cyprus, where, I think the Mahomedans vote by themselves. They have nine votes and the non-Mahomedans have three or the other way about. So in Bohemia, where the Germans vote alone and have their own register. Therefore we are not without a proce-

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dent and a parallel for the idea of a separate register. Secondly they want a number of seats in excess of their numerical strength. Those two demands we are quite ready and intend to meet in full. There is a third demand that, if there is a Hindu on the Viceroy's Executive Council—a subject on which I will venture to say a little to your lordships before I sit down—there should be two Indian members on the Viceroy's Council and that one should be a Mahomedan. Well, as I told them and as I now tell your lordships, I see no chance whatever of meeting their views in that way to any extent at all, of a register framed on the principle of religious belief. We may wish, we do wish—certainly I do—that it were otherwise. We hope that time, with careful and impartial statesmanship, will make things otherwise. Only let us not forget that the difference between Mahomedanism and Hinduism is not a mere difference of articles of religious faith. It is a difference in life, in tradition, in history, in all the social things as well as articles of belief that constitute a community. Do not let us forget what makes it interesting and even exciting. Do not let us forget that, in talking of Hindus and Mahomedans, we are dealing with and brought face to face with vast historic issues, dealing with some of the very mightiest forces that through all the centuries and ages have moulded the fortunes of great States and the destinies of countless millions of mankind. Thoughts of that kind are what give to Indian politics and to Indian work extraordinary fascination, and at the same time impose the weight of no ordinary burden.

### THE VICEROY'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Now I will come to the question which I think has excited, certainly in this country, more interest than anything else in the scheme before you—I mean the question of an Indian member on the Viceroy's Executive Council. The noble marquis said here the other day that he hoped an opportunity would be given for discussing it. Whether it is in order or not—I am too little versed in your Lordships' procedure to be quite sure but I am told that the rules of order in this House are of an elastic description and that I shall not be trespassing on what is right, if I introduce the point to-night. I thoroughly understand the noble marquiss' anxiety for a chance of discussion. It is quite true, and the House should not forget that it is quite true, that this question is in no way whatever touched by the Bill. If this Bill were rejected by Parliament it would be a great and grievous disaster to peace and contentment in India, but it would not prevent the Secretary of State the next morning from advising his Majesty to appoint an Indian member. The members of the Viceroy's Executive Council are appointed by the Crown.

### FITNESS THE ONLY CRITERION

Perhaps I might be allowed to remind your lordships of the Act of 1833—certainly the most extensive measure of Indian government between Mr. Pitt's famous Act of 1784 and Queen Victoria's assumption of the government of India. There is nothing so important as that Act. It lays down in the broadest way possible the desire of Parliament of that day that there was to be no difference in appointing to offices in India between one race and another, and the covering despatch wound up by saying that "for the future, fitness was to be the criterion of eligibility." I need not quote the famous paragraph in the Queen's Proclamation of

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1858, for every member of the House who takes an interest in India knows that by heart. Now, the noble marquis says that his anxiety is that nothing shall be done to impair the efficiency of the Viceroy's Council. I share that anxiety with all my heart. I hope the noble marquis will do me the justice to remember that in these plans I have gone beyond the Government of India in resolving that permanent official majority shall remain in the Viceroy's Council. Lord MacDonnell said the other day—"I believe you cannot find any individual native gentleman who has enjoyed the general confidence, who would be able to give advice and assistance to the Governor-General in Council." It has been my lot to be twice Chief Secretary for Ireland, and I do not believe, I can truly say, I ever met in Ireland a single individual native gentleman who "enjoyed general confidence." And yet I received at Dublin Castle most excellent and competent advice. Therefore I will accept that statement from the noble lord. The question is, whether there is no one of the 300 millions of the population of India who is competent to be the officially constituted adviser of the Governor-General in Council in the administration of Indian affairs? You make an Indian a Judge of the High Court and Indians have even been acting Chief Justices. As to capacity who can deny that they have distinguished themselves as administrators of Native States where far more demand is made on their resources, intellectual and moral? It is said that the presence of an Indian member would cause restraint in the language of discussion. For a year and a half I have had two Indians at the Council of India, and I have never found the slightest restraint whatever. Then there is the question, what are you going to do about the Hindu and the Mahomedan? When Indians were first admitted to the High Court for a long time the Hindus were more fit and competent than the Mahomedans but now I am told the Mahomedans have their full share. The same sort of operation would go on again between Hindus and Mahomedans. Opinion amongst the great Anglo-Indian officers, now at home, is divided, but I know at least one, not I think, behind even Lord MacDonnell in experience, who is strongly in favour of this proposal. One circumstance which cannot but strike your lordships as remarkable is the comparative absence of hostile criticism of this idea by the Anglo-Indian Press. I should like to give a concrete illustration. The noble marquis opposite said the other day that there was going to be a vacancy in one of the posts on the Viceroy's Executive Council. Now, suppose there was in Calcutta an Indian lawyer of large practice and great experience in his profession—a man of unstained professional and personal reputation, in close touch with European society and much respected, and the actual holder of important legal offices. Am I to say to that man:—"In spite of all those excellent circumstances to your credit, in spite of your undisputed fitness, in spite of the emphatic declaration of 1833 that fitness is to be the criterion of eligibility, in spite of that noble promise in Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858—a promise of which every Englishman ought to be for ever proud if he tries to adhere to it, and rather ashamed if he tries to betray or mock it—in spite of all this, usage and prejudice are so strong that I dare not appoint you, but must appoint instead some stranger to India from Lincoln's Inn or the Temple?" Is there one of your lord

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ships who would envy the Secretary of State who had to hold language of that kind to a meritorious candidate, one of the King's equal subjects? These abstract general arguments are slippery. I do not say there is no force in them, but there are deeper questions at issue to which Lord Minto and myself attach the greatest importance. My lords, I thank you for listening to me and I beg to move the second reading."

### INDIAN COTTON MILLS

The cotton spinning industry in India, like our own, is suffering from over production. Those interested in the trade are not, however, deterred from anticipating a revival in the demand, for the spindle, and especially loom power, is rapidly being added to year by year. The returns for the past one, ending June 30, show that 21 fresh mills have been added to the list, the total actually working having increased to 227; while 14 more were in course of erection, making an aggregate of 241 mills. The number of spindles had risen to 5,757,000, an increase of 424,000, and the looms by over 9,000 to 67,500. The average number of operatives daily employed had advanced to 221,000, and the cotton consumed had risen to 1,996,000 bales, an increase on the previous year of 16,000 bales, and 146,000 bales in excess of the estimate.

How rapidly the industry has developed in less than half a century is seen in the following table:—

Year ending June 30	Mills.	Spindles.	Looms.	Operatives.	Cotton Consumed.	
					Bales.	
1861 ... ..	12	338,000	?	?	65,00	
1876 ... ..	47	1,110,000	9,000	?	198,00	
1880 ... ..	56	1,462,000	14,000	44,000	308,00	
1885 ... ..	87	2,146,000	17,000	67,000	597,00	
1889 ... ..	124	2,762,000	22,000	92,000	889,00	
1890 ... ..	137	3,274,000	23,000	103,000	1,008,00	
1895 ... ..	148	3,810,000	35,000	139,000	1,342,00	
1900 ... ..	193	4,946,000	40,000	161,000	1,453,00	
1905 ... ..	197	5,163,000	50,000	195,000	1,879,000	
1906 ... ..	217	5,280,000	53,000	209,000	2,024,000	
1907 ... ..	224	5,333,000	58,000	206,000	1,980,000	
1908 ... ..	241	5,757,000	68,000	221,000	1,906,000	

The Bombay Spinning and Weaving Company's mill, projected in 1851, was started in 1854—just 54 years ago. Seven years later the members had increased to a dozen. By 1889 they totalled 124, containing  $2\frac{3}{4}$  million spindles and 22,000 looms, consuming 889,000 bales of cotton. Since that year the spindle, and since 1895 the weaving, power has practically been doubled, and the consumption of the raw material risen to 2 million bales, equal to 40 to 45 per cent. of the quantity produced in the country. Of the spindles nearly 72 per cent. and of the looms 81 per cent. are located in the Bombay Presidency, the relative proportions in the Island of Bombay being 48 and 53 per cent., leaving but 28 and 19 per cent. for the rest of India.

## INDIAN COTTON MILLS

					Cotton Consumed
Year ending June 30.	Mills.	Spindles.	Looms.	Operatives.	Bales.
Island of Bombay (a) . .	85	2,735,511	35,553	101,331	1,083,238
Rest of Presidency (b) . .	85	1,385,145	19,134	526,79	354,826
<b>Total Bombay</b> . .	<b>170</b>	<b>4,120,656</b>	<b>54,687</b>	<b>154,016</b>	<b>1,438,064</b>
<b>Other Provinces (c)</b> . .	<b>71</b>	<b>1,636,192</b>	<b>12,819</b>	<b>66,980</b>	<b>557,480</b>

**Total India (d)** . . . 241 5,756,848 67,506 220,996 1,995,544

In course of erection (a) one, (b) eight, (c) five, and (d) fourteen.

A tabulated statement of the position of the mills for the present year is not yet to hand, but for the 63 working in the previous one in the Bombay Presidency, other than in the Island, 52 were located in Guzerat and Kathiawar, the "Broach" and "Dhollera" districts (37 at Ahmedabad, 10 at Baroda, Surat, &c., and 5 in Kathiawar), 1 in Khandeish, 5 in the Deccan, and a similar number in the Southern Mahratta districts. In the Punjab there were 7, in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh 8, 2 each in the Native States of Rajputana and Central India, 3 in the Nizam's territories, 7 in the Central Provinces, 1 in Berar, 13 in Bengal (all in Calcutta or its neighbourhood), and 18 in Southern India, of which 11 were in the Madras Presidency, 1 in Travancore, 2 in Mysore, and 4 in French territory at Pondicherry.

Of the production and distribution of their outturn in the past five years here is a summary of a statement from the interesting "Review of the Trade of India for 1907-08," compiled by the Officiating Director of Commercial Intelligence, Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, I.C.S. :—

Official Years ending	Yarns (in Millions of Lbs.)		Piece-Goods (in Millions of Yds.)			
	Pro- duction.	Exported.	per Cent. Exported.	Pro- duction.	Exported.	Per Cent. Exported.
March 31						
1903-04	578.8	252.5	43.6	460.5	75.8	9.2
1904-05	578.4	247.9	42.8	549.5	87.5	9.6
1905-06	580.9	297.6	43.7	565.0	92.0	9.9
1906-07	653.7	243.5	37.2	708.1	76.7	10.8
1907-08	638.3	215.6	33.8	808.4	74.1	9.2

This shows a decline in these five years of 10 per cent., from 43 to 33, in the exports of yarns, while the shipments of piece-goods remained stationary at 9 to 10 per cent. According to Mr. Cotton, the exports to China represented last year 74.3 per cent of the total value, as against 91.4 per cent. in 1906-07. The decline is attributed to the fluctuations in exchange, heavy stocks at the close of the previous year, and the indigenous production of China, "thanks to the vigorous official dry nursing, which seems to be increasing at a rate which portends the eventual closing of this market to foreign imports." He adds: "The estimated production of the 28 mills in China in 1907 amounted to 450,000 bales of yarns, as compared with receipts from India of 428,000 bales and 11,000 bales from the United Kingdom." The trade in yarns with the Levant, of recent growth, is rapidly expanding—9 million pounds against under 3 million the year before—and in other directions steadily increasing. Of the qualities of yarn produced by the Indian mills last year, it will be sufficient to say that 90.8 per cent. was of 25's and under, 8.8 per cent. of 26's to 40's, and but 0.4 per cent. of 40's and over. (From the *Statist.*)

## REVIEWS & NOTICES OF BOOKS

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### MORLEY'S INDIAN SPEECHES

[*Speeches on Indian Affairs*—By JOHN MORLEY, published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras.]

We congratulate Messrs G. A. Natesan and Co. on this very opportune publication—the *Indian Speeches of Lord Morley*. These speeches are not large in number and the volume necessarily is small in size, containing only about 250 well-printed pages. But it ought nevertheless to prove an invaluable work in the book-shelf of every Indian politician and journalist.

The book begins with an appreciation of Lord Morley's life and past career—a career in which the bookish philosopher is happily blended with the practical politician. Lord Morley has been for a long time the recognised exponent and interpreter of liberal principles and ideas in England. He illuminates his knowledge of the present with his knowledge of the past. His works are saturated with a vast reading of history and with all the wealth of literary beauty which hardly any of his compeers can equal, far less surpass. He has been in intimate contact with all the currents and cross-currents of English political life. And it is quite natural that such a man should be looked up to as the mouth-piece and organ of liberalism. But it is not with Lord Morley's political philosophy or the part he has played in English politics that we are concerned here. Although the educated community in India has long gazed on him distantly as 'the friend and biographer of Gladstone, the disciple of John Stuart Mill and the admirer of John Bright and Edmund Burke,' it is with Lord Morley as the Indian Secretary of State that the Indians have had any direct relationship with him.

When Lord (then Mr.) Morley was posted at the helm of Indian affairs, he raised hopes among the educated community in India that were quite out of proportion with reason and common sense. Every disappointment therefore he has inflicted on those hopes has been severe and crushing. His branding the Indian educated community as the 'enemies of England,' his refusal to undo the partition of Bengal on the 'settled fact' plea, which is destined to be historical, and his pronouncement about the eternal continuance of despotic Government in India—have un-

doubtedly added to the general discontent. These injudicious acts and utterances have also tended to lower Lord Morley in the Indian's estimation. When on the top of these, he sanctioned the operation of Regulation III of 1818 for the purpose of deporting, without trial, respectable citizens of India, he was spoken generally very harshly of and, in less sober quarters, he was roundly reviled. But Lord Morley now stands on quite a different relation with the educated classes in India. It was in his first Budget speech in 1906 that he fore-shadowed some reforms. From that time up to this, he has passed through an unusual period of storm and stress at Downing Street. But he seems to have all along kept a steady eye on progressive government and his generous reform scheme has now evoked rejoicings all the country over. We shall speak of this reform scheme later on, but it is certainly high time that the Indians ought to revise their estimate of Lord Morley and revoke all the harsh things said and thought about him.

Lord Morley in the very first speech delivered by him after accepting the Indian portfolio laid down the general principles on which he intended to proceed in the governance of India. Analysing his Budget speech for 1906, we find the following principles very definitely set forth : (1) that the Government of India is a great and difficult responsibility which must be looked at with a 'clear, firm, steadfast gaze' ; (2) that the Government must be carried on in a sympathetic spirit with due deference to the 'new spirit' that is abroad ; (3) that the British institutions or any scheme of self-Government are unsuited to India and will remain so for so long a time as his imagination could pierce through. Even before Lord Morley had anything to do with India, he looked upon the government of this country with almost a sense of awe. Years before he ever thought of being Secretary of State for India, he said : —

"Government is a grave task under all circumstances, but there is one part of our world-wide realm where caution is far more urgently and imperatively needed than in all other spheres and departments of our dominions put together, and that is India."

It is true this sense of responsibility is an essential qualification in a minister. It makes him considerate in every step he takes, to weigh all his transactions with due thought and care, and prevents him from any light-hearted measure or pronouncement. But we find in Lord Morley this sense of responsibility almost growing into a fault. It has made him believe a little too much in 'experts' and in the 'men on the spot,' and has bred in him a



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feeling of helpless diffidence. We must remember this fact to understand some of his Indian transactions. On the assumption of the office of the Secretary of State Lord Morley laid down 'sympathy' as the key-note of his policy. In his first Budget speech, he made a very fine utterance which has since then been very largely quoted and has almost passed into a household word. In another memorable speech he also asked this audience to carefully remember the fact that the Indians were not 'barbarians'. "It was well said," says Lord Morley, "that great thoughts 'come from the heart'—a beautiful expression, but I should like to add to it a prosaic rider of my own—great thoughts come from the heart, but they must go round by the head." A fine pronouncement which, when made with regard to India, becomes almost sublime ! It is really this combination of the qualities of the head and heart that a successful Indian administrator must bring to bear upon his work. But even above this sentiment, we should probably place his candid recognition of the 'new spirit that is abroad in India.' Lord Morley very rightly called this 'new spirit' the 'result of the natural operation of knowledge and reflection.' He welcomes this new spirit with a frank consideration that does credit to his liberalism. And when on a memorable occasion Lord Curzon wished to set the clock of education back in India, Lord Morley was none too slow in raising his voice against any relapse to ignorance or any primitive methods of instruction. But till the publication of his reform scheme, it was generally believed in India that this sentiment was a mere claptrap of Lord Morley. But the bottom has now been knocked out of that mistrust and even the most pessimist malcontent cannot now say that Lord Morley is not in active sympathy with the reform party in India. "Because a man," said Lord Morley in his first Indian Budget speech, "is dissatisfied and discontented, therefore he is not disaffected." We believe this remark was specially directed generally to the educated community in India and particularly to the Indian National Congress.

But it is the third and last principle of Lord Morley alluded to above that has grieved Indian feelings and aspirations beyond description. Lord Morley really cast his liberalism to the winds when he denied even the ultimate possibility of self-government to India. In fact Lord Morley's position in this was as illogical and inconsistent with liberal principles as possible. He recognises that education is giving rise to a new spirit in India. He recognises that 'the Indian Asiatic is a man with very vivid susceptibilities of all

kinds, and with great traditions, with long traditions of a civilization of his own' and that the 'British nation is 'bound to treat him with the same kind of respect and kindness and sympathy that they should expect to be treated with themselves.' He recognises that 'these people (the Indians) have in them admirable material upon which you may by and by.....build up a system under which they shall have a far greater share than they now have in the Government.' Yet he refuses to work up this idea to its logical consequence' for he prefers to bury his head in the sand like the proverbial ostrich !

In an important speech delivered at Forfar, on the occasion of the return of the Prince and the Princess of Wales from a tour through the British self-governing colonies, Lord Morley said :— " Our rule of the realm to which we belong claims to rest on strict rules and principles of justice, equity, good faith, honour and the principles of which, I think, Mr. Gladstone said that Self-Government is the great aim of national politics." Yet in this Budget speech for 1906, Lord Morley easily went back on this great utterance of his ! In another speech Lord Morley said that the ultimate end of British rule might be a good subject for the musings of the meditative mind, but the practical politician has no business to reflect on it. It is really surprising that a political philosopher like Lord Morley could dismiss this momentous question by saying, "sufficient unto the day are the evils thereof."

His second Budget Speech—that for 1907—yields decidedly in importance to his first. But on one score it is a momentous speech, for it was in this speech that he adumbrated his reform proposals. But there are other points also in it which deserve notice in this short review. He spoke in this speech of the 'inherited internal troubles of the Government,' 'the Fuller episode,' 'the troubles in the Punjab,' 'the Punjab deportations,' 'the situation in Eastern Bengal,' 'the efficiency of pure bureaucracy,' and 'the Simla reforms.' It is impossible for us within the short space we have at our disposal to dwell on these various tempting topics. But we should like to point out some outstanding features of Lord Morley's views on them. In his remarks on the Fuller episode, we have an illustration of what Lord Acton said of Lord Morley that 'he has the obstinacy of a very honest mind.' He showed this 'obstinacy' during the last Boer War when he went against the most overwhelming volume of public opinion of England and in opposition to such leading members of his party as Mr. Asquith and others. The same obstinacy showed itself in the decided, uncompromising, and

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extreme step taken by Lord Morley with regard to that erratic genius, Sir Bampfylde Fuller. This honest obstinacy, we must in fairness say, has led him to refuse to reconsider the settled fact of the Partition of Bengal. His judgment was, if for once, at fault in deciding on this course in regard to the Partition, but his obstinacy in this connection must be pronounced very remarkable.

Lord Morley's unwarrantable remarks on the troubles in the Punjab and his weak and rotten case for the deportation of Mr. Ajit Singh and Lala Lajpat Rai have been discussed threadbare in the Indian Press and these stale matters need not be re-cooked at present. But the fact remains that it is not the deportations so much as the withdrawal of the Colonisation Bill that quieted the Punjab. So also the reasons assigned by him for the Hindu-Mahomedan riots in Eastern Bengal unmistakably betrayed his relapse into the grip of the 'men on the spot'. Lord Morley's morbid anxiety about the Indian unrest, and his consequent diffidence, have produced in him a tendency to over-credulity and one-sidedness. We are all familiar with Lord Morley's famous out-burst of indignation when Mr. Cartwright was detained without trial by Lord Kitchener in Cape Town. He has admitted also in his Budget Speech for 1907 that "the vague preamble of 'reason of State' in the Regulation III of 1818 is full of mischief and full of danger." But it seems that the high-placed official in India, whose eyes and ears are low-paid spies and informers, has possessed Lord Morley like an obsession. The fact becomes still more clear when we look at the reasons he assigned for the sanguinary Hindu-Mahomedan riots that occurred in East Bengal a few years ago. He put them categorically—first, attempts to impose the boycott on Mahomedans by force ; secondly, complaints by Hindus of high-handed proceedings of local officials and by Mahomedans of ill treatment of the Hindus ; thirdly retaliation by Mahomedans ; fourthly, complaint by Hindus that local officials do not protect them from this retaliation ; fifthly, general lawlessness of the lower classes on both sides, encouraged by the spectacle of fighting among the higher classes ; sixthly, more complaints against the officials as the result of that disorder in certain districts having been complained of. These exactly were the official reasons of the riots and Lord Morley had no hesitation to repeat them like a parrot word for word. Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh in his undelivered speech prepared for the abortive Congress at Surat effectively showed up the hollowness of these reasons and rightly likened Lord Morley to Ariel in the hateful bondage of Sycorax. But it is when we come towards the concluding part of this Budget speech

for 1907 that we find the reformer in Lord Morley getting the better of the official. "Our danger," says he, "is the creation in the centre of the Indian Government of a pure bureaucracy." "The present system of administration," Lord Morley rightly remarks, "if persisted in, they (the servants of the Government) are likely to become rather mechanical, rather lifeless, perhaps I might even say, rather soul-less." Public opinion on the question of decentralisation may be divided, but there is no doubt that the servants of the Government are now more mechanical and we might say more devoted to red tape than they used to be fifty years ago. The very recognition of this fact is no doubt a great gain for us. "The Indian," Lord Morley believes, "is peculiarly responsive to sympathy." "It oppresses me to think," he further says, "how few opportunities, either in India or here, the governing bodies have of having the views of the Indian people." He put in an eloquent plea for the better treatment of the 'Asiatic Indian' with sympathy and respect, and ended by saying with unnecessary emphasis, that "British rule will continue and ought to continue, and must continue." In his Arbroath Speech, Lord Morley gave expression to a noble sentiment:—"I have never lost my invincible faith that there is a better mind in all great communities of the human race and that that better mind, if you can reach it, if statesmen in times to come can reach that better mind and awaken it and evoke it, can induce it to apply itself to practical purposes for the betterment of the conditions of that community, they will indeed have a beneficent fame." It is exactly to reach, awaken, and evoke that better mind by sympathy and generous treatment—and not by repression and sternness which only evoke undesirable feelings—that India appeals to Lord Morley. Lord Morley has also shown a good deal of insight in this speech by realising that the crux of the Indian problem is not so much political as racial. "It is a dislike," says he, "not of political domination, but of our racial domination." In this speech he also declared his policy of "rallying the moderates",—an expression which has now become historic in Indian politics.

The next speech which is a reply to Mr. Herbert Robert's Amendment to the Address about the Partition of Bengal in 1906 has been the cause of much heart-burning in India. This speech will always seem to belie Lord Morley's reputation for liberalism. Lord Morley admitted that this 'administrative operation went wholly and decisively against the wishes of most of the people concerned.' 'Nothing,' he further said, 'was ever worse done so far as the disregard which was shown to the feeling and opinion of the con-

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cerned.' He also made the important pronouncement that 'a man is ill-fitted for the governing of other men if he does not give a large place to the operation of sentiment.' Yet, the man who could give utterance to such a fine sentiment perpetuated an administrative error on the very poor plea of a 'settled fact.' Lord Morley's false position in this respect has been very pithily and effectively exposed by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji in his presidential speech at the Calcutta Congress of 1906.

The next speech of any importance is that delivered by Lord Morley on the 31st January, 1908, on the need for reform in the House of Commons. There is one portion in this pretty long speech which is remarkable in its generous spirit and will bear quotation at length :

" My heart is with them (the people of India). What is bureaucracy to me ? To me it is a great machine in India, rather a splendid machine, for performing the most difficult task that ever was committed to the charge of any nation. But show me where it fails—that it is perfect in all respect no sensible man would contend for a moment—but show me at any point, let any of my hon'ble friends show me from day to day as this session passes, where this bureaucracy, as they call it, has been at fault. Do they suppose it possible that I will not show my recognition of that fault and do all that I can to remedy it ? Although the Government of India is very complicated and intricate, they cannot suppose that I shall fail for one moment in doing all in my power to demonstrate to those who live in India that I am moved by a kindly, a sympathetic and friendly spirit." In Lord Morley we have surely a Secretary of State whose heart is and never likely to be at fault, although his judgment may sometime go astray.

One of the most important speeches of Lord Morley, however, was that delivered in the House of Lords on 30th June 1908, in reply to Lord Curzon. It was a memorable occasion when this speech was delivered, considering the volume of public interest excited in England at the time in Indian affairs.

Almost every elected and nominated peer sitting in the Gilded Chamber who had anything to do with India, took some part or other in this debate. From 'King' Lansdowne down to Lord Ampthill there was hardly an ex-Viceroy of India who did not ventilate his views on the Indian situation. Lord Morley in this speech made a firm stand for liberal principles and administered a well-merited reproof to Lord Curzon for a most reactionary and injudicious speech. It is true that Lord Morley declared the

Partition of Bengal to be a "settled fact"—evidently his pet phrase—so far as he was concerned, but he refused at the same time to regard it as "sacrosanct." He also dwelt on his determination to stick to the path of reform and added :—

"We have no choice but to persevere in the path of reform. We cannot get out of our own history. We cannot leave the course marked out for us by the conscience of this country in dealing with what I am sorry to call alien races."

Lord Morley also spoke against Lord Curzon's 'cheap and unworthy irony as to the literary sources of these questions' (meaning education of the non-official Indian members of Legislative Councils and the reform party generally). This first speech of Lord Morley in the House of Lords was marked throughout by a decided tone of sympathy and liberalism.

Lord Morley's address at the Civil Service dinner, also delivered in July, 1908, was remarkable on many points and yields almost nothing in importance to his Budget speech of that year.

He spoke on the futility of pure repression, the establishment of universities in India as a move in the right direction, the courage of the Government in maintaining a firm attitude in face of extraordinary difficulties, and 'the dark and ugly moment' before them which he hopes to get through 'without the quackery and cant of order or the quackery and cant of sentiment.' But in this speech Lord Morley made a remarkable confession as regards deportation under Regulation III of 1818. He put the question to his audience thus : "To strain the meaning and spirit of an exceptional law like our old regulation of the year 1818 in such a fashion as this, what would it do?" Although Lord Morley vehemently denied that such a course would provoke lawless and criminal reprisals, the confession contained in this is transparent enough. We leave it to others to judge how far Lord Morley has been justified in straining the meaning and spirit of an old regulation to apply to in appropriate cases, but it strikes us that whenever he has tried to make a defence for this measure, his arguments have been peculiarly halting and inadequate. Exigency of space forbids our dwelling at greater length on this speech, but from many points of view, it would remain one of the most important Indian utterances of Lord Morley. The next speech with which we shall concern ourselves was delivered by Lord Morley on the 17th of December, 1908, in the House of Lords on the reform proposals. We shall only touch on a point or two of this speech.

Lord Morley rightly observed that the reform proposals if

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carried through will usher in 'a very important chapter in the history of the relations between Great Britain and India.' In truth, since the transfer of the Indian administration to the Crown, there has not been a more liberal step taken by British statesmanship in dealing with India, excepting perhaps Lord Ripon's scheme of local self-government. In the speech under review, Lord Morley enunciated some principles underlying his reforms which we reproduce below categorically for the benefit of our readers :—

(1) It is impossible to abstain from reforms in the administration of India and a policy of pure repression would produce a "mute, sullen, muzzled, and lifeless India" which could hardly claim to be the "brightest jewel of the Crown."

(2) Official majority in the Council tends to 'deaden the interest and responsibility of the non-official members, throwing them into an attitude of peevish and permanent opposition.'

(3) It is an 'enormous advantage' to the Government to have the point of view of an Indian in the Executive Councils. This implies also the principle of taking the Indian view into consideration in the executive work of the Government, and

(4) The people of India should be associated with the Government in 'the work of actual day-to-day administration.'

In this connection, Lord Morley pointed out a fact which the late Mr. John Bright put so tersely in his inimitable language. "Had that people (Indians) not been docile and the most governable race in the world, how could you have maintained your power for one hundred years?"

It is mainly on these principles that Lord Morley has drawn up his generous reform scheme. In the speech on the Reform proposals, there is one brilliant passage which we cannot resist the temptation of quoting here. Speaking of India, he said :—

"We are watching at a great and stupendous process—the reconstruction of a decomposed society. What we found was described as a parallel to Europe in the fifth century and we have now before us in that vast congeries of people we called India, as it were, a long, slow march in uneven stages through all the centuries, from fifth to the twentieth. Stupendous indeed! and to guide that transition with sympathy, political wisdom and courage, with a sense of humanity, duty, and national honour, may well be called a glorious mission." This glowing passage reminds us of the famous outbursts of eloquence associated with the memory of an Edmund Burke or John Bright.

But in this speech again the defence put forward by him

for the deportation of some Bengali gentlemen is singularly unhappy. Lord Morley admitted that such a measure would cause great reaction and excitement, but he put it that it was a price—may be high price to pay—to save a dangerous situation. “The only question,” says he, “is whether the situation justifies the passing of summary legislation and the resort to the Regulation of 1818.” To our humble thinking, it appears that there is another question—a more important and delicate one—which the Government must carefully weigh before this drastic regulation is resorted to. It is whether the intended deportees are really responsible for the situation or their presence in society would be a menace to law and order. As a matter of fact, this is a much more important and urgent question to settle than the nature of the situation. The Government would easily have spared the country a good deal of ill-feeling and a sense of wrong if they had not deported men like Babus Aswini Kumar Dutt and Krishna Kumar Mitter. These two gentlemen—quite fair and above board in their public life—should have been the last to be fixed upon for summary and drastic action. But Lord Morley has his eagle-eye set only upon one side of the question and does not apparently care to consider who it is that are made scape-goats for the sins of others.

The rest of the book is taken up with Lord Morley's speeches on India made before he entered Whitehall—we have four of these—and the full text of Lord Morley's despatch on the reform proposals. In these speeches there is little worth noticing. In the first of these speeches delivered so far back as 1897, Lord Morley scouted the Jingo fever which had been afflicting the Government of India at that time. In the second speech—delivered in the same year—welcoming back an Eastern pro-consul to England there is a noble passage with which we should like Lord Morley to refresh his memory. “It (security of British rule) would be in the rectitude and honesty of our intentions coupled with the avoidance of all sources of complaint, which either invite foreign aggression or stir up restless spirits of revolt.” In another speech delivered in 1901, Lord Morley has an important passage which our “demonstrating loyalists” and “manifesto-mongers” had better take a note of. “One would think,” said Lord Morley, “that they (people of this school who prate about loyalty and patriotism) really doubted whether loyalty and patriotism and greatness in the king's realm existed that they might be constantly talking of it.”

We need not launch into a discourse here on Lord Morley's reform proposals as that subject has been well traversed in a recent



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issue of the *Indian World*. But it is our opinion that the proposal about the Electoral Colleges, as originally enunciated in Lord Morley's despatch, was about the best that could be devised, under the peculiar circumstances of India. Although it suffers from the defect of 'double election'—a defect which Burke seriously noted in the National Assembly of France during the Revolutionary Period—it seems to us impossible to get rid of it in the present limitation of our conditions. We are sorry to note in this connection that an unreasonable demand for class representation has already led Lord Morley to deform and mutilate his original scheme.

We have necessarily confined our remarks in the foregoing pages to important political questions that arise out of a consideration of Lord Morley's Indian speeches. The limits of a magazine review forbid anything like an exhaustive criticism and the field is so vast that we could have infinitely lengthened out this notice. Lord Morley's utterances on India, as the publisher rightly remarks in the introduction, is next in importance to only those of Burke and Bright. When we resent any of his measures we must remember the difficulty and responsibility of his situation. He had not a clean slate to write upon and moreover the troubles stirred up by Lord Curzon in India recoiled on Lord Morley's head. Lord Morley's heart, as we have said, has never been at fault with regard to India. And although his ultimatum about the possibility of self-Government for India may seem to belie his sympathy with the reform party, we must not forget to make allowance for pious opinions. Lord Morley's reform proposals have been hailed with almost demonstrative enthusiasm in India. In the Parliament his reform scheme may be largely amended and altered, but Lord Morley may count upon the support of the whole educated Indian community. But we regard his reforms as the first instalment of many valuable concessions to come, and before he retires from the heat and worry of Whitehall we hope he will grant to the people in his charge a substantial share in the Government of their country.

## THE BHAGWAD GITA IN MODERN LIFE

BY RAI BAHADUR LALA BAIJ NATH, B. A.

(Published at the Vaishya Hitakari Office, Meerut)

The *Bhagavadgita* forms one of the sacred scriptures of the Hindu people. It embodies the lofty teachings of the *Upanishads* in a more systematic form and is widely read by all who are fond

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of inspired utterances and sublime philosophy. It is needless to mention that the *Gita* apart from its religious character possesses literary splendours in an eminent degree. The 11th chapter of the book is an instance in point. The wider the diffusion of this precious relic of Hindu thought, the better for the country. We are, therefore, pleased to see Lala Baij Nath's interpretation of this memorable work made in the light of modern thought. While conscious of the rare merits of the *Gita* we cannot forget that its teachings have been interpreted in diverse ways and that different schools of philosophy have risen therefrom. India is proud of its philosophy and well may it be so. But it is a patent fact that philosophy has to a large extent proved a curse to this ancient country. While European civilisation has drawn its sustenance from the *vigorous* precepts of the Bible—precepts which fill the heart with earnest longing to serve mankind—the sublime religion of the *Gita* (of the *Upanishads* and the *Brahmasutras* also) has been converted into an instrument by Sankaracharyya to make man shun his fellow-beings and cultivate an exclusive religion away from the haunts of men. Lala Baij Nath, we are glad to notice, has steered clear of Sankara's exposition of the *Gita* and all narrowness of view. On the question of the caste-system also, Lala Baij Nath gives a wide berth to Sankara's orthodoxy and supposes it to have been built up not on any adventitious conditions of birth but on the qualities of head and heart. We have no wish to dispute the fact that caste-system is sanctioned by the *Shastras* of later origin, but the *Gita* does not lend any support to the pernicious type of caste-system which obtains in India at the present day. The *Gita* speaks of caste but it speaks of it in a heterodox sense. As long as honours and privileges do not become the birthright of particular class or classes of men, caste-system can be safely tolerated. But unfortunately caste-system comes into existence only when one is born into the world as heir to a privilege or privileges. The famous Guizot in his *History of Civilisation* defined caste-system as a system built on hereditary privilege or privileges. The system, therefore, that confines privileges among certain classes or families of men can have no moral defence, either from the utilitarian or the democratic points of view. We are, therefore, happy to note that the book lying on our desk has boldly decried this terrible social evil of our country.

## **LIST OF RECENT BOOKS ON INDIA**

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**ORANGE D. G.**—Quinquennial Report on Indian Education (Published by the Government of India).

**OATEN, E. F.**—European Travellers in India during the XVth, XVIth and the XVIIth centuries (Being the Evidence afforded by them with respect to Indian Social Institutions and the Nature and Influence of Indian Governments).

**DUTT, R. C.**—Famines and Land Assessments in India (Cheap Edition : 3/2).

**ADAM, H. L.**—The Indian Criminal (with Illustrations : 9/4).

**GORDON, E. M.**—Indian Folk-Tales (Cheap Edition : 1/6).

**RAMACHARAKA, YOGI.**—The Philosophic and Religious of India : (4/-)

## LEADING THOUGHTS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS

### THE SITUATION IN INDIA

The above is the title of a long article contributed to the *Empire Review* by Mr. Justice Beaman of the Bombay High Court. We are really surprised how a man, holding an important and responsible appointment in His Majesty's Service, can express himself in the manner in which the said Judge has done. The article, however, can claim credit for precise expression and attempt at accurate reasoning. But it is full of calumny and hatred of the Indians. In the beginning he stands as a stout champion of political liberty and free citizenship, but gradually develops into a vile supporter of autocracy. To those who hold the doctrine—"all people have the right to be free," Mr. Justice Beaman replies: "No country has the right to hold the peoples of another country or continent in subjection and deny them equal rights of free citizenship." But Mr. Justice Beaman thinks that this principle, however, does not hold good in the case of India. He says:—

"It implies that we found India "free" and enslaved her. It implies that there is a people in India struggling to be free, and that we repress it. It implies a homogeneity of race, religion and sentiment throughout India, the very reverse of what we really find there. It implies an Indian "nation"; but there is no Indian nation. It implies that India, like France or England, is a country, while every one knows that it is a continent. It is a continent full of jarring and hostile elements, a continent of which the numerous peoples and tribes are only kept in restraint by the compelling power of England."

The Bombay Judge sets forth his love of liberty in this manner:

"If there were an Indian nation aspiring to be free; if the English rule suppressed by force that aspiration and imposed upon the weak but unwilling necks of millions the yoke of a foreign tyranny, I do not think that any genuine Englishman could be found to defend the morality of such a position."

He next points out the mistake of those who assert that the English received India in trust from her peoples and are therefore under all the obligations of a trustee. He says—

"If we are no more than trustees for the peoples of India, we have no right to consult our own interests. The worst fault a trustee can commit is to make his own advantage out of the trust."

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"But the major premise is false," continues the writer. "We never were "entrusted" by any people or peoples of India with the temporary government upon the footing of trustors and trustees. There is surely nothing in the manner of our acquisition of India which can give colour to these pleasant illusions."

From the above the writer, as a typical Anglo-Indian, finds no difficulty in arriving at the following inference :—

" If we admit that the origin of our rule in India was conquest, we may consistently avow that our paramount object should be the maintenance of British supremacy, or, changing the phrase, that we hold India for England. Those who most loudly proclaim that England consciously undertook from the first and ought to carry on to the last a philanthropic missionary work in India, would do well to pause upon a practical test. They might reflect that however great the unselfishness of individuals, no nation has yet collectively committed itself to any such experiment on the grand scale in political philanthropy."

To those Indians who think that—

" We (Englishmen) found India helpless and unregenerate ; we took upon ourselves to protect and rear and regenerate her. Our chief motive has been, and always must be, the education of India up to the capacity of governing herself, of becoming in reality a free people. To that end all merely selfish considerations, all purely English interests must be inexorably subordinated,"

Mr. Beaman submits the following unequivocal reply :—

" The exaggeratedly disinterested claim which is put forward by some Indo-phile enthusiasts is shown to be unsustainable in a vital particular. We did not take India, nor do we keep India for the sake of the Indians. We believe, that governing India as we do, our rule makes for the greatest happiness and the greatest material prosperity of the greatest number. But while justly congratulating ourselves upon that happy result, we must admit that if we could only govern India on our present lines, at a loss direct or indirect to England, the English people who had to pay the cost would bid us leave India to work out her own salvation in her own way. If then, as I think, we took India solely in the interests of England and hold India in the interests of England, it follows that the interests of England not only in fact are, but ought to be avowed to be the guiding principle of our Indian policy. Every reform, every large measure, all important administrative changes should be referred to one standard and one standard only, the interests of England. A limit may at any time be reached at which experi-

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ments in political education, local self-government, the association of natives with the governing bodies, ceases to conform to that standard ; and when that limit is reached further experiment along those lines ought to be, for the time at any rate, abandoned."

Having thus disposed of the "loose talk about the legitimate demands of the educated natives", he questions the claims of leading Indian democrats to represent the mass, or even any considerable section of the subject peoples of India, and finds that they do not represent even the small sections of their own peoples. "And it is quite certain", says he, "that none of those sections would care to be governed by a composite body of natives reflecting all sorts of racial and religious animosities."

About Indian patriotism the learned Judge has the following :—

"While within bounds the 'patriotism' of a Mahratta is quite intelligible, it is not so easy to credit the Bengalis with anything like the same real sentiment. It would puzzle the eloquent Calcutta propagandists to derive the fervent 'patriotism' evoked by the purely administrative partitioning of Bengal, from any historic tradition. The various brands of patriotism, which are now being vociferously hawked about the country, have one, and only one element in common, hatred of the British rule. Nor does it seem to occur to any of the gentlemen who speak of it so glibly, that what is, or is pretended to be, from their point of view, patriotism must be rebellion from ours."

This finishes the first part of Mr. Beaman's long article. An examination of the causes of the present unrest and disaffection in India constitutes the second part. The learned Judge deftly diagnoses the unrest and detects two potent causes to account for it.

The first he calls "permanent and inseparable from the character of our rule." He dwells upon it, after Mr. Townsend, in this manner :—

"The imposition of a strong foreign domination, the Pax Britannica, on which we pride ourselves and have every right to pride ourselves, has reduced the lives of all the adventurous and warlike peoples of India to a dead level of dullness. We have taken all interests out of their lives. Formerly every stout heart and strong arm felt that the future was full of glowing possibilities. A peon to-day, a nawab to-morrow ; such things had been and might be again. But when England stretched forth her mighty arm over the whole continent, and decreed that from Himalaya to Comorin there should be perpetual peace, she robbed these restless and haughty spirits of every chance worth living for. The

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swords were ground into ploughshares, and the lions had, in truth, to lie down with the lambs."

The other chief cause of discontent, says the writer, is "our system of education." Logically, this leads Justice Beaman to put forth a tirade against the Indians educated under that system. He goes on thus :—

"The native mind, for all its subtlety and cuteness, is often robustly and almost terrifyingly illogical. The native mind has never been able to discern clearly between two propositions. All employees of the Government must be educated, and all educated natives must be employees of the Government."

The entire agitation fomented by *educated* young India resolves itself into a demand for more, and always more, of the official loaves and fishes.

So he says—

"If we are to judge the tree by its fruits, and if we are to do so with strict impartiality, laying aside all bias and prepossessions we must admit that Western education in India has proved so far a failure. It has not in a single instance contributed to the strength of our Government ; it has, in a hundred ways, direct and indirect, weakened and embarrassed it."

Mr. Justice Beaman concludes his article with an additional enumeration of causes contributing to the growth and propagation of disaffection. Chief among these have been "the land legislation in the Punjab, the partition of Bengal and the Russo-Japanese war."

## HOPE THE CONQUEROR

Under the above heading, Rev. C. F. Andrews of Delhi has an interesting article in the January *Indian Review*. It seeks to inspire the Indian patriot with a bold faith in the ultimate regeneration of his native land. According to the writer of the article the first reason for hopefulness is the fact that a manly spirit of self-dependence has been born in the land and that "passive acquiescence in abuses which is the despair of all reformers and the dead-weight on all progress" is fast becoming a thing of the past. The second ground for encouragement is that Indian lovers of their country have begun to believe intensely and passionately in themselves and in their own capacities. The old respect for authority has perhaps vanished to some extent but the old respect for authority often meant a careless acceptance of what was wrong and a slothful indifference to what was right. The writer rejoices to see that the

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unhealthy reverence for, authority is passing away and that "a healthy belief in the innate capacity of the Indian people themselves is taking the place of a weakening dependence on the foreigner." "Until," it is wisely observed by him, "a nation believes in its own destiny there is little hope." This spirit of self-dependence has quickened the different phases of the national life and as a result efforts are being made to uplift the down-trodden *pariahs* and *namasudras*, to spread female education, to help the famine-stricken, the poor, the illiterate and the outcast, to introduce national education and to develop indigenous industries. A further ground of confidence on the part of the writer is based on the fact that during the past year there has been a readiness to suffer for the cause, to bear disappointments and to see great expectations shattered, without being unduly cast down or giving way to despair. The outbreak of anarchy is deplorable beyond dispute but the fortitude that has been roused in the nation is highly encouraging. "Last and greatest of all," the writer remarks in conclusion, "the National Movement during the past year has become more distinctly religious in its outlook; it has dropped like a veil the merely utilitarian aspect and is standing out in its true colours as primarily spiritual." While eloquently dwelling on this aspect of the National Movement, Rev. Andrews does not fail to regret that superstitions are here and there being revived under the name of "national," but he believes that "this is as nothing compared with the serious religious spirit which has spread among the younger generation and given a greater earnestness and depth to life and character." The last words of this well-written article are sufficiently cheering; for as one who loves India the Rev. C. F. Andrews longs to see this ancient land take her "rightful place" among the nations of the world.

## CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS IN INDIA

The March number of the *Contemporary Review* has an article on Constitutional Reforms in India from the pen of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale. Mr. Gokhale's opinion on Lord Morley's reforms is bound to create considerable interest in this country. The article opens with a short glowing description of the period preceding the announcement of the Reforms. He characterises it as a "long period of reaction," and speaks of it in the following terms :—

"The old faith in the purpose and character of British rule had



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well-nigh vanished and those few who still clung to that faith stood more or less discredited with their countrymen. Passive resistance to authority, so as to paralyse the administration of the country, was being widely and openly preached. A few wilder spirits breaking loose from all restraint were planning desperate deeds of violence. The air throughout the country was heavily laden with a strong anti-English feeling. The Government was answering violent attacks in the Press and on the platform by prosecutions for sedition of writers and speakers on an unprecedented scale, by deportations without trial and by enactment after enactment of a most drastic nature. Never since the Mutiny was the situation so full of peril and anxiety."

Mr. Gokhale next points out that this desperate state of affairs threw a thick volume of cloud over the hitherto unsullied reputation of Lord Morley, who was regarded by most Indians as an honoured teacher of Liberalism and whose appointment as Secretary of State for India caused their hearts to be stirred strangely with a new hope. While the warm personal regard, says the writer in effect, entertained for Lord Minto since his arrival in this country, has not in the least been affected by his repressive measures, there has been a vehement feeling of disappointment and indignation against Lord Morley. So the vindication of Lord Morley's Liberalism was a necessary element in any real improvement of the situation and "such vindication," says Mr. Gokhale, "has now been supplied by the reforms that have been announced."

We are next brought to the subject matter of the article which deals with what these reforms really mean for the people of India. The learned writer is of opinion that these reforms really constitute a notable advance and that "they go a long way to bring the administration of the country into harmony with its present requirements and that when they come into full operation they will mark for the people the commencement of a new era of peaceful progress under British rule."

These proposals, says Mr. Gokhale, are very modest to those who enjoy a full measure of self-Government ; but to the people of India they mean a really great step forward. The scheme is a substantial instalment of reform and has given deep and sincere satisfaction throughout India.

"With Indian members in the Secretary of State's Council," proceeds Mr. Gokhale, "in the Viceroy's Executive Council and Provincial Executive Councils, we shall have reasonable access to those seats of authority where policies are determined and all

## **RECENT POLITICAL UNREST IN BENGAL**

important matters connected with the administration disposed of. Moreover, the appointment of Indians to these Councils means the admission of the people of India to a participation in the highest responsibilities of Government and it carries with it an access of dignity to their status under British rule. The proposed reforms of Legislative Councils is a far-reaching measure and will for the first time bring the administration under some sort of popular control. At present the administration is carried on entirely in the dark, behind the backs of the people. It will now have to be in the light of day and under the scrutiny of public discussion. Local self-government, too, will become a reality and will afford, as it was intended to do by Lord Ripon, valuable training ground for the people to manage their own affairs. If the whole government of the country is compared to a building, with rural and urban boards at its base, district and provincial administration at its centre, and Executive Councils and the Secretary of State's Council at the top, it may be said that while at present there is only partial light round the base, with darkness round the centre, and thick darkness at the top, under the proposed scheme there will be full light round the base, partial light round the centre and faint light at the top."

With regard to differences of opinion regarding details Mr. Gokhale tells us :—

"Lord Morley has himself recognised that in a matter of this magnitude and importance there must naturally be room for a variety of opinions on minor points."

Mr. Gokhale concludes his able article with the following very notable and necessary warning :—

"It will be absolutely disastrous if any attempt is made to go back on the scheme in any important particular. If they (the Indians) are now subjected to any disappointment in connection with it there will be a violent reaction which will be in every way deplorable."

## **RECENT POLITICAL UNREST IN BENGAL**

Before the members of the "Edinburgh Philosophical Institution," Sir Andrew Fraser recently delivered a lecture on the above subject. The paper breathes the spirit of a thorough-going Anglo-Indian bureaucrat. Sir Andrew begins by making a ferocious attack on Lord MacDonnell who had of late an occasion to characterise in the House of Lords the partition of Bengal as the "greatest blunder" since the days of Plassey. The valiant ex-

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Lieutenant-Governor at once dismisses the subject by declaring that the agitation about the partition was rather an indication or symptom of the spirit of unrest than the cause of it, because unrest existed and worst crimes were planned long before the boundaries of Bengal were judicially re-adjusted. So he says that the present unrest is due to other causes, chiefly economic, and that the remedies lay in industrial development and technical education which the Government ought to make an effort to assist. Referring to the existence of unrest among the educated classes, Sir Andrew tells us :—

“ Unrest among the educated classes in part at least arise from aspirations and ambitions which our education had shown our disposition to gratify. In all such unrest if it were sympathetically treated and wisely directed, there was neither anger nor real cause for regret.”

Referring to Lord MacDonnell's pronouncement upon the dismemberment of Bengal, Sir Andrew further goes on to say :—  
“ I would like to mention the fact that all high officers in Bengal who were then responsible for the administration were consulted in regard to this measure and that only one of them opposed the larger scheme of partition when it was published for criticism. The final proposals were also submitted to all the high officials of Bengal for their opinion, and they unanimously approved them, one officer only suggesting a very trifling modification. Now that the scheme has been carried out, now that its advantageous results have been established, it is monstrous to propose to reverse it.”

Thus, the justification of the iniquitous readjustment of territorial bounding of some of the eastern provinces of India was the main theme of his short discourse. He pays a very high tribute to Lords Minto and Morley whom he describes respectively as “ A Viceroy capable of dealing with this difficult and unaccustomed situation, and a Secretary of State for India of whose conduct in a critical time his countrymen, without respect of party, might well be proud.”

Sir Andrew is of opinion that a mixture of the repressive measures and the publication of the statesmanlike reforms, is the best remedy that could be suggested by any body, and he expatiates on the effect of such a policy in his conclusion thus :—

“ Evidence of unrest has generally passed away and for the present, at least, India as a whole is not only peaceful but happy. It must not, however, be supposed that the necessity for unceasing

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vigilance and care has passed away. Extremism is not dead. It has for its final aim the overthrow of our rule in India—a mad scheme fraught with the most disastrous consequences to the peoples whom we are bound to protect."

### THE PROPOSED REFORMS IN INDIA

Under the above heading Mr. J. D. Rees, the irrepressible anti-Indian member of Parliament, gives an expression of his opinion on the Reform Scheme of Lord Morley in the *Fortnightly Review* of this month. The writer is of opinion that "reforms in the administration must shape themselves more or less after the model which England, wisely or unwisely, sets before her subject peoples, whether likely or unlikely, to find salvation on such lines. The utmost caution, however, is needed and the greatest care must be exercised lest any changes should disturb the equilibrium which has up till now been maintained between widely separated classes, races, and communities, with a diversity of interests and of hereditary sentiments, such as for ages have precluded common action or local unanimity. For such make up the peoples and populations of the thrones, dominations, principedoms, and powers included in one majestic whole under the august supremacy of the British Crown."

It is impossible for Mr. Rees to write or speak anything on India without falling foul of the Bengalee Babus. In this article, he thus delivers himself on this favourite theme :

"If the reforms satisfy the English-educated classes, who may conveniently continue to be called Babus, though that term is chiefly used in Bengal, it is much, but it is far more necessary that they should not alienate other races, than that they should conciliate the Bengali English-educated classes. I cannot say upper classes, for these are by no means at one with the Babus, as any one may learn from a perusal of the recently published *Impressions* of the Maharajah of Burdwan. Indeed, it is only the protection of the British Government which gives the Bengalis that political prominence in the too ready acceptance of which lurks a possible danger to British supremacy."

Then Mr. Rees points out that the Mahomedans, inspite of the express injunction of their scriptures to obey their rulers, will never submit to the supremacy of the Hindoos who are after all "sneaking cowards." "The man of action will immediately thrust aside the man of faction, the fighter will replace the writer, and the Mahomedan will at once move to the front." Hence Mr. Rees is anxious lest "in order to conciliate the Babus we alienate the Mahomedans," who are a "powerful, loyal, and important class of our fellow subjects."

Mr. Rees next goes on to summarise the main features of the reform scheme. He is glad that Lord Morley has disapproved of the idea of an Imperial Advisory Council. "Putting this matter aside Lord Minto describes the enlargement of Legislative Councils, and the exclusion of their functions to the discussion of administrative questions as the widest, most deep-reaching and most substantial feature of the whole scheme." With regard to

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the proposed representation by classes and interests, Mr. Rees for once deviates into sense. He is quite at one with Lord Morley in his condemnation of the notion of Parliamentary representation in India. He quotes with alacrity another authority which is too obscure to mention :—

"If you were to be guided entirely by Hindu popular opinion you would find yourself in great difficulties."

Then he comes to the famous All-India Moslem League which he describes as "a body well qualified to represent its constituents." Mr. Rees expresses his hearty approval of the action of the Moslem League in their demand for an exclusive Mahomedan representation. Mr. Rees says—

"Whatever may be done as regards comparatively small and unimportant minorities, communal representation for a community of such supreme importance as that of the Mahomedans should somehow or other be secured. Hindu opinion on such a question has its use. It is a fair indication of what to avoid."

The rest of the article is taken up with the question of Imperial and provincial Legislative Councils and the retention therein of the official majority. With regard to Lord Morley's solicitude to make any distinct advance in the direction of local self-Government, Mr. Rees expresses himself in this wise :—

"I confess I cannot see why, since Lord Morley regards Parliamentary representation in India as one of the wildest imaginations that ever entered the head of man, it should be necessary or desirable for him to stimulate the political education of contented peoples to whom every principle of Western democracy is utterly foreign and uncongenial." Lord Minto's desire to create Executive Councils for the local Governments draws forth the following opinion from Mr. Rees :

"I confess I do not regard with approval the proposal to endow other (than Madras and Bombay) Local Governments with a Council."

Now we come to the crux of the whole question—the appointment of an Indian to the Viceroy's Executive Council. Mr. Rees indignantly states :—

"I confess that of all Lord Morley's proposals this seems to me the one most open to criticism, though I have throughout my service in India advocated the extended employment of natives of that continent. It will be impossible to select any Hindu acceptable to the Mahomedans, or any Mahomedan acceptable to the Hindus." A volley of contemptuous epithets hurled against the Bengalis makes up Mr. Rees' proof positive for the Indians' permanent disqualification to be a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Mr. Rees concludes his precious article in this way :—

"The forward party in India now at any rate cannot assert that the Secretary of State for India is the tool of what they describe as 'an impervious stratum of superannuated fossils seated on sinecures. They cannot complain that their pretensions have not received at least as much attention as they deserve.'"

# OFFICIAL PAPERS

## THE INDIAN COUNCILS BILL

The following is the text of the prefatory memorandum :—

The object of this Bill is to amend and extend the Indian Councils Acts, 1861 and 1892, in such a way as to provide :—

(i) For an enlargement of the Legislative Council of the Governor-General and of the existing Provincial Legislative Councils ;

(ii) For the election of a certain proportion of their members by popular vote ; and

(iii.) For greater freedom to discuss matters of general public interest and to ask questions at their meetings, and more especially for the discussion of the annual financial statements.

The executive Councils of the Governments of Madras and Bombay are enlarged, and powers are taken to create Executive Councils in the other Provinces of India, where they now do not exist. Provision is also made for the appointment of Vice-Presidents of the various Councils.

The details of the necessary arrangements, which must vary widely in the different Provinces, are left to be settled by means of regulations to be framed by the Government of India and approved by the Secretary of State.

The following are the clauses of the Bill, which is intituled 'An Act to amend the Indian Councils Acts, 1861 and 1892, and the Government of India Act, 1833' :—

### CONSTITUTION OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

1.—(1) The additional members of the councils for the purpose of making laws and regulations (herein-after referred to as Legislative Councils) of the Governor-General and the Governors of Fort Saint George and Bombay, and the members of the Legislative Councils already constituted, or which may hereafter be constituted, of the several Lieutenant-Governors of Provinces, instead of being all nominated by the Governor-General, Governor, or Lieutenant-Governor in manner provided by the Indian Councils Acts, 1861 and 1892, shall include members so nominated and also members elected in accordance with regulations made under this Act, and references in those Acts to the members so nominated and their nomination shall be construed as including references to the members so elected and their election.

(1) The number of additional members or members so nominated and elected, the number of such members required to constitute a quorum, the term of office of such members and the manner of filling up casual vacancies occurring by reason of absence from India, inability to attend to duty, death, acceptance of office, or resignation duly accepted, or otherwise, shall, in the case of each such council, be such as may be prescribed by regulations made under this Act.

Provided that the aggregate number of members so nominated and elected shall not, in the case of any Legislative Council

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mentioned in the first column of the first Schedule to this Act, exceed the number specified in the second column of that schedule.

### MADRAS AND BOMBAY COUNCILS

2.—(1) The number of ordinary members of the councils of the Governors of Fort Saint George and Bombay shall be such number not exceeding four as the Secretary of State in Council may from time to time direct, of whom two at least shall be persons who at the time of their appointment have been in the service of the Crown in India for at least twelve years.

(2) If at any meeting of either such council there is an equality of votes on any question, the Governor or other person presiding shall have two votes or the casting vote.

### PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COUNCILS

3.—(1) It shall be lawful for the Governor-General in Council with the approval of the Secretary of State in Council, by proclamation, to create a council in any province under a Lieutenant-Governor for the purpose of assisting the Lieutenant-Governor in the executive government of the province, and by such proclamation :—

(a) To determine what powers and duties of the Lieutenant-Governor shall be exercised and performed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, and what shall be the number (not exceeding four), qualifications, powers, and duties of the members of any such council ; and

(b) To make provision for the appointment of temporary or acting members of the council during the absence of any member from illness or otherwise, and for the procedure to be adopted in case of a difference of opinion between a Lieutenant-Governor and his council, and in the case of equality of votes, and in the case of a Lieutenant-Governor being obliged to absent himself from his council from indisposition or any other cause.

(2) Every member of any such council shall be appointed by the Governor-General with the approval of His Majesty, and shall, as such, be a member of the Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor in addition to the members nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor and elected under the provisions of this Act.

### APPOINTMENT OF VICE-PRESIDENTS

4. The Governor-General, the Governors of Fort Saint George and Bombay respectively, and the Lieutenant-Governor of every province, shall appoint a member of their respective councils to be Vice-President thereof, and for the purpose of temporarily holding and executing the office of Governor-General or Governor of Fort Saint-George or Bombay and of presiding at meetings of Council in the absence of the Governor-General, Governor, or Lieutenant-Governor the Vice-President so appointed shall be deemed to be the senior member of Council and the member highest in rank, and the Indian Councils Act, 1861, and sections sixty-two and sixty-three of the Government of India Act, 1833, shall have effect accordingly.

### BUSINESS OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

5.—(1) Notwithstanding anything in the Indian Councils Act, 1861, the Governor-General in Council, the Governors in Council of Fort Saint George and Bombay respectively, and the Lieutenant-

## THE INDIAN COUNCILS BILL

Governor in Council of every province shall make rules authorizing at any meeting of their respective legislative councils the discussion of the annual financial statement of the Governor-General in Council or of their respective local governments, as the case may be, and of any matter of general public interest, and the asking of questions, under such conditions and restrictions as may be prescribed in the rules applicable to the several councils.

(2) Such rules as aforesaid may provide for the appointment of a member of any such council to preside at any such discussion in the place of the Governor-General, Governor, or Lieutenant-Governor, as the case may be.

(3) Rules under this section, where made by a Governor in Council or by a Lieutenant-Governor or a Lieutenant-Governor in Council, shall be subject to the sanction of the Governor-General in Council, and where made by the Governor-General in Council shall be subject to the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council, and shall not be subject to alteration or amendment by the Legislative Council of the Governor-General, Governor, or Lieutenant-Governor.

### POWER TO MAKE REGULATIONS

(6.) The Governor-General in Council shall, subject to the approval of the Secretary of State in Council, make regulations as to the conditions under which and manner in which persons resident in India may be nominated or elected as members of the Legislative Councils of the Governor-General, Governors, and Lieutenant-Governors, and as to the qualifications for being, and for being nominated or elected, a member of any such council and as to any other matter for which regulations are authorized to be made under this Act, and also as to the manner in which those regulations are to be carried into effect.

### SHORT TITLE, ETC

7.—(1) This Act may be cited as the Indian Councils Act, 1909, and shall be construed with the Indian Councils Acts, 1861 and 1892, and those Acts, the Indian Councils Act, 1869, the Indian Councils Act, 1871, the Indian Councils Act, 1874, the Indian Councils Act, 1904, and this Act may be cited together as the Indian Councils Acts, 1861 to 1909.

(2) This Act shall come into operation on such date or dates as the Governor-General in Council, with the approval of the Secretary of State in Council, may appoint, and different dates may be appointed for different purposes and provisions of this Act and for different councils.

On the date appointed for the coming into operation of this Act as respects any Legislative Council, all the nominated members of the council then in office shall go out of office, but may, if otherwise qualified, be nominated or be elected in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

(3) The enactments mentioned in the Second Schedule to this Act are hereby repealed to the extent mentioned in the third column of that schedule.

The following is the first schedule, giving the *maximum* numbers of nominated and elected members of Legislative Councils :—



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Legislative Council.	maximum number.
Legislative Council of the Governor-General ...	60
Legislative Council of the Governor of Fort Saint George ... ..	50
Legislative Council of the Governor of Bombay ...	50
Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort Willam ... ..	50
Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh ...	50
Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam ...	50
Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of the Punjab ... ..	30
Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Burma ... ..	30
Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of any Province which may hereafter be constituted ...	30
The second schedule shows the enactments proposed to be repealed.	

## THE INDIAN DECENTRALIZATION COMMISSION

The report of the Royal Commission upon Decentralization in India was issued on Saturday [Cd. 4360] and contains recommendations closely affecting the scheme of reforms outlined by the Secretary of State in the House of Lords on December 17, including some of the provisions of the Indian Councils Bill now before Parliament.

The Commission was appointed in September, 1907, to inquire into the relations now existing for financial and administrative purposes between the Supreme Government and the various provincial Governments, and between the latter and the authorities subordinate to them, and to report whether, by measures of decentralization or otherwise, "those relations can be simplified and improved, and the system of Government better adapted both to meet the requirements and promote the welfare of the different provinces, and, without impairing its strength and unity, to bring the executive power into closer touch with local conditions." Sir Henry Primrose was appointed chairman of the Commission, but in consequence of ill-health he resigned, and his place was taken by Mr. C. E. Hobhouse, M.P., then Under-Secretary for India, and now Secretary to the Treasury. His colleagues were Sir F. S. P. Lely, a distinguished retired Bombay officer who had acted as Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces; Sir Steyning Edgerley, a member of the Bombay Government; Mr. Romesh C. Dutt, C.I.E., the well-known retired civilian and Congress leader; Mr. W. S. Meyer, C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India in the Finance Department; and Mr. W. L. Hichens, who had had considerable administrative and financial experience as an official in South Africa.

Between assembling in India on November 18, 1907, and the

## INDIAN DECENTRALIZATION COMMISSION

termination of their labours there in the following April, the Commissioners travelled 12,300 miles and examined upwards of 300 witnesses, 119 of them being non-officials, besides receiving much documentary evidence, including statements of the views and proposals of the local Governments. Moreover, a preliminary committee had compiled comprehensive memoranda describing existing administrative conditions. The evidence from each province is to be published in a separate volume, with the exception that the Punjab volume will include the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. The report, which was prepared in London and was finally signed on February 25, concludes with an expression of high appreciation of the zealous and valuable assistance of the secretary of the Commission, Mr. H. Wheeler, I.C.S. It extends to 173 paragraphs, and, with appendices, the Blue-book covers 339 pages. The report is unanimous, but there are supplementary memoranda, revealing differences of opinion on specific questions, by all the Commissioners, excepting Mr. Meyer and Mr. Dutt, and the latter has recorded his personal views on some points in foot-notes to relevant paragraphs of the report.

In a prefatory statement the Commissioners point out that it was beyond their province to deal with the question of any alteration of the existing control of the Secretary of State over Indian administration, or with the relations between the Government of India and the heads of the "Imperial" departments, such as Railways, the Post Office, and Telegraphs. They also deemed themselves precluded "from inquiring into questions of a purely political nature, question of general policy, and questions such as the separation of judicial and executive functions, and the constitution and duties of the civil and criminal courts." It is mentioned that while the report was under consideration the Secretary of State asked for and was furnished with the main conclusions, with a view to his subsequent pronouncement respecting the impending reforms. The report is issued, however, in its original form, the Commissioners not having thought it necessary "to point out, in such instance, the extent to which the application of our conclusions, independently arrived at, may be affected by the pronouncement of the Secretary of State."

### THE SUPREME AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS

The Commissioners do not recommend any departure from the principle of retaining the general control of the Government of India over the provincial Administrations. The functions and powers of the latter, they consider, should be variable by the Central Government or by the Secretary of State as circumstances may require. The relations of the higher authorities to the provincial Governments "should be readily adaptable to new or changing conditions, and should not be stereotyped by anything in the nature of a rigid constitution." Future policy should, however, be directed to the enlargement of the spheres of detailed administration entrusted to local Governments and the authorities subordinate to them. As to the financial aspects of such decentralization, the report recommends, among other changes:—

That when fixed assignments in any province become unduly large, they should be commuted, as circumstances permit, into shares of growing revenue. That when the revenues of provincial Governments require general increase, this might be provided by

gradually provincializing certain heads of revenue which are now divided.

In this connexion it is pointed out that the contemplated grant to the local legislative councils of material control over provincial finance may make it necessary to do away, as far as possible, with the present divided heads, and to place some entirely within the purview of the provincial, and others within that of the Imperial Government. The system of provincial "contracts" is necessarily discussed at length. It is admitted that the system under which the Government of India give special grants to local Governments for specific purposes—"a policy of doles" as it has been called—is open to objection; but it is pointed out that the Government of India require to have at disposal surplus revenues to cope with sudden and unforeseen contingencies of a general character. Largely on this ground the Commissioners favour the maintenance of the present policy subject to specified conditions, including that of due consideration of the wishes of the local Governments. Sir Steyning Edgerly and Mr. Hichens append a memorandum favouring the abandonment of the "doles" policy at the earliest possible date, and urging that "the ultimate aim should be to give provincial Governments independent sources of revenue and some separate powers of taxation, subject to the general control of the Government of India and the Secretary of State." Sir Frederic Lely does not go so far as this, but he urges that the discretion practically allowed the provincial Governments in budgetting against their settled revenue should be extended also to the subsequent grants or "doles."

### METHODS OF DECENTRALIZATION

It is recommended that in respect to the services for which they pay, wholly or in part, provincial Governments should receive the powers lately granted to the Government of India as regards creation of appointments, addition to minor establishments, &c. Indeed, considerable enhancement of the powers of the Government of India, as well as of the provincial Administrations, in respect to the creation of new appointments and the raising of salaries, is suggested. Should the local Legislatures obtain an effective control over provincial finances, there should be much larger financial latitude, including the power to impose special provincial taxation, subject to the preliminary sanction of the higher authorities. Even in present circumstances the report deprecates "minute criticism on points of administrative detail in cases which local Governments have to submit for sanction under financial rules." An increase of the powers of these Governments in dealing with establishments which are wholly paid for from Imperial revenues is recommended; and it is proposed that the Chief Commissioner of the recently-constituted North-West Frontier Province should be given a *quasi*-provincial settlement. The simplification of the Civil Service Regulations and the Civil Account Code, with a view to greater provincial elasticity, is proposed, as well as the diminution in large degree of the detailed control hitherto exercised by the Government of India over provincial Excise administration. Various detailed proposals are also made as to provincial control of public works, land revenue and settlement, forest administration, police establishments, and the civil work of members of the Indian Medical Service. The

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report shows that the local Governments and their officers are very apprehensive of administrative interference by Imperial officers variously known as directors and inspectors-general. The report dwells upon the danger of these officers being allowed to usurp any administrative control in respect to provincial departments, and it lays down the limitations under which their functions should be exercised.

### CONSTITUTION OF PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS

A study of the opening chapter of Part II. of the report reveals the important fact that in proposing the enlargement of the executive councils in Bombay and Madras, and the creation of such councils in other provinces, the Secretary of State has the support of the Commission, the powers to be taken under the Indian Councils Bill in this respect closely corresponding with the proposals of the report. It is recognized, however, "that change in the existing system is not equally urgent in all provinces, and that the time for making such change must be largely determined by political considerations." The Commissioners do not propose any substantial intermediate change of great consequence in the provincial organization. It is considered essential to give larger powers to Commissioners, and particularly that they should be entrusted with the co-ordination of the work of the various special departments within their divisions. The plan of periodic provincial conferences, followed in Bengal, is recommended for general adoption, and also that of conference of the Commissioners in the respective provinces. The report is emphatic as to the desirability of maintaining the full authority of heads of districts :—

"We consider it necessary to enhance the powers and position of the collector. He should be recognized as the head of the district in all administrative matters; and he should be entitled to call for information from officers of special departments, and to have such information given to him spontaneously in matters of importance, while any views he may express should receive the fullest consideration from such officers. . . . His present position in regard to police matters should in no case be weakened. . . . In matters connected with land revenue and general administration, our recommendations for the universal application and development of sub-divisional system will make the collector mainly a supervising, controlling, and appellate authority in regard to the ordinary district administration. The relief from detailed work thus given to collectors will enable the transmission to them of a variety of powers hitherto reserved to Commissioners. The general presumption should be that, in cases which come up to him, the collector should be the deciding authority; and while there are certain matters, financial and otherwise, in which he cannot be given a free hand, the sphere of these should be limited as far as possible."

Detailed recommendations as to the development of the sub-divisional system follow; together with proposal for larger divisional and district powers and respect to suspensions and remissions of land revenue, agricultural loans, the acquisition of land for public purposes, and Court of Wards administration. Promotion to collectorships and to district Judgeships should be by seniority, "but subject to rigorous rejection of the unfit." Commissionerships and the highest offices of departments should be

filled by selection of the best men, seniority being only regarded when other qualifications are practically equal. Suggestions are made for meeting the evil of frequency of transfers. The Commissioners consider that "every effort should be made to keep an officer for three years, at the very least, in the same district." Mr. Hichens went further than his colleagues on this point, his separate minute holding that "when once an officer attains the full rank of collector and is placed in charge of a district, he should remain there, subject to leave requirements, for the rest of his service or until he is promoted." Remedies are suggested for insufficient acquaintance with the vernacular on the part of European officers, more especially in Madras, Bombay, and the two Bengals. Further, the Commissioners consider that the officers of Government, and especially the European officers, are not in sufficient contact with the people; and while indicating the difficulties which have to be met, they make suggestions for improvement.

### LOCAL SELF-GOVERNING INSTITUTIONS

The third and concluding part of the report is devoted to proposals for the further development of rural and urban self-governing bodies. It is held to be most desirable to constitute and develop village *panchayats* (councils) for the administration of local affairs within the village. It is admitted, however, that the system must be gradually and cautiously worked, and in his separate minute the chairman dissents from the proposal of his colleagues that these bodies should be given summary jurisdiction in petty criminal cases, though he agrees to the grant of civil jurisdiction. Such outside jurisdiction as may be required should be exercised by the district officers, and it is held not to be necessary to retain artificial local agencies, such as village unions and sanitary committees. The universal establishment of sub-district boards, to be the principal agencies in rural boards administration, is recommended. Under the suggested scheme they will have independent resources, separate spheres of duty, and larger responsibilities; while the district board, besides undertaking some direct functions for which it seems specially fitted, will possess co-ordinating and financial powers in respect of the district as a whole. The district boards are to be given a freer hand and to be placed on a sounder financial footing by various expedients. The chairmanship will remain in official hands, and the Commissioner of a division is to have power to direct a board to perform any specific act or duty imposed on it by law, and, if these directions are neglected, to take action at its expense. Some of the petty municipalities now existing are to be administered on more simple lines by committees which may be styled "*town panchayats*." The remaining municipalities are to have the same full powers as are suggested for rural boards, in respect to the services attained to them and to their establishments. They should ordinarily contain a substantial elective majority, and should usually elect their own chairman. Government officers should not be allowed, as hitherto, to stand for election; but where a nominated chairman is necessary he should be an official. The general outside control of the Government authorities is to be of the same character as in the case of rural boards. For the corporation of the "Presidency" municipalities other than Bombay (Calcutta, Madras, and Rangoon)

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powers equal to those possessed by the Bombay municipality should be conferred, and the Bombay constitution (of which Lord Reay was the author) should be followed.

The legislative changes required to give effect to the far-reaching proposals of this report will include the passing of a General Act of Delegation, permitting the transmission of executive functions to a lower authority than that indicated in any particular Act by Government notification.

## ARTICLES

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### THE REFORM SCHEME AND CLASS REPRESENTATION

It is with a sense of the deepest sorrow that I have to criticize the modified scheme of Lord Morley in regard to Mahomedan representation. I quite realise the position of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. It is nothing but the barest truth to say that but for Lord Minto we would not have these reforms, not an iota of them. He came out to India when the entire political atmosphere of this country was charged with the elements of a coming conflagration. Lord Curzon had flouted public opinion in India to such a degree, had made such mockery of Indian aspirations, that there was deep resentment—brooding discontent—over the whole face of the country. The ‘whispering galleries of the East’ were resonant with the muffled voice of the outraged self-respect of a nation justly proud of its ancient traditions, its ancient religion, and its ancient literature. For the first time in the history of British India the united protest of an entire people was set at naught with indecent aggressiveness, and there was a feeling of suppressed indignation spreading like smouldering fire and ready to burst into flame. The people had nearly lost confidence in the sobriety, the moderation, the justice and impartiality of British Rule in India ; and while thoughtful men were overwhelmed with despair, wild spirits were crying out for vengeance. Such was the state of the country when Lord Minto came. Counsellors were not wanting to point out to him what according to them was the only solution of the Indian problem—repression all along the line. But Lord Minto, with the instincts of the truest and highest statesmanship, saw that in India the Indian was nowhere. The position of absolute subordination which he occupied in his own country was opposed to the spirit of British rule and inconsistent with the pledges given to the people of India by Parliament and the Crown and, what was more, this position was growing more and more intolerable to the people themselves with their increasing association with the outside world. Lord Minto set himself to the task of vindicating the rule of England in India—of vindicating the high purpose which has brought the two countries together. The high priests of power and privilege held up their arms in despair—they pointed the finger of warning to the dark clouds

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gathering in the Indian sky and the lurid flashes now and again breaking through the gloom and carrying death and destruction before them. Not now the time to slacken the reins—not now the time to yield to the bursting storm !

I have tried to picture to myself the kindly and sober statesman now at the head of the Indian administration. I have tried to realise difficulties—on the one side the landmarks which the powerful hierarchy of privilege and dominion had set for him—on the other hand the dangers, the risks of an untried course rendered still more difficult by the submerged rocks of sedition and the outbursts of fanatical violence, and all through India there is a feeling of unstinted admiration for the man who, undeterred by the gathering gloom and adverse currents, has steadily pursued his course and has brought the vessel to a safe anchorage. It is easy to offer congratulations, it is easier to criticize, but it is not easy to realise the stress and the strain through which Lord Minto must have passed—not easy to realise the silent strength and the firm determination which have overcome formidable difficulties and high opposition.

In one of his earliest public utterances Lord Minto dwelt on the necessity of altering the methods of administration in India, and if he had not set his hand to the plough, if instead of being insistent he had been apathetic or indifferent, then even Lord Morley would have been entirely powerless. This aspect of the question we must not forget or overlook. If the position of Lord Minto was beset with difficulties, that of Lord Morley was hardly better. Men who had held prominent positions in the Indian Civil Service were screaming out from their retirement for all they were worth in defence of the existing order of things, and we must not forget that only the other day news reached us that one of our countrymen whom we all hold in affectionate regard has been raised to a position next to the highest in India in the gift of the Crown. We gratefully acknowledge our thanks to Lords Minto and Morley for this great boon. We see in this appointment that the Secretary of State and the Viceroy were fighting against great odds—against long-standing prejudices, against the opinion of men who have come to be regarded as experts in Indian administration. We can see that Lord Morley is fighting with the back to the wall. I must confess that realising all this, I labour under very great difficulty in coming forward to express what I feel in regard to the changed attitude of Lord Morley on the question of Mahomedan representation and the electoral colleges. The feeling in the country is so strong, the sense of



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despair so great, that silence would be out of place at so momentous a period of our national life.

I should be the last person to stand in the way of the realization of the legitimate aspirations of our Mahomedan fellow-subjects. I am one of those who would advocate special facilities being given to them in view of their present backward condition, whoever may have been responsible for it. No one would grumble if special opportunities were placed within their reach in regard to public appointments. No one would grudge special educational facilities being extended to the Mahomedans in order that they may make good the lost ground as speedily as possible so that the cry for special treatment on the ground of backwardness may soon cease to be. We recognise the splendid achievements of Islam in war and in peace, and India would be decidedly poorer in the absence of the followers of a religion which preached fraternity and equality long before the philosophy of the French Revolution was heard of, and the Moslem can ill afford to lose the metaphysical abstraction of the Hindu, his fervent religious spirit, his ideals even if they are sometimes placed in the clouds.

Our goal must be the assimilation of the best and the highest in the two communities, their loyal co-operation in the work of building up a politically united India. In this work we have the sympathy and the support of many far-sighted Mahomedans. I do not wish to criticize those who would like to keep the two communities apart; it is idle to say that there will be better understanding, better co-operation between the two communities if they are ranged in separate camps from the start to the finish. In the scheme of the electoral colleges originally propounded in Lord Morley's despatch of December last there were the true germs of assimilation. If the Hindus were in a majority in some of the provinces, they were in a minority in others: the two communities would have to act together and common action would provide a bond which it would be difficult even for fanaticism to break. A solid minority vote, whether of Hindu or Mahomedan, would greatly influence the entire elections and representatives would be chosen who would command the confidence and respect of both communities. Now all this is going to be changed. From the village communities the Hindus and Mahomedan voters are to be kept distinct, placed in opposite camps. Surely, such a division is not possible. It is not possible to separate the mixed population of our villages so that they may return local members of their respective communities to the village unions. It may be that in any particular area one community,

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either Hindu or Mussulman, is so small, that separate representation cannot be given to it. The same difficulty will arise in the case of municipalities. Different communities cannot be locally separated for purposes of representation in local boards and municipalities, specially if the numbers are very disproportionate. For instance, in a village or ward in which two-thirds of the population is Hindu and one-third Mahomedan and which has the right to elect 2 members to the local board or municipality, you cannot give one representative to the Hindus and one to the Mahomedans. The only other alternative would be to group together villages or wards : in that case you will not have local representation but representation of communities divided by religion. This would not represent territorial or local needs in local bodies, and would form a basis for separate representation without reference to the municipal requirements of local areas. The scheme, I venture to think, is impracticable—it is incapable of being put into operation ; and if tried, it will not secure the end in view and will only serve to disintegrate the ties which bind the two communities—common interests to be gained by mutual co-operation.

Apart from the scheme, as now altered, being an absolute barrier in the way of Indian progress towards a recognised position in the confederacy of nations, apart from its making the ideal of a politically united India an impracticable vision, apart from its throwing us back by long centuries in the scale of human civilization it will bring rivalry, discord and strife in our peaceful villages and render life in India intolerable : it is a menace alike to the State and the people. Such a scheme will sow the seeds of death not of life, of mortification not of progress. We may wait. God knows we have been waiting long enough. India may wait for the new life to be, but she cannot clasp death unto her bosom.

**Bhupendranath Basu**

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Meet is it changes should control  
Our being, lest we rust in ease.  
We all are changed by still degrees  
All but the basis of the soul.

So let the change which comes be free  
To ingroove itself with that which flies  
And work, a joint of state, that plies  
It's office, moved with sympathy

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A saying, hard to shape in act  
For all the past of Time reveals  
A bridal dawn of thunder-peals,  
Wherever Thought hath wedded Fact.

*Tennyson*

These weighty lines of our great poet seem very appropriate to the present crisis in the East.

I have long wished that I could say a few words about the troubles in India for I spent all my active life in Bengal, and am still indebted to India for my maintenance. So I feel it to be almost a duty to try to say something in the way of an eirenicon.

Terrible and revolting as some of the manifestations of the new spirit have been, I still think that good will come out of the agitation and that the whirlpool will cast up some precious jewel. For the movement is no new thing. The nation has been toiling in the gloom for many years and what we see now is but the coming to the surface of hidden forces. It is idle to seek to conceal the fact and it is better that the truth should be universally known that we have never won or could have won the affections of the Indians. It is as well that the Oriental should cease the practice of drawing nigh with his mouth and honouring with his lips while his heart is far away.

Undoubtedly the outburst has been precipitated by two unexpected events—the Japanese victories and the partition of Bengal. For the former, we are not responsible, and so far we have, in the words of the *Times'* correspondent, nothing with which to reproach ourselves. But the Partition of Bengal is our own act, and is an instance of what in eastern language is called the smiting the foot with one's axe. As Lord Macdonnell has truly said it is the greatest blunder that has been committed since the days of Plassy. I am aware that many arguments can be adduced in favour of the Partition, but to all these I would oppose the simple fact that the measure was and is detested by the inhabitants of the country. Surely, however convinced Lord Curzon might be of the desirability of the Partition, he might have followed the precedent of Solon and have refrained from giving them something which, however excellent in itself, they themselves did not want or which they themselves could not do away with. At the very least he might have asked them if they wished for it. It will be said by some that the people did not dislike the measure, but is not the mere fact that they were never asked, a conclusive proof that they were opposed to it? What other reason could there be for "rushing" so momentous a change?

When one looks round the United Kingdom or round the world, one sees many changes that would be, or at least seem to be, beneficial, but what sane person would propose to carry them out by force, or against popular sentiment? It would be convenient if the laws of England and Scotland were assimilated; it would be in accordance with natural boundaries if Berwick were made part of Scotland; and it would be an immense advantage—it was one that John Stuart Mill desiderated—if all Europe had only one coinage. Something too might be said in favour of one universal language, even if it were Esperanto!

One favourite argument for the Partition is that Bengal is too big to be ruled by one Governor, but it has always seemed to me that this picture has another side to it. If Bengal be too big for one man, then how about India and Burmah? If a Viceroy or a Secretary of State can manage them, why should not one of their lieutenants manage Bengal? As a general rule, he comes to the post better equipped than they, with knowledge and experience.

The question now is, can the evil—and most men with Bengal experience seem to regard it as an evil—be undone? This is a question which I hesitate to answer. Old age and Scottish caution incline me to Lord Melbourne's maxim of letting things alone. On the other hand it seems a pity to let an evil so flagrant and of so recent a date remain an open sore. Macaulay tells us that when Queen Elizabeth found that she had made a mistake about monopolies and had underrated the opposition of her subjects, she at once withdrew and "with admirable sagacity conceded all that the people had demanded." Might not her successor do the same? I would suggest that a plebiscite be taken, that the people of Bengal and Behar be asked if they wish the partition to be maintained or not and that the question be decided according to their vote. It ought not to be beyond the powers of the Bengal Civil Service to take such a census of opinions and it might be a fitting commencement of the new method of governing India. I do not, however, suggest that the revocation of the partition would restore peace, though it would go a long way in removing the existing tension. The waters are out and the flood must come, but the concession might remove some of the bitterness. We might sweeten the flood and change a salt-sea inundation into a fertilising deluge.

H. Beveridge

## SOME THOUGHTS ON THE PRESENT SITUATION

Now looking back through the history of the administration of the country for the last quarter of a century one is painfully struck with a distinct tendency towards retrogression ever since the viceroyalty of Lord Ripon, when Indian public life under the inspiring breath of a just and sympathetic rule became roused to a consciousness of its existence. The ascending node of a generous and enlightened policy systematically pursued with lofty ideals since the country came under the British Crown is studded with quite a galaxy of brilliant statesmen and administrators up till the early eighties, and the Marquis of Ripon, whose name has been left a household word throughout the country, was probably the last of the mighty builders of this great Empire. The transition from Akbar to Aurangzeb was not perhaps more striking than the change from Lord Ripon to Lord Curzon, and yet such is the false, flattering verdict of contemporaneous history that, while Aurangzeb was called the "greatest of Moghuls," Lord Curzon was styled the "most brilliant" of English Viceroys. But if the Great Moghul was fortunate enough to enjoy his false distinction till his death, the English Peer was destined not to outlive his beyond the term of his great office. The conquerer of Burma was the first to discover the errors of his distinguished predecessors and the earliest symptom of this retrograde policy manifested itself in a cry of *mistakes*. The permanent settlement of Lord Cornwallis was a mistake, the Educational policy of Lord Macaulay and Lord William Bentinck was a mistake, the Local Self-Government of Lord Ripon was a mistake, and even the great Queen's Proclamation was not spared in this proscription list. Starting with these ideas, each successive administrator has striven only to undo the working of the past and for ringing in new principles and practices. Novelty has been substituted for originality and destructive operations have taken the place of constructive works. The gradual curtailment of Local self-government, the emasculation of the Calcutta Corporation, the officialization of the Universities and a remarkable depreciation in the value and purity of the administration of justice have rapidly followed in the train of this retrograde policy. Even more than the immediate result of this short-sighted policy, the narrow spirit in which it has been systematically worked out has served to produce a deplorable tension between the people and the dominant classes. That spirit has been throughout characterized not only by want of sympathy, but by a positive disdain of Indian public opinion and

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scornful disregard of Indian aspirations. In this world of accidents there may be sometimes no correspondence between thoughts and activities ; but sentiments have always an under-current tending to make them contagious. This pernicious spirit having gradually permeated the entire system of administration, it has widened the breach and given rise to a corresponding feeling of distrust and disrespect among the people. As a result not only has racial distinction been more sharply demarcated than before, but the entire officialdom has been actually reduced to a rigid caste system from which the general public have been practically excommunicated. Offices and preferments which are the common birth right of citizenship are openly granted not in consideration of approved merit, but with scrupulous regard for the maintenance of this caste system ; and such is the superstitious veneration with which this official hierarchy is guarded, that to-day a brother is sometimes compelled to separate himself from his brother, and a father forced to dissociate himself from his son. But perhaps the rudest shock has been dealt in the administration of justice, the integrity of which had always been regarded as the strongest justification of British rule in India. Repeated instances of assaults and murders by Europeans have been, with rare exceptions, dealt with in a manner calculated not only to create profound disappointment, but also to shake the confidence of the people in the impartiality of the administration of justice between the white and the black, while the remarkable uniformity in the results of such cases has rightly or wrongly given rise to a universal suspicion that the value of an ordinary Indian life in certain cases can fairly be estimated at fifty to hundred rupees only. The honour of women is particularly sacred to all people whether in the West or in the East ; but for one Watt Tyler, who almost led an insurrection in resenting an attempted insult to his daughter, there have been dozens of poor men in this country who have in utter despair sullenly submitted to the grossest outrages committed on their wives and daughters in tea-gardens, on board the steamers and in railway carriages, or stations where the helpless victims have either died, or, preferring death to dishonour, have committed suicide. No reasonable man would suggest that the Government of the country is directly responsible for these crimes ; but the repeated failure of justice in such cases has naturally created ill-feeling and accentuated racial animosity. However honestly the trials may have been conducted, these cases have left their mark upon the administration and the injustices honestly believed to have been committed

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have left their vicious germs in public mind to breed discontent. With the exception of one solitary instance no serious notice has apparently been ever taken of these abominable crimes which have gone on unchecked, slowly embittering public feeling and poisoning the atmosphere. Time there was when offences like these would be visited with deportation; but those halcyon days are over and deportation has now taken an altogether different channel. The insolence and high-handedness of the officials have also contributed not a little to this estrangement and alienation. It is quite intelligible how the slightest allusion to this estrangement and alienation by the highest Indian authority was on a recent occasion sorely resented by the retired veterans of the Indian Civil Service, for it contained a clear reflection against their administration and constituted a stern indictment against that service. But it may be easy to resent a charge, though difficult to refute it. Men in exalted rank and position both in service as well as in society have also been sometimes forced to realize the hollowness of their distinction for which they have blindly bartered their fortune, freedom and manliness. It is doubtless true that it is often not the Government, but its young, indiscreet servants, that are primarily responsible for such high-handedness; but the responsibility of Government apparently comes in when, instead of firmly tightening the reins on these unbroken officers, its action serves only to indulge the people in the belief that their mischievous pranks and wantonness are simply privileged. Indulgence without adequate control is the high-way to demoralization, and prestige is a *fetish* which is insatiable in its demands on its votaries. True prestige of the government is a valuable asset of a country, its safe-guard, its security and its strength. It is begotten not of terror but of admiration. In this country, however, the theory of prestige has been carried to extravagant excess and many are the sacrifices that have been offered at its altar in open disregard of the demands of justice and fairness according to the estimate of the public. This idolatrous veneration for prestige has apparently grown up into such a blind superstition that public censure of officials has in some cases come to be regarded almost as a passport to distinction and advancement in official life. It is the system more than the individual that is at fault. The entire administration from top to bottom is practically in the hands of one train of officials inspired by a common sense of unity, fraternity, superiority, security and irresponsibility. Sir John Peter Grant, writing in 1854, said :

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"the smoothness with which affairs go on when all powers are centred in one train of officials, however convenient and agreeable to the administration, can never be good for the people. The system under which the administration is carried on in this country is not like the system of any rational beings." These are words of an administrator uttered more than fifty years ago and during this period the rigidity of the administration has gone on increasing until to-day the smoothness of the system, which was its only recommendation, has completely worn out under the continuous friction of half a century and the machinery so severely condemned full thirty years before the birth of public agitation in this country is still working at full pressure without the slightest consideration of altered time, circumstance and requirements.

In the higher region of politics also the attitude of the government is regarded as characterized by a contemptuous disregard of public opinion and popular aspirations. Of course it may not be possible for an alien Government to be entirely guided by the voice of the people ; but there is need for diplomacy even in refusing the most extravagant prayer of a subject race wholly different in manners, customs, language, religion and nationality. Sharp retorts and biting sarcasms may have their uses in certain connections and transactions in society ; but they are singularly inappropriate in the delicate and complicated relation between a government and its people as in this country. Yet these are the weapons which have been freely used of late by some of the highest authorities in the land, while even a statesman like Lord Morley has not been altogether free from such grave indiscretions. Sentiments are seldom guided by the wand of reason and often become reciprocal. If you openly call a man to be your enemy, you cannot reasonably expect him to regard you as his friend. These may be little things by themselves, but their cumulative effect has contributed not a little to the estrangement of the feeling of the people and to the loss of dignity of the administration. Imperiousness is not a prerogative of true Imperialism, and it has been truly observed that a little mind and a great empire go ill together.

The ravages of famine and pestilence and the dislocation of the economic condition of the people are also among the causes which have unsettled the public mind. With the decaying industries of the country nearly three-fourths of the population have been driven to the soil ; but the soil itself is unable to bear such a burden, as in no country is it ever able to do so. More than two-fifths of the



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population are perpetually living on the verge of chronic starvation, while millions are annually swept away by malaria, plague and other pestilence. It would be extremely unfair not to recognize the sustained efforts of Government to grapple with this serious situation. But the root cause of the disease yet remains untouched. It would be as easy to drive famine out of the country by mere relief operations as to maintain the physical strength of a people by free distribution of medicines only. It is preventives and not palliatives that are most needed. Reduction of taxes, remission of rents and facilities for the revival, protection and development of the industries are the crying demand of the people. It is generous measures towards the achievement of these ends that can provide permanent security to the people, relieve the administration of its present tension and restore the equilibrium of the economic condition of the people.

Such were the feelings in the country when the Partition of Bengal was hurled as a bomb-shell among the people. It was the last straw on the camel's back which has almost brought about the break-down of a constitution already weakened by the strain and exhaustion of a 'vigorous' administration. It is no longer necessary to refer either to the various phases of this ill-starred measure, or to the diverse methods by which it has been subsequently sought to be enforced and justified. There never was a measure of the Government of India which evoked such an outburst of popular resentment, nor was there ever any case in which the Government so obstinately maintained such an unrelenting tenacity of purpose. Whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the real responsibility of the present situation, all parties are now agreed that it has its ugly developments in the Partition of Bengal and in the failure of a long constitutional agitation for its modification. In the protracted state trial which is still dragging its cumbrous length in the Sessions Court at Alipur, the charge against the prisoners distinctly recites that the secret society which forms the basis of the prosecution was hatched on the 16th October 1905, the memorable day of the Partition of Bengal. Lord Morley has himself on more than one occasion denounced it as an administrative blunder, while responsible statesmen like the Marquis of Ripon and Lord MacDonnell have condemned it in no measured terms. The entire Liberal press in England has in one voice pronounced its scathing verdict against it, while even the author of this fad has been driven to the necessity of openly disowning its paternity. But such is the tyranny of "settled facts" that there is none so bold as to take up

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arms against this fatal measure and put an end to the present intolerable situation. Lord Morley at first wanted new arguments and then new facts to reopen this question. The arguments had been nearly exhausted and what remained was fully supplied by the illustrious triumverate among whom the responsibility of the measure was ultimately sought to be divided. Indeed such clear admissions as were drawn out in the recent debate in the Upper House might well have silenced even the cunning prince who betted his crown for a new *sloka* every day. As for new facts, they have sufficiently burst forth in the ugly, abominable developments of the present situation and the wide-spread unrest which is surging from one end of the country to the other. But it seems never to have occurred to the strong Secretary of State that for the many facts and arguments urged against the Partition, there has been but one argument advanced in favour of it, *vis* :—administrative convenience. A convenience is not a stern necessity, and it is to be deeply regretted that while there were many ways of meeting that convenience, the one most irritating to the people should have been zealously adopted and obstinately maintained. If the radical causes of the present unrest are to be traced to a retrograde and unsympathetic policy which has been at work for nearly a quarter of a century, its present development and magnitude are due to the Partition of Bengal. Constitutional agitation was at first relied on with the utmost confidence in the integrity of British justice, and, when that agitation failed, the Swadeshi-boycott movement was started as a protest by way of passive resistance. But yet the Rubicon was not crossed, the agitation was still confined within legitimate bounds. It was only when certain violent measures, whose legality was seriously doubted even by the law officers of the Crown, were adopted apparently to suppress this new movement, that a small section of the people, mostly youngmen, lost the balance of their mind and gave way to desperate thought and action. The recognized leaders of the people who had so long controlled them stood discredited by a band of new, reckless, ambitious rivals not a few among them being mere frothy demagogues eager to come to the surface ; and the youngmen unhinged began first by insulting the veterans and throwing them overboard and then ran amuck under a delusion begotten of desperation and hallucination. There is an amount of elasticity in every human nature. Where it preponderates it easily answers to the slightest touch ; but where it is feeble it requires the heaviest pressure to respond. Thus while the original Ghazi in the wild fastnesses of

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Central Asia often breaks out in unprovoked hostility, it has taken 150 years of British rule to evolve a "fanatical Ghazi" out of the "timid Bengalee." There never was perhaps a people more easy to govern than the Bengalees, and however scathing the denunciation may be, the confession so made is certainly damaging to an administration which, in spite of its many virtues, has now to complain of serious difficulties created only by a very small section of such a people. Credit may not be given to the vast majority of the people who have under no ordinary pressure firmly maintained a calm and unswerving attitude; but it is clearly no fault of the administration if the small, misguided minority is yet so negligible in number and its strength.

The tremendous opposition raised against the partition is admitted on all hands as unprecedented in the history of British rule in India. More than two thousand meetings were held in the two provinces and more than five huge demonstrations were made in the Town Hall of Calcutta, while every year the 16th of October is being observed as a day of mourning throughout the country. All this is said to be merely sentimental. But as Dr. Ghose has trenchantly observed, "sentimental grievances are also grievances that are *felt*." And, after all, are the grievances of the Partition merely sentimental? As was fully anticipated, has not the Government of the New Province visibly deteriorated in point of efficiency and have not the severed districts already suffered a good deal in point of education since the Partition? Have not crimes and sense of insecurity largely increased? And have not racial animosities which had nearly died out been stirred up to complicate the situation still further? It ought fairly to be admitted that although personal administration was the strongest plea put forward for the partition, the Government in either of the two provinces still continues to be as impersonal as ever. Very pithily indeed has the *Manchester Guardian* put the case against the partition on grounds which no captious criticism can stigmatize as sentimental. It says:—

"Briefly, the Bengali argument was that the dividing line did not take account of ethnic, linguistic, and geographical conditions, and that in other respects it intensified existing evils of the provincial Government or created fresh ones. It duplicated administrative machinery that was at once costly and obsolete; it involved, by heavy expenditure of public money, an attempt to create a new metropolis out of a city long decayed, commercially dead, and geographically inconvenient; it endangered the powers and independence of the Calcutta High Court, the only existing protec-

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tion for both European and Indian against an omnipotent Executive ; it revived the vanishing feud between Hindu and Mahomedan. Further, it cut off a large population from the manifold advantages of association with the capital of India, removed them from the protection (a valued privilege) of metropolitan public opinion and a powerful press, and placed the divided halves of the Bengalee community under different administrations, which tended from the outset to develop separate varying land laws, educational policies, and system of local Government."

And this is not all : the worst result of the Partition is yet to happen. A nation lives and grows by association. As time rolls on and generation succeeds generation the two branches into which the Bengalee-speaking race has been divided will more and more diverge until they become complete strangers to each other. Cachar and Sylhet were cut off from Bengal in 1874 and the fate which overtook them thirty years ago clearly awaits the severed districts under the partition only a generation hence. The policy, which is being openly pursued in the name of fairness since the partition, has a distinct tendency towards effecting this disruption at no distant date. The services are divided and are being carefully readjusted according to the geographical limits of the two provinces, while as to new appointments the people of one province are completely barred from entrance into the other. The inevitable result of such an insulation may not be difficult to foresee. It is a grim mockery to say that all this is in the interest of the Mahomedan community. If the Mahomedans in Eastern Bengal are in the majority, their co-religionists in the sister province are left in a hopeless minority, and the Islamites beyond the Gangetic delta are neither so foolish nor so unpatriotic as not to perceive that after all this charming arrangement amounts only to what is called robbing Peter to pay Paul. It is yet to be hoped that the authorities will not deceive themselves in the vain hope of putting a bluff upon the people. The wound caused by the partition has sunk deep into the hearts of the people of Bengal and is not likely to heal within the lifetime of the present generation, while the profound disappointment caused by a strong liberal administration has given a rude shock to their confidence in the justice and fairness of British rule in India. Lord Curzon, in hurrying the project on the eve of a dissolution, seems to have taken an accurate forecast of the ultimate result of the agitation. Speaking in 1905 he boldly said, that if the partition were once carried out all the agitation would come to nothing, as it would end only in a "few angry

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speeches in Parliament." That prediction has been completely fulfilled. But if the prediction has been fulfilled, the worst apprehensions of the people have also been realized.

Attempts have also been made not only to fasten the responsibility of the situation upon the people, but also upon the press and the platform. There are two sections of the press in this country, the Indian and the Anglo-Indian, and it is to be deeply regretted that while much has been done to repress the former, little or nothing has ever been done to muzzle the latter, though it is easy to point out that the one has been as guilty of inciting racial hatred as the other. This difference of treatment is to some extent responsible for the violence of some of the vernacular papers also. But admitting that there are "rabid papers" and "pestilent agitators" who have fanned the fire into a flame, the question yet remains to be answered,—who is it that first lit the fire, made the press rabid and gave occupation to the demagogue? Let us not beg the question, but honestly and fairly answer it. If the disease is in the country it is perfectly immaterial, so far as accurate diagnosis is concerned, whether it is the rat that is responsible for the plague, or it is the plague that is responsible for the infection of the rat. The rat is not born with the plague, and in fact if it had a voice in the matter it might well have challenged the proudest scientist and established to a demonstration that it has been more sinned against than sinning. If there is sedition in the country it is not enough to refer to a patch here or a patch there as its breeding ground without tracing it to the primary cause or causes which are generating the bacilli and spreading the infection. Such an enquiry may be difficult and possibly also unpleasant; but any attempt to eradicate the evil must be futile that is not based upon a thorough examination of the disease. It is like the cancer which is sure to baffle all operations unless the roots can be successfully spotted and removed. The root-cause of the present situation is not in the education or temperament of the people and neither in the press nor in the platform. Its general characteristics are mere manifestations of an evolution that is working its way as the result of natural progress and order, while its ugly developments here and there are forced aberrations of unbalanced minds, goaded to desperation by a policy which is characterized by haughty disdain of public opinion and popular aspirations and a lamentable disregard of the visible signs of that evolution.

What then is the remedy for the present situation? Some

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have proposed repressive measures, while others more brave have actually threatened Government with reprisals on their own account if it hesitates to adopt drastic methods. As there is superstition in avoiding superstition, there may be fanaticism in suppressing fanaticism. But in these proposals it seems to be forgotten that if anarchism has everywhere failed to achieve reform, repression has also no where in restoring peace and order. It has been tried in Russia, Bulgaria and Macedonia. Repression only deadens the body politic and takes away the sting of the law. In this country it has so far converted prisons into sanctuaries and murders into martyrdoms. No sane man, no, not even either an escaped lunatic or one who holds a certificate of discharge, could be suspected of any sympathy with the dastardly outrages which have recently disgraced Bengal; but it is impossible not to feel the force of the circumstances which have given monstrous birth to the insane bombmaker in India. In a Government by the press the irresponsible journalist may madly shriek for revenge; but the application of heroic measures based upon such hysterics may not be unattended with some danger. Apart from all other possibilities it would certainly betray an amount of nervousness which cannot fail to inspire even the rawest criminal with the fatal conviction that he has at all events succeeded in making some impression of his power and his methods. Whether the infernal machinery has come to stay in the country or not, it would be utterly impolitic to keep its memory alive in the minds of a vast heterogeneous population. The best way to drive a child to the well is sometimes by constantly reminding him how to avoid it. The present situation is the clearest manifestation of an evolution and not of a rebellion or revolution, and an evolution is a process of nature which is always irrepressible. It must run its course despite all heroic treatment. The true remedy therefore lies not in repression, but in reform; not in demonstration of power, but in proof of sympathy. It has been truly observed by a dispassionate ecclesiastic that "it will be an evil day for England and India when British Supremacy in India will be sought to be based not upon the love and affection of the people but upon military strength."

The first remedy to be proposed is the conciliation of Bengal, and it is quite obvious that this can only be done by some sort of modification of the Partition. Lord Morley speaking from his place in the House of Commons in February 1906 emphatically admitted that the Partition "was and remains undoubtedly an administrative operation which went wholly and decisively against the

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wishes of most of the people concerned." He has also repeated this condemnation since his translation to the Upper House in no uncertain voice. Sir Bampfylde Fuller who was the first Lieutenant of Lord Curzon to carry out this ill-starred measure and whose dramatic performance came too soon to a tragic end writing in the *Times* in June 1908 quite pathetically, if not repentantly, observed :—" Human nature has been ignored, experience disregarded, and we are paying the penalty." The opinion of the Marquis of Ripon, than whom a more aged, sober and dispassionate veteran statesman with Indian experience is perhaps not to be found on either side of the House, is now well-known throughout the country. That opinion is also in favour of a revision of the Partition upon different lines. Lastly there is Lord MacDonnell, who speaks with the authority of no less than thirty years' experience of Indian administration, condemning the Partition in language such as has not, perhaps, been employed by any statesman in respect of any other administrative measures in this country since the time of Edmund Burke. The question therefore is, is Bengal going to be conciliated or not ? The answer is given by the writer in the *Manchester Guardian* in the shape of a practical issue as follows :—

" What can be done, after three years of bitter conflict, to conciliate Bengal and re-establish tranquillity—in a word, to reacquire, as Lord Morley puts it, that moral strength which is the basis of our power in India ? In answering this question one thing must be clearly laid down. The division of Bengal is a settled fact in so far as it involves the impossibility of restoring the *status quo ante*. Two practical considerations govern the situation—(1) Any possible modification must bring the Bengali-speaking community under one administration with Calcutta as the metropolis, and (2) all rights and privileges which have legitimately accrued to the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal under the existing *regime* must be secured to them. The rest is a matter of administrative readjustment."

British statesmanship has bungled in many places, but it has failed nowhere either in the East or in the West. It is to be earnestly hoped that the blunder it has committed in the division of Bengal will yet be rectified, so that the passing clouds to which Lord Morley has from his place in Parliament more than once pointed his finger may at once vanish and both the people and the Government may again rejoice in the bright sunshine of peace, progress and contentment.

(To be continued)

Ambica Charan Measumar

### REGULATION III OF 1818

The Regulation III of 1818 has been one of the most burning topics in Indian politics during recent times. The Punjab was two years ago favoured with the visitation of this Frankenstein, but its hand has fallen with special weight on Bengal. It is quite natural that a great volume of feeling has been roused against the Regulation itself, when under its sanction men like Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt, Babu Satis Chandra Chatterji and Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter—men who could never knowingly promote internal commotion have been suddenly pounced upon and sent to exile without even the formality of a trial.

But apart from the question of ill-feeling, such sudden action taken on secret and untested evidence is likely to breed, it is the opinion of many educated men in India and in England who are competent to form a judgment, that the principles of the Regulation 3 of 1818 and its application in the present circumstances of India are open to grave objections. Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh, one of the greatest of jurists India has produced, described this Regulation as a 'lawless law' and observed that 'it was as obsolete in civilized jurisprudence as the rack or the screw.' He further called this Regulation 'a standing reproach in our statute-book,' 'a standing menace to our liberty' and 'a standing negation of all law.'

We do not wish however to say anything with regard to the legal principles behind this Regulation nor enter into a juridical consideration of them. Whatever they may be, it is now widely believed that the application of the Reg. III of 1818 in the present conditions of India is a mistake and an anachronism. The objections generally urged against the Regulation are primarily based on two grounds :—

- (1) that it is an archaic regulation and the conditions which justified its passing in 1818 have now passed away, and
- (2) that its meaning and spirit has been strained unjustifiably to apply to recent cases. We shall take these objections one by one.

The first of these two objections was raised so far back as in 1870 by Mr. Ingram in the famous Wahabi Ameer Khan's case. In 1818 only two-thirds of India had come under the British sway and the conditions of the country were very peculiar. We cannot do better to realise the situation of the country in 1818 than by quoting at length from the *History of the Indian Empire* by Sir William Hunter :—



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"In the same year (1817) and almost in the same month (November) in which the Pindaris were crushed, the three great Maharatta powers at Poona, Nagpore, and Indore rose separately against the English. The Peshwa Baji Rao had long been chafing under the terms imposed by the Treaty of Bassein (1807). A new Treaty of Poona in June 1817 now freed the Gaekwar from his control ceded further districts to the British for the pay of the subsidiary forces, and submitted all further disputes to the decision of our Government. Elphinstone, then our resident at our court, foresaw a storm and withdrew to Kirki whether he had ordered up a European regiment. The next day the residency was burnt down and Kirki was attacked by the whole army of the Peshwa. The attack was severely repulsed and the Peshwa immediately fled from his capital, Poona. Almost the same plot was enacted at Nagpore where the honour of the British name was saved by the sepoys who defended the hill of Sitabaldi against enormous odds. It had thus become necessary to crush the Maharattas. Their forces under Holker were defeated at the pitched battle of Mahidpur. All open resistance was now at an end. Nothing remained but to follow up the fugitives and to impose conditions for a general pacification. In both these duties Sir John Malcolm played a prominent part. The dominions of the Peshwa were annexed to the Bombay Presidency and the nucleus of the present Central Provinces was formed out of the territory rescued from the Pindaris. The Peshwa himself surrendered and was permitted to reside at Bithur on £80,000 a year. His adopted son was the infamous Nana Saheb of the mutiny of 1857. "To fill the Peshwa's place as the traditional head of the Maharatta confederacy, the lineal descendent of Sivaji was brought forth from obscurity and placed on the throne of Satara. An infant was recognised as the heir of Holkar and a second infant was proclaimed Raja of Nagpore under British guardianship. At the same time the States of Rajputana accepted the position of feudatories to the paramount British power."

Thus the country was in a more or less unsettled state in the first quarter of the last century. Designing and intriguing men like Baji Rao and his minister Trimbuckji were by no means wanting. Most of the dominions newly brought under the British flag were ruled in a nominal sense by creatures of the British through officers entitled the Residents. In fact, as Mr. Henry T. Prinsep writes in his *History of Political and Military Transaction in India* (enlarged from the narrative

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published in 1820), "the dissolution of the old Government and the incapacity of the new, had brought the affairs of the State under the direct management of British officers." In the same book which has an adventitious importance for its having been published in 1820, we have an account of the general system of rule then prevailing. "The system which prevails throughout," it goes on to say, "is pretty uniform. There is first a native family vested with the nominal sovereignty; then there is a military force, essentially British having British officers, or there is a British Cantonment at no great distance, and sometimes both to assure the submission of the population to whatever was ordained. For the application of this force, and to watch over the conduct of those who watch over the administrative measures, there is everywhere a British political agent or Resident reporting only to his Government and receiving his orders thence, but exercising a large personal discretion as to the interference or non-interference with the native local authority."

Lord Metcalfe says in his letter to the Chief Secretary, August 14, 1826 (vide his papers and correspondence): "We took the Government completely into our own hands, and the country was managed entirely by European officers, posted with full powers, in the several districts. There was not any native administration and the interference which we exercised was nothing less than absolute undivided Government in the hands of the Resident."

Thus if we look at the situation of India in 1818, we find the following outstanding features :—

(1) The country was ruled practically by the Residents through the military. Native officers were not trusted and were studiously avoided.

(2) There were puppets of the British, some of whom were mere infants, dignified with the names of Peshwa, Bhonsla, and Rajah who from political motives had to be kept up and protected.

(3) Discontented men and intriguers like Baji Rao and Trim-buckjee were raising their heads everywhere and required to be watched with great vigilance. Elements of disorder were latent in many parts and the country had not yet settled down.

(4) Alliance had been newly entered into with Nepal. And the late Nepal war had taught the British to fear constant danger from that quarter.

(5) The machinery of the law was not so elaborate and well-developed as now. The Penal laws were not codified and the

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English law obtained to some extent. There was no Legislative Council, only something like an Executive Council.

At this time the policy of the British authorities was to guard against further disturbance and to ensure peace. Baji Rao, who was now living at Bithur, had tried to overthrow British power by intriguing with the Holkar and the Bhonsla. Trimbuckji, his chief minister, had fled and was believed to be "actively engaged in organising plots for an armed insurrection." The Government had to take precaution against and arm themselves with power to promptly deal with such plots and intrigues. As Henry I. Prinsep writes in his book which we have already largely drawn upon ;—

"In all this arrangements (those with Ameer Khan, Goffur Khan etc), the main consideration has been to guard against any disturbance of the public peace, etc."

Now the passing of the Regulation III of 1818 was one of those measures taken by the British authorities to ensure public peace and security at a critical time. It needs only commonsense to see that this Regulation was framed to suit the requirements of the time. A glance at the different clauses of the Preamble also is enough to convince one that they were meant for a peculiar condition of affairs which has now passed away. Peace had to be ensured, intrigues had to be guarded against, the process of the law was not so sure and elaborate, the police arrangements were not perfect—and in circumstances like these what could the Government do? They could preserve tranquillity only by giving a short shrift to intriguing and dangerous men. We will not insult the intelligence of the reader by labouring this point any further.

Now if the Regulation is at all to be applied at the present time, it should first of all be proved that the conditions of 1818 have at least in analogy repeated themselves, that in the urgency of the case there is no course open before the Government but a resort to the summary procedure prescribed by it. But such an irresistible urgency, we beg to submit, is quite impossible under the present conditions. As the noble message of his most gracious Majesty rightly has it, "internal peace and tranquillity has been ensured." To resort now to an archaic Regulation passed in an unsettled state of affairs about a hundred years ago *with the object of ensuring public peace* is giving the lie direct to those true and solemn words of his Majesty. The recent 'toying with treason' and the unearthing of a conspiracy of young men do not surely, to quote the metaphorical words of Lord Morley, 'involve the question of an earthquake'. They do not certainly throw the Government into such a helpless

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position as to fall back on an obsolete law. It is impossible for us to see in the present situation any faint resemblance of the situation in 1818.

Now the second objection that the meaning and spirit of the Regulation III of 1818 have been strained unjustifiably to apply to recent cases is quite as patent as the first. We need not dwell long on this point as Lord Morley himself has in a manner confessed to it. In his speech at the Civil Service Dinner in July, 1902, he put the question, "To strain the meaning and the spirit of an exceptional law like our old Regulation of the year 1818 in such a fashion as this, what would it do?" Lord Morley did not stop to answer this question, but he vehemently denied that '*such a strain of the law as this*' would provoke criminal reprisals. We need not quarrel with his lordship's finding, but the confession contained in this can not escape the most careless eye.

The object of the Regulation evidently was to put down or remove territorial magnates, discontented chiefs, and defeated rulers, who might stir up trouble within their sphere of influence. The history of its operations proves this to demonstration. Some time after Lala Lajpat Rai was deported, in July 1907, Lord (then Mr.) Morley gave an account of the persons detained under this Regulation. "There are now," said he, "32 persons under detention or restraint, most of whom are what are called political *detenues* such as the ex-Khan of Khelat, the ex-Maharaja of Malapur, the persons implicated in the Manipur trouble of 1891 and the ex-Mehtar of Chitral. The number of British subjects detained is very small. They are chiefly Moplas." Now, does the same principle under which the ex-Khan of Khelat or the ex-ruler of Chitral is detained, apply to the cases of, say, Babu Sachindra Prosad Bose or Babu Bhupesh Kumar Nag—insignificant young men with practically no influence at all? The Regulation in question is so elastic and its sweep so all-embracing that, to say the least, it does not read like a civilized law. To strain the meaning and the spirit of a law is often dangerous and always unjustifiable. As a famous writer on constitutional law observed, the law of sedition, if too rigidly interpreted, can be made to put down all prevailing forms of agitation. Yet this is infinitely far from the object of the sedition law. The plea that the sedition law is a standing law will not justify a ruler if he tries to put down all political agitation, legitimate or otherwise, with its ready help. Yet Lord Morley trotted forth this lame plea to justify the straining of the Regulation III of 1818. We have set out at length the objections that have been urged against the

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Regulation. But it would be unfair if we did not represent the other side of the shield. We leave it to our readers to weigh our arguments, but it is our opinion that the justifications that have been attempted are quite inadequate and would not stand scrutiny.

Now these attempted justifications also are mainly based on two grounds.

(1) That the danger which the Regulation guards against is permanent, and

(2) That it is analogous to the periodical suspensions of the Habeas Corpus Act in England.

We shall examine these justifications in the light of facts and reason.

In his speech delivered in the House of Lords on the reform proposals on 17th December, 1908, Lord Morley is reported to have said that "when he had first come to the India Office, pressure was brought to induce him to repeal the Act of 1818, but he declined to deprive the Government of any weapon in circumstances so uncommon, obscure, and impenetrable as those which surround the British Government in India." The words of Lord Morley here were of course beautifully vague as the word of great statesmen generally are. But his sense was probably anticipated by Justice Norman in his judgment in the famous Ameer Khan's case in 1870. He says, "The Regulation differs from the Acts passed for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in this—that it is not a temporary Act; but if the danger to be apprehended from the conspiracies of people of such a character as I have mentioned is not temporary, but from the condition of the country must be permanent, it seems to me that the principles which justify the temporary suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in England justify the Indian legislature in entrusting to the Governor-General in Council an exceptional power of placing individuals under personal restraint when, for the security of British dominions from foreign hostility and internal commotion, such a course might appear necessary to the Governor-General in Council." This is really tantamount to saying that the danger from conspiracies and similar subtle sources is permanent in India. But we make bold to ask, how many conspiracies have been unearthed since the year, 1818? Under the clause under which the Bengal deportations have been recently carried out, three important actions have hitherto been taken, (i) in 1869 when Ameer Khan was deported, (ii) in 1897 when the Natu brothers were deported and (iii) in 1906 when Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh were

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similarly dealt with. Of all these three cases one was really connected with a conspiracy. About the year 1869, the Wahabis had really become a source of danger to the state. There was strong evidence that a wide-spread conspiracy was hatched by a number of these fanatics at Bihar. Outbreaks of lawlessness became very frequent and formidable and Ameer Khan was rightly believed to be responsible for the situation. In such a case as this when the situation was very subtle and very acute and the right person could be fixed upon with the responsibility for it, there might be some semblance of justification for the application of the Regulation III of 1818. But in the other two cases it was quite out of place and unjustifiable. In the case of Natu brothers, the Government did in a manner confess their mistake by suddenly releasing the Natus without even a word of explanation. It is now generally admitted that the double murder of Messrs. Rand and Ayerst had conjured up the bugbear of a conspiracy which led to the dramatic deportation of the Natus. Lala Lajpat Rai, who was described by Sir Denzil Ibbetson as a revolutionary and a political enthusiast was also believed to have held the reins of a conspiracy in his hands. But this conspiracy never came to light, for it existed in the mind of a 'strong lieutenant-governor' and officials of his ilk. We cannot pronounce very definitely on the anarchist plot in Bengal the trial of which is still going on. But assuming that a plot existed, we have it on the highest authority that the anarchists are few and the country at large has no sympathy with them. Lord Morley himself said that these recent anarchist movements were clouds sailing through the sky. In view of these facts and all responsible pronouncements, it can not rightly be said that the danger from conspiracies is permanent in India. We admit there have been and might be occasions when public mind was violently excited and crimes were committed, but to deal with a situation like that is not probably the province of the Regulation in question but of ordinary law. If after one century and a half of British rule, things continue still to be uncommon, obscure, and impenetrable as may be said to have been the condition in 1818, it suggests only a poor compliment to British rule. But it is widely believed that the situation now is not at all 'obscure and impenetrable,' if uncommon ; only the authorities, in the phrase of Lord Morley, 'have made the clouds darker than they really are.'

Secondly, it is argued in justification of the application of the Regulation III of 1818, that it is only analogous to the periodical suspensions of the Habeas Corpus Act. In answer to this we beg

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leave to quote what a writer in the *Indian World* of July, 1907, wrote in an article entitled, 'Personal Liberty in British India'; "The attempted justification by analogy to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act is also frivolous and unsound. For, though in England the Habeas Corpus Act has been suspended from time to time as a "necessary measure" when "the State is in real danger," yet, as Blackstone puts it, "the happiness of our constitution is that it is not left to the executive power to determine when the danger to the State is so great as to render this measure expedient; for it is the *Parliament only* (or legislative power) that, whenever it sees proper, by suspending the Habeas Corpus Act for a short and limited time, can enable the Crown to imprison suspected persons," without the possibility of their obtaining their discharge during that period by interference of courts of law. In India, on the contrary, this *perpetual* abrogation of the *Habeas Corpus Act*, as the Regulation really is, leaves with the executive (which here is not responsible to anybody representing the people) absolute liberty to apprehend and put under restraint whomsoever it chuses. It makes the Governor-General the sole arbiter of the situation, the order of the Governor-General arresting a person may here, at any time and under any circumstances, foil the courts of law and the Criminal Procedure Code altogether, much more dangerously than ever did the arbitrary proceedings of King Charles I before the 'Petition of Rights' was placed on the English Statute Book. Entrusting the executive with such extensive powers of curtailing the liberties of the subjects was always thought dangerous in England and to think that it has its parallel in any act of the Government of England except in the arbitrary acts of the Stuarts, which brought down a hurried Nemesis, is to disregard all history."

It is also worthy of note that it was in 1817 and that for the short period of one year only that the Habeas Corpus Act was last suspended in England. During the Fenian scare in Ireland, the Habeas Corpus Act, it is true, was suspended from time to time, but each period of suspension did not exceed more than a year and for the last fifty years the measure has not been resorted to even in Ireland.

We have now come to a close of our discussion of the Regulation III of 1818. But apart from all academic questions or theoretical discussions, the best proof of the monstrosity of this Regulation is afforded by the blunder the Government has recently made in Bengal by proceeding on untested and one-sided evidence to deport 9 persons from different ranks of life with quite different

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antecedents and careers. The foremost of this lot of deportees is no doubt Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt, a gentleman, whose whole life has been a dedication to all that is good and noble and who has always been known by the public to be a sincere advocate of law and order. He condemned anarchy in no faltering voice and would be the very last man to promote anything like 'internal commotion.' He has a long and glorious record of services on behalf his country—a record which any man in any nation would be proud to own. He was a successful lawyer and, as Mr. Bhupendra Nath Bose said at the last Madras Congress, could have occupied the same position as Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh occupied to-day. Yet he chose a life of voluntary poverty and spent the best part of his life in the humble work of upbringing the young. Babu Krishna Kumar Mittra also was a supporter of law and order and was always moderate in words and action. He also may be spoken of nearly as highly as Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt. Babu Satish Chandra Chatterji was a less known man, but nevertheless almost equal to these two in his devotion to the country's cause. These men of whom nobody who knows them personally can say or think anything ill of, have been found out by the police to be promoters of internal commotion. A Regulation which can put a violent hand upon men such as these should not be allowed to disfigure the Statute-book. Even if its total repeal is impossible or too much to hope for, we make no doubt that such a well-meaning Secretary of State as Lord Morley will at least see his way to bring it into line with modern notions of civilized jurisprudence.

B. D.

## "UMA'S WEDDING"

(BEING A METRICAL TRANSLATION OF THE FIRST SEVEN CANTOS OF  
KALIDASA'S *Kumara*).

### Canto II.

While *Gauri* tended thus that ascetic god,  
The *Devas'* land was being troubled sore  
By raids from *Tarak* ; and the gods repaired  
With *Indra* at their head, to *Brahma's* place.  
And *Brahma* gave them audience; like sun  
In morn uprising, waking with its beams  
The host of drooping lilies in a lake,



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His presence cleared the gods' dejected looks !  
To Him, the lord of all, whose visage turned  
To all the four cardinal points of earth,—  
From whom all *Vedus* sprang,—the *Devas* then  
Obeisance made, and thus his praises sang :—

“ We salute thee, O Brahman, Spirit *One*  
Before creation Thou, that afterwards  
Thyself evolved in triple shape divine,  
The three essences pure to manifest !  
In that Thou cast on pristine flood, thy seed  
Undying, Life unborn Thou ! and forth  
Ordained all creation thence,—the world  
Doth sing, and *Thee* the primal cause proclaim !

“ Though *One* at start, thou didst evolve at once,  
Thy pow'rs in three-fold shape,—Creator first,  
Preserver next, and last Destroyer, *thou*  
The *sole* cause still, of birth and growth and death !  
From *Thee* the sexes sprang, when wish'dst thou,  
To life divide in *twain*, and two make *one* ;  
Th' divided self became the parents first  
Of all created life in male and female forms !  
Thy *sleep*, and *waking* thine, thy night and day  
Divine, do mean creation's span,—an æon  
When chaos reigns, and then the worlds are born !

“ This world createdst Thou, *Thou* uncreate ;  
All worlds thou mayst destroy : *Thyself* wilt last !  
O thou wast *first*, the world came after thee,  
Thou art creation's lord, no lord hast Thou !  
*Thyself* thou know'st *self-taught*, by *self* alone,  
Thyself createdst thou : in *thy* own might,  
To *thee* thou all creation dost draw in !—  
As wishest *Thou*, the world evolves all forms,—  
Or gross or fine,—or liquid, soild mass,  
Things light or load ;—all forms are *Thou* :  
*Beyond* all forms, the *first cause* thou art too,  
That shap'st at will all life in strength supreme !  
Thou art the source of '*sacred speech*', which sung  
In triple tones, the holy "*om*" doth give,—  
Which duty makes of *Yajna* sacrifice,  
With heavenly life its fruit : those "*Veds*" are thine  
—“ They say, thou '*Nature*' art, the substance  
On which thy '*spirit*' works : transcending still

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As *Peruso* changeless, *thou* the witness art  
Of nature's workings all, *thyself unwrought* !

"Of "*pitris*" thou the prototype,—*prime* god,  
Of all the gods thou art,—the *last* as well  
Of beings all,—the *first* of patriarchs !  
Thou art the *havya*, thou the *hotri* too,—  
The '*food*' offered art *Thou*, the eater too,—  
The objects *known* are thou, *Knower* as well :  
Thou the *thinker* art, all *thoughts* are *Thee* !"   
These words of worship then, so true, so sweet,  
The Chief heard pleased,—and to the gods replied:—  
[When *four-faced Brahma* spake, the four-fold speech  
Of that *first speaker*, fruition gave to words  
In all their aspects four !] The Lord this said :—

"All welcome here, ye strong-arm'd Potentates,  
Who gained your states, at one and *same* moment,  
In strength of own long arm each, ye gods !  
I miss the usual radiance from your looks.  
Oh, why they gloomy seem ? as moonbeams pale  
When struggling to emerge thro' clouds of mist ?  
—The '*Vajra*' bolt of *Vritra's* mortal foe  
No longer bright in flame of rainbow-hues,—  
Why shorn appears of former beauty now ?  
Why futile, ah ! the '*noose*' of *Ocean's chief*,  
—The foeman's dread—in listless hands now hung,  
Appears it like a charmed snake subdued ?  
Alas ! *Kuvera's* arm of *club* bereft,  
Looks lorn, like tree with branches broken off !  
And th' grief, that as a shaft now pricks his mind,  
Implies that ye have somewhere known *defeat* !  
Ah ! there is *Yama*, standing with his '*rod*',—  
That erst invincing was !—held listless now,  
Its mighty radiance lost !—Look, how he draws  
Lines idle on the ground, with *that* as pen !  
And these *Adityas* too ! what look they for  
So pale, from loss of might and glory bright,  
Like shapes in pictures drawn, exposed to sight ?  
I see the *Muruts* mild ! they halt in gait,  
As though perplex'd ! their force seems now restrain'd  
Like waters slowly moving *up* the stream !  
The fallen crests of *Rudras* bold, alas !  
By lowered plaits, that hide 'midst loos'ned locks

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Their forehead's moon-shap'd marks,—announce defeat  
That has subdued their thund'ring battle-cry !

“ Ah ! ye were established *first* in pow'r, and *now*  
Have ye by stronger power been overthrown ?  
Have foes upset you now, like *Scriptures* broad  
By *customs* strong, in *practice* set at naught ?

“ If that be so, oh, speak, my sons ! to me  
Your message now, that brings you all so far.  
I simply did create ; to ye belongs  
The burden of the world's weal to keep !”

(*To be continued*)

Sures Chandra Sarkar

# The Progress of the Indian Empire

## PROVINCE BY PROVINCE

### BENGAL

Bengal unhappily continues to be the centre of troubles.

Murder of Babu  
Ashutosh Biswas

Anarchism has once more jumped out of what seemed to be its ashes and has wreaked its vengeance, this time upon a worthy son of Bengal.

Babu Ashutosh Biswas, Public Prosecutor of Alipore, has been shot down by an imperfectly educated and thoughtless young man who has already paid the penalty of his misdeed in the gallows, blissfully senseless, no doubt, of the mischief that he has done to the country. The murder of Inspector Banerji followed by that of Ashutosh Biswas discloses a new and perhaps the most ugly phase of anarchical crime in Bengal. The murderer himself does not seem to have had any very clear notions of the fault for which Ashu Babu died at his hands, but it is abundantly clear that the very able professional assistance that this gentleman gave to the prosecution in the Alipore Bomb Conspiracy Case in the discharge of his duties has really compassed his death. Counsel in the Midnapore case in the course of his argument pointed out that the police had got the prosecution witnesses to incriminate the principal lawyers appearing on behalf of the defence in that case. It now appears that our anarchists are going to resort to more drastic measures with reference to lawyers who may assist the prosecution. It is needless to point out to what a horrid pass things may come if this sort of things is permitted to go on. But we trust that these horrors will not intimidate our countrymen into deserting their posts of duty. Babu Ashutosh Biswas showed a splendid courage in persisting in his work in spite of unambiguous threats directed at him by these miscreants. We are sure that there will still be found amongst us men who would show the same courage in the discharge of duty—men, fearless alike of the gallows and the anarchists' secret bullet or bomb.

The Boycott  
movement

Meanwhile it is a matter of sad interest to note the way in which our political work is languishing, mainly, be it noted, through the doings of the anarchists.

The violent deeds of the terrorists have made men very shy of public life. It is not fear of police persecution that

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has driven away men from public meetings and public life, but the horrors of anarchism which have awed and terrified our people. The boycott movement is languishing very much all over these provinces and its total collapse may be a question of a few more months. It has left a very perceptible influence on the economic condition of the market but as a political movement it is all but defunct. Undiscriminating people are apt to mix up political movements of all sorts into one mass, and there is no doubt that the horror of anarchism has to a certain extent spread itself over all the political life in the country. The terrorists have verily a great deal to thank themselves for.

Repression has been, in the meanwhile, progressing famously.

**The Midnapore case** There have been no new cases but the way that the old cases are being disposed of shows the vitality of the principle. In the Midnapore case all the three accused have been convicted and sentenced to imprisonment, one for 10 years and two others for seven years. An appeal against the decision is pending in the High Court. Any discussion on the merits of the case would therefore be premature. But considering all circumstances the sentences would seem to be severe to a degree.

**The Reform Bill** The progress of the Reform Bill in the House of Lords is being watched with painful interest by the people. The Reform Bill had already been denuded of half its charms by Lord Morley's abandoning the principle of mixed electoral colleges and conceding separate franchise to Mahomedans at all stages. Apart from the enormous practical difficulties in working out the scheme in details the recognition and perpetuation of class differences will be a standing block to further national progress. It is a matter in which Bengal is most intimately interested. For, it is here that it is of the utmost importance to see that Hindus and Mahomedans work shoulder to shoulder in the promotion of national welfare, and it is here that we have had the worst specimens of the mischief that may be worked by emphasising the differences between Hindus and Mahomedans. But however that might have been, the refusal of the House of Lords to extend the system of Council Governments to provinces like Bengal, has dealt a death-blow to the enthusiasm that was felt here for the Reform Bill. All that now remains for the Bill is an increase in numbers and increase in the volume of debates—excellent things in their own way but not much to rouse enthusiasm. It would have been very much better for Lord Morley, as it undoubtedly would be

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for the ministers generally, if before introducing a Bill they had taken care to take Lord Lansdowne into their confidence as to how much of a Bill he would let pass. It may be all very well to play the other game in England, but in India it is cruel to raise hopes only to smother them.

It would be idle to say that Bengal is particularly sorry for the retirement of Sir Francis Maclean. Yet there was  
The late Chief-Justice certainly some amount of sincerity in the valedictory address presented to him by the Vakils' Association. The fact is that Sir Francis was one of those goody sort of people who do their work in a humdrum fashion and do a good turn or two but fail to rouse any particular enthusiasm. I am not concerned about the legal aspect of his career. There he has undoubtedly done justice and interpreted the law in a common-sense fashion, it may be, with occasional aberrations. But outside the strictly legal side of his duty, he was undoubtedly a man who roused none but goody feelings in you and was distinctly humorous. Many of his after-dinner speeches in Calcutta are likely to remain models of that sort of oratory for yet a long while. But educated India owe him special thanks for his opening up to their ranks several high offices from which they were kept out by all previous Chief Justices of Bengal.

If his lordship Mr. Justice Brett, who I find is going out on furlough once again, was ever in want of a monument to his judicial erudition it would be found in the now historic Darjeeling Mail Assault case, specially with the commentary furnished by the later action of the Government. The two Governments of Bengal and Eastern Bengal have ultimately found that Durga Charan Sanyal's mind was unhinged and he has therefore been released on his relatives giving assurance that they would take care of him. The plea of insanity seems a little laboriously worked out, perhaps out of respect to Mr. Justice Brett's feelings, but the fact of release is abundantly clear. All honour to the Government for its righting a grievous wrong and a corresponding degree of disgrace to judges who failed to get at the root of the case and do proper justice. While Mr. Justice Brett thought that his mind was unhinged, he did not order a preliminary examination of the man before awarding the punishment. He put the cart before the horse and passed a severe sentence leaving the chances of his release to the tender mercies of the Government. Government has in this case proved really merciful, but for that, no thanks to Mr. Justice Brett.

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The Special Bench of the High Court appointed under the Criminal Law Amendment Act is sitting to try the Bighati Dacoity case. More cases are coming on for trial. The constitution of the Court bids us hope that justice will be done to the accused persons and that with no undue severity. The Acting Chief Justice with Messrs. Justices Mukerji and Carnduff constitute the Bench. It is of the utmost importance to the Government, no less than to the people, that there should arise no suspicion in the public mind that full and fair justice is not being done to the accused. In that view we are glad the Bench has been constituted as it is.

The Convocation of the Calcutta University held on the 13th instant was in no way an uncommon gathering. The only notable feature about it was the enthusiastic speech delivered by the Vice-Chancellor. In this speech there is no denying that he paints all the actions of the University in decidedly rosy colours. Most notable amongst these are the disciplinary action of the Calcutta University in having prevented students from taking part in politics and the raising of the standards all round, remarkably in the matter of law education. I am not in favour of students entering the lists of political controversies as the arbiters of the destinies of the country, but a certain amount of participation in a subordinate capacity in political activities of the country is certainly not wholly inconsistent with the vocation of students. But, the worst of the action of the University is that it should identify discipline with keeping boys out of politics. This is a sense of the word 'discipline' which would rouse a smile in the gravest of educationists elsewhere. Discipline and formation of character are the two things consistently ignored by our educationists, and not the least by the University. Mr. Justice Mukerji's commendation of the disciplinary action of the University taken along with this circumstance looks very much like a biting satire instead of bonafide praise, particularly when we find the Vice-Chancellor himself referring to the crusade upon politics as the only illustration of the disciplinary action of our Alma Mater.

With reference to raising the standard of education, there are already signs that all the work done under this plea is leading to the restriction in the number of people who have the opportunities of a University education. But I am beginning to look upon it more as a good fortune than otherwise, for it thrusts upon our people the necessity of providing for a system of education outside the pale of the Uni-

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versity and as a supplement to it. How the people will adequately grapple with this new situation yet remains to be seen, but I am sure that the desire for education is too strongly imbedded in the minds of our people to let them see their children remain without education. I beg to assure the Vice-Chancellor that no body objects to raising the standard of our education. All that we say is that it is not done by merely providing imposible curricula or by any dashing move. It is to be achieved by steady progress towards a definite ideal. Dr. Mukerji himself stands on a lofty pedestal of intellectual eminence and he is naturally anxious to draw others up to it. But it will never do to be an impatient idealist—even in educational reform.

The Vice-Chancellor then proceeds with an elaborate defence of his pet project of a model law college. No one ever had the slightest objection to the positive aspect of his scheme. The University has every right to insist that it should not confer its degress upon men who had not a sound and scientific knowledge of their subjects. What is at fault is the destructive aspect of it. The famers of the scheme seems to forget that it will shut out a large number of men from the career of professional lawyers. The degree in law is not only a University degree but a necessary qualification for the profession of law. Dr. Mukerji himself admits that success in that profession may be achieved with a moderate amount of *scieintific* knowledge of law joined to natural aptitudes. The raising up of the standard very high for the purpose of imparting a highly scientific education of law would thus exclude men from the legal profession, not because they had not the requisite natural aptitudes, nor because they had not been fully well-equipped in law for practical lawyers, but because they have not been qualified for the scientific study of law. That is a very laudable object of study no doubt, but we have no right to take away from people the chances of their earning a livelihood in a profession for which they are fully qualified. What Dr. Mukerji wants is a very necessary requisite for legal education in a University, but then the education of a practical lawyer is not quite that. If it were possible to divorce the study of law for the profession from a study of it in the University, the cherished desire of Dr. Mukerji's heart might be achieved without injustice to anybody.

Public life in Bengal has taken a new development. Recently there have been two meetings in the Town Hall of Calcutta on important public questions—one to protest against the rejection of Clause III of

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the Indian Councils Bill by the House of Lords and the other to protest against class representation and the Partition of Bengal. The first of these meetings was presided by Nawab Salimullah of Dacca and the second by Mr. Saroda Charan Mitra. Both of these meetings were organised by the moderate leaders of Bengal and pretty well advertised. There were less than a couple of hundred men in the first meeting and about a thousand in the second. In former days, Town Hall meetings, on whatever subject held used to be attended not by thousands but by ten thousands, and the difficulty was to keep order and peace among such a large crowd. There have been several occasions when overflow meetings have also been necessary. But now even half the hall is never filled. What is it due to? Is the public beginning to take less interest in politics or has it ceased to have any faith in protest meetings or it is the fear of repression and police high handedness? Can it also be that the moderate leaders have lost all influence in the country and the people, as a body, have accepted extremist views? Any how, the question is serious and we state it for all what it is worth.

### **PUNJAB**

It is but natural that the eyes of all India should this year be turned to the Punjab, for the next session of India's National Assembly comes off at Lahore, the capital of the province. The Punjab will therefore remain the centre of interest and attraction for all lovers of Indian reform and progress till December next at least. We say all lovers of Indian reform and progress advisedly, for even our politicians of the new school, who so strenuously hardened their hearts against the unconditional subscription to the Article I of the Congress Constitution, have been secretly cherishing a hope that the cleavage would be made up at the Lahore Session. The current topics of politics in the Punjab can not therefore fail to be of interest to persons of every way of thinking.

The Punjabees have the reputation of being a practical people and in one respect they have justified the expectations formed of them. They have wisely set their heart upon holding an Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition in connection with the next Congress and thus to revive the good old practice, which had to be abandoned on account of unavoidable circumstances both at the ill-fated Session at Surat and also at the last Congress at Madras. And

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under the able leadership of the Hon'ble Mr. Harkishen Lal the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee has been energetically tackling this question. An Exhibition Committee has been formed with Sir P. C. Chatterji as its chairman and Hon'ble Lala Harkishen Lal as the provisional Secretary and the Committee has been considering the requirements of the Exhibition with special reference to this province. The office-bearers have been elected and it is proposed shortly to issue a prospectus of the Exhibition. A sub-committee has also been formed to draft a prospectus and already there are representatives of Art, Education, Agriculture, Forestry, Dairy, and Sanitation on the Committee. The work is proceeding apace. The Lieutenant-Governor of the province has promised his hearty support and co-operation and consented to become a patron. Much support is expected from the Ruling Chiefs of the Province. The scope of the Exhibition cannot be fully known until the sub-committee issues its prospectus. It is, however, idle to imagine that our modest northern capital can compete with the opulent cities like Calcutta and Bombay and our Exhibition will necessarily be an unpretentious affair. But it is hoped that the Punjab will do its level best and although it is certain that our Exhibition will be one of modest dimensions from the spectacular point of view, it will be as much useful as the previous Exhibitions from the practical point of view. The site of the Exhibition is not yet fixed, but very likely it will be held in the vicinity of the Lahore Museum and the School of Arts and the adjoining grounds. It will be about ten minutes' walk from the Bradlaugh Hall, where the Congress will be held.

The Congress work is also proceeding but here the Provincial Congress Committee has been encountering, I am afraid, some difficulty. A Reception Committee has, however, been formed for the Congress with 45 names to start with and the Committee has been calling on all old Congressmen and ex-delegates to consider the question of signing the creed and apply for admission to the Provincial Congress Committee. Several have already responded and it is hoped more will follow.

Still there has been some difficulty. It should be, however, borne in mind that Punjab politics have been generally moderate in tone and the Utopian ideal of absolute Swaraj finds little favour in this province. Our province hailed the publication of the Reform despatch of Lord Morley with warm approval and even enthusiasm. It is true that the enthusiasm greatly cooled down when it became known that the Punjab Government as well as the Government of

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India had strenuously sworn by the patriarchal principle of nomination as being exactly suitable for the province, but still we pinned our hope on Lord Morley's condemnation of 'the dubious system of nomination.' We trusted that Lord Morley would place our province, which was in no way less advanced than the United Provinces, on a level of equality with the other provinces. We could in no way reconcile ourselves to the small modicum of election doled out by the provincial Government as well as the Government of India and we protested loudly against the perpetuation of the injustice. It is not known nor will it be known till the Regulations in connection with the Reforms, (viz. the Indian Councils Bill, after that measure passes into law) are framed by the Government of India, how far our endeavours to convince the Government in favour of an advanced and up-to-date system of administration have been successful. But this strong official predilection towards archaic types of government was the first damping factor in the situation.

The cordiality of the Punjab's reception of the reform proposals was therefore tempered with a keen sense of the injustice done to legitimate aspirations by her own officialdom, which evinced a singular incapacity to understand the drift of the sentiments which animated young Punjab. The hide-bound officialdom of the Punjab never felt the beatings of our heart and its strenuous and vehement swearing by the effete and out-of-date patriarchal principles of nomination was not only a libel to the intellect and the acumen of the Punjab, but a characteristic piece of official anachronism. The Punjab has therefore no reason to thank her officials for the reforms, and if she in the long run grows out of her apron-strings and be placed on a level of equality with the sister provinces, it will be entirely due to the noble initiative and the high statesmanship of Lord Morley.

This dissatisfaction of the Punjab over the official attitude was further accentuated by Lord Morley's short-sighted surrender to the clamours of the Muslim League and its Anglo-Indian patrons. The concession to the Mahomedans has been universally regarded as a retrograde step, discounting a good deal from the important step forward taken by the reforms. The Punjab has been one of those provinces where the Hindus are in a minority and yet the general impression has been that official predilections have been generally on the side of the Muslim majority and the Hindu and the Sikh minorities have not had fair and equitable treatment of official gifts or of public appointments. The unjust and unmerited

suppression of the superior claims of Rai Bahadur Lala Lal Chand in the matter of the appointment to the Chief Court Bench is a typical and glaring instance of official predilection towards Mahomedans, but it is only one instance out of the many. The Hindus, inspite of their superior education and better judicial training, have not got a single Sessions Judge in the Punjab, while there are no less than two Mahomedan Sessions Judges. The Police department is manned by Mahomedans and there are only two or three Hindu Deputy Superintendents of Police as against more than a dozen Mahomedan incumbents of that office. It is not necessary to particularise the case of other departments. It may be, of course, said that the squabble over the leaves and fishes of office is not a very dignified affair, but we have never been so altruistic as to efface ourselves for the benefit of others. But Lord Morley's surrender to the Muslim League has introduced another most disagreeable element to the situation. Over and above the average official predilection for Mahomedans is added what must be regarded as a statutory recognition of the preferential and superior claims of the Mahomedans. The Hindu community in the Panjab has naturally stood aghast and been taken dumb-founded. Apart from the dangers of the accentuation of racial differences, retarding of national progress and unity and the frustration of the salutary object of non-official majority in the councils, there is in this province the additional apprehension that the Mahomedans will sweep the board and rule the roost and, by an alliance with the authorities, keep the non-Muslim minorities in check. This seamy aspect of the situation has been forcibly brought out by the provincial press. The *Tribune* recognises that Lord Morley in his reply to the Deputation to the Muslim League spoke about the need of safeguarding the interests of the Hindu minorities in provinces like Eastern Bengal and the Punjab, but in view of the prevalent official attitude and in the absence of any express statutory provision to that effect, it doubts whether the non-Muslim interests in the province will get adequate protection. The Mahomedans will receive separate and preferential representation, they will not mingle with the common herd at the polling booths, and the *Tribune* fears that they will even use aggressive tactics against the Hindu and the Sikh minorities. The *Punjabee* goes much further. It gives a solemn warning to the Hindus and says that "the Hindu is faced with a most critical situation in his existence and that it will need all his resources of self-respect and and self-

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exertion to keep his position in his own country. He finds that in the land in which he introduced the earliest civilisation, whose humanising principles have radiated throughout the world and given impetus to others, he must sink into insignificance and be prepared to efface himself for the benefit of others. Over and above the ordinary struggle under modern conditions of commercial competition, is introduced the new element of racial antagonism in which two different civilisations make common cause against him. All the resources of his Shastras and science, his religion and philosophy, his culture and spirituality will be put to the sorest trial." And the *Punjabi* has published several letters in its columns, believed to be written by prominent Arya Samajists and old congressmen, who aver that the Hindu-Moslem unity is only "a counsel of perfection and that the two communities differ from each other by fixed and immutable lines and they can no more mingle as sun-light into moon-light or as wine unto water."

A somewhat different note is sounded by the *Hindustan*, a leading vernacular weekly of the province. Like the *Indian World*, it complains that the Congress has failed to signalise its acquisition of constitution by any definite and distinct work. The Congress, it says, is too much enamoured of its methods of masterly inactivity. It deplores the apathy of the Congress at this critical stage in the history of the country. Could not the Congress have taken a leaf from the Muslim League and organised a Deputation to Lord Morley through its British Committee? Could not the veteran Rashbehari, who hurled anathemas at the Extremists at Madras, have sent a memorial in the name of the Congress to the Viceroy or moved for the convening of a special sessions to consider this all-important matter? How also could Mr. Gokhale fail to perceive that the failure of Indian unity—the gospel which he has so strenuously preached—is sought to be sapped by this concession of water-tight communal representation to the Muslims. Certainly Sir Pherozeshah Mehta can not call this a mere mawkish sentimentality.

Such being the trend of public feeling as reflected in the organs of the press, the path-way before our energetic Congress workers has not been strewn with roses. But the Congress bears a charmed life and if its leaders rise to the occasion, there is no fear about the Congress being rehabilitated into the minds of the waverers and critics. Meanwhile the Provincial Congress Committee has been grinding exceedingly slow and we must patiently await the grist.

Lala Lajpat Rai has returned from his English tour and has been hailed with an ominous letter from his venerable father. In this letter, Lala Lajpat is advised to turn away from politics and devote his whole attention to social and educational work. People are asking if the letter has been inspired by the son himself, but, whatever it be, it would be an unfortunate day for the Punjab if such a strong personality as Lalaji's is withdrawn from its political life.

## REVIEW OF LEADING INDIAN REVIEWS

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### *The Hindustan Review*

The February number of the *Hindustan Review* is an eminently readable publication and contains as usual a number of interesting articles dealing with important current topics. The number opens with an article of great value on Indian Education by the Rev. C. F. Andrews, M.A. The learned Professor points out the defects of the Indian system of education and urges the necessity and importance of turning out *specialists* from our Universities. Indian students have sufficiency of "brain capacity," but, says Prof. Andrews, very little opportunity is afforded them to attempt original work, such as historical research, so as to become specialists in any special branch of knowledge. This is followed by an article on "Modern Organisation of Industry" by Mr. Manohor Lal, M.A., Principal, Randhir College, Kapurtola. This is an extract from a course of lectures delivered by Mr. Manohor Lal as University Lecturer in Economics. Perhaps the most attractive thing of this number is "A Conversation on Current Indian Topics" by a "Parsee Publicist," which presents a discussion between an Englishman, a Scotsman, a Christian Turk and an Indian, on the question of the attainment by Indians of self-government of the colonial pattern. Much credit is due to the writer of "Indian Mussulmans and Indian Politics" for the very liberal views he has expressed. He takes much pains to trace the origin and growth of modern Mahomedan political thought and emphatically points out that but for the mischievous attitude of a powerful minority, the bulk of Indian Mahomedans "would eventually have either joined the Indian National Congress or set up a Congress of their own." In "Recent Events in Mysore—Their Provincial and National Significance," the writer who appears under the pseudonym of "A Mysorean," flouts the patriotism of the Mysoreans as being selfish and enters upon a vehement defence of the Dewan's action in gagging the Mysore Press. Other articles are—"Indian Polytechnics" by Mr. Subra Rao, and "As an Indian sees America," by Mr. Saint Nihal Singh.

The March number to hand is almost equally interesting. The place of honour is given to a paper on "Herbert Spencer and Asia" contributed by Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, late of the *Statesman*. The second

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article headed "The Reforms" is from the pen of Mr. Swinny, editor of the *Positivist Review*. The writer shows the incalculable mischief that has been done to India by the delay in the pronouncement of Reforms. It has permanently alienated a substantial section of the Indian community. He asks the Indians to welcome what has been granted but never to forget that

"The Partition of Bengal still remains ; their fellow-countrymen are still in prison without trial or opportunity of defence ; the drain of wealth still continues."

Mr. Swinny concludes with this noble appeal : "Assuredly, India has need of the patriotism of every one of her sons."

This is followed by an article entitled "Unrest and Educational Reform in India" by Mr. Y. N. Murti. Mr. Manohar Lal continues his discourse on "Modern Industrial Organisation" and deals in this part with the question of "Differentiation of Functions." "The Political Renaissance in Turkey" by Mr. Ghulam Ambia Khan is a very powerful article. The writer explains that the entire annals of humanity will fail to produce a single parallel to the wonder that has worked itself into perfection, silently and bloodlessly, in the land of the Turks. Other articles are of comparatively little Indian interest. They are "The Langar Festival of Hyderabad" and "The 'New' old Theology" by Mr. Frederic Barr.

Both the numbers under notice are conspicuous by the absence of the Editor's notes on current topics :

### *The Indian Review*

The February number of the "Indian Review" quite keeps up its reputation as a leading Indian periodical. It opens with a symposium on Lord Morley's Reform Scheme, some eminent Englishmen, including a few retired members of the Civil Service, recording, their opinions about it. Sir Henry Cotton is of opinion that

"taken as a whole the reforms are good, and my only regret is that they do not go far enough. They compare very unfavourably with what is now being done by the United States in the Philippines and will stand no comparison with what has been achieved in Turkey."

Mr. H. Beveridge who has a paper on the same subject in the present number of the *Indian World* doubts very much if the proposals will do much to allay the present discontent.

Mr. S. H. Swinny, Editor of the "Positivist Review," acquits himself thus :—

" They (the Indians) must keep alive the national spirit. They must not, in gratitude for immediate favours, forget such wrongs as the Partition or the Deportations."

The other expressions of opinion are almost unanimous in approving of the reforms.

In the next article " The Moslem View of the Reforms," the writer has nothing but "grateful appreciation." After the conventional expressions of loyalty to the British throne and abhorrence of anarchism, the author emphatically lays down :—

" The contemptuous insinuation on the part of some diseased minds that the reforms are the direct result of the anarchist propaganda in Bengal betrays a gross ignorance of the mighty power of England. The beneficent scheme is nothing but the pure outcome of true liberalism and high statesmanship."

The writer says—

" One fails to understand why any fear should be entertained of Mahomedan interests being overlooked by Government. Does the nomination of Mr. Syed Hosain Belgrami to the Secretary of State's Council not furnish an eloquent proof to the contrary ?"

The writer concludes by exhorting his co-religionists to unite with their Hindu brethren in promoting the general well-being of India.

Mr. Natesan reproduces in his Review a paper recently written by Prof. Lees Smith of the London School of Economics on "the Relations between English and Indian Gentlemen." Prof. Smith starts with the proposition that the foundation of British rule in India is based upon the principle of "obliterating distinctions of race." He says—

" Much of its good influence, however, will be defeated if Englishmen in India stultify it by their personal conduct towards Indians. Any racial exclusiveness which ordains that an Indian gentleman, because of his complexion, is not to be received as a social equal by Englishmen, is inconsistent with the principles of British rule in India."

Then he proceeds to describe the existing relationship between the Indians and Englishmen thus—

" Yet Indian gentlemen are still regarded as unfit to set foot inside the chief clubs and are in many towns excluded from all but second-rate hotels."

He appeals to the liberal-minded Englishmen to use their



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influence to break down this colour barrier. About the personal conduct of Englishmen referred to above, he speaks from personal experience thus—

"Nevertheless I have witnessed conduct on the railways which I should not have believed to be possible if I had not seen it. I realized then how easily the seeds of race-hatred and sedition could be sown in the mind of a sensitive Indian."

He asks Indians to indignantly reject a formal and meaningless apology from an insolent Englishman, because it is made not in a spirit of compunction, but as an attempt to prevent public disclosure. Prof. Lees Smith concludes with this pointed observation—

"Those who object to travelling with Indians should be willing to pay for their luxury by reserving a compartment to themselves. Otherwise, their objections are insulting."

Mrs. Annie Besant contributes a very suggestive paper on the "Education of the Depressed Classes." She has been a worker in this cause for 34 years. She now asks the educated Indians to take up in right earnest the question of educating this "large class of people, ignorant, degraded, unclean in language and habits, people who perform many tasks which are necessary for Society but who are despised and neglected by the very society to whose needs they minister." But she is quite alive to the difficulties arising at the outset. Admission of these sons of the pariah community into schools frequented by the sons of the higher classes, is, according to the writer, neither practicable nor desirable, because dragging down the clean to the level of the dirty for the sake of an artificial equality is not education but the reverse of it. The remedy she suggests is the following :—

"The children of the depressed classes need, first of all, to be taught cleanliness, outside decency of behaviour, and the earliest rudiments of education, religion and morality. The first daily lesson in a school for these children should be a bath, and the putting on a clean cloth, and the second should be a meal of clean wholesome food."

Another difficulty that faces teachers of such children are the contagious diseases that are bred from dirt. Mrs. Besant concludes her article with the following :—

"How shall we dare to plead to the Lord of Compassion to stoop to us and help us to rise, unless we, in our turn stoop, to those below us, and seek to raise them up?"

Other articles in this number are—"A Glance at the Pali-Budhist Scriptures," "the English Public Schools" &c. The number under review has also a beautiful sonnet in admiration of Lord Morley.

### *The Modern Review*

The February number of "the Modern Review" opens with an interesting article entitled "Employment of Indians in the Public Service." This is the first of a series of articles in which the writer, by numerous citations of unimpeachable authorities, official and otherwise, seeks to bring out the gross injustice done to the Indians by debarring them from higher appointments in the Public Services of the State.

He points out how officials from Cornwallis downwards tried to exclude Indians from all offices of trust and responsibility not because they were incompetent, but because "British office-seekers" had to be provided for. The framers of the Charter Act of 1833, which has been designated by some as the Magna Charta of India, were, according to the writer, guided not by any philanthropic motives, but considerations of political and financial expediency. It was political considerations, again, which prompted the East India Company to employ natives in the Government service. The writer concludes by showing that when a good deal of discontent was created in the country by poverty, ruin of industries &c., the rulers thought it expedient to conciliate the people by what the writer humorously calls the "promise" of employing Indians largely in the services of the State.

Mr. Dwijadas Dutt's paper on "Milk and Milk-testing for Adulteration" is highly interesting. It will be of great use to private individuals as well as municipal health officers and food inspectors.

The importance of Dr. Coomaraswamy's "Note on the Silpa Sastras in Ceylon" cannot be overstated. Dr. Coomaraswamy writes with a knowledge of Indian art and marshals an array of authoritative evidence to show that Indian craftsmen of old followed scientific rules in the pursuit of their profession and not mere rules of thumb. The next article is "Native States and the Policy of Non-interference." The writer takes great pains to show that the sort of education which the ruling Princes of India receive in their infancy under the tutelage of the political officers of the Government, generally disqualify them for the onerous duties they have to perform in life, when on account of the policy of non-interference, they are allowed almost absolute freedom of action within their own territories. The writer tells us that

"most of the individuals entrusted with absolute power over a considerable number of their fellow beings, must degenerate into despots."

So, in the opinion of the writer who being himself a "Native-State-man," speaks from personal knowledge, the Indian Princes with rare exceptions are only anxious to show off their loyalty to the paramount power to which they owe their position, but are entirely unmindful of the well-being of the millions committed to their charge. Hence the policy of non-interference is not an "unmixed blessing." The writer urges that

"If the British Government intends to let these Princes alone as regards their affairs, it must satisfy itself first that they will adopt a form of Government suitable to the needs of their subjects."

"The so-called Inferiority of Coloured Races" is a very learned contribution. The writer conclusively shows that there is no inherent inferiority in the coloured races. The quotations are apt and authoritative.

In "A message Japan gave me for India," Mr. Saint Nihal Singh, delivers an inspiring message to India—

"What Japan has failed to do, let India do. Let Hindustan be the saviour of the world. Let India build up an enlightenment of a new order—a civilization which rests secure on the twin props of spirituality and materialism. Let India dovetail the body and spirit activities and out of the two, design a board on which humanity, can dance, sing and grow."

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The only other article requiring to be noticed is the "Reply" to "The Breakdown of the Boycott" which Prof. Kale of the Fergusson College contributed to the December number of the *Indian Review*. Prof. Kale attempted to show with the help of statistical figures that the Indian Boycott has been a total failure. The reply which is from the pen of Mr. R. K. Prabhu, should silence those inveterate haters of Boycott who, alarmed at its potentialities, ever seek to establish its invisible connection with the recent anarchical developments in the country. Mr. Prabhu with much force points out that Indian Boycott is entirely different from the boycott resorted to in other countries; hence the usual mode of judging the results of Boycott does not apply in the case of India.

"The boycott in its genuine form is a commercial ban to which the people of one country subject the goods of another nation—and of that nation only. But the Indian Boycott though originally meant to be directed against British goods alone, is now directed against *all* foreign goods, whether British, German, American etc."

Again, "A universal boycott is no boycott at all. It is purely Swadeshi." Hence he says—"the Boycott is only Swadeshi emphasised." You need not persuade people to boycott British goods or any foreign goods, but persuade them to use Swadeshi goods, as far as possible." In India even if Boycott is dropped, the Swadeshi propaganda cannot be palatable to the bureaucracy, because the one implies the other. Sir Roper Lethbridge told the truth when he said that they could not tolerate even "honest" Swadeshi. Before attempting to divorce Boycott from Swadeshi with a view to condemn and ridicule the other, the writer asks Mr. Kale to take the following facts also into consideration. (1) The Boycott is confined only to Bengal (2) Three years are too short a period to judge. Mr. Prabhu concludes his remarkable reply by quoting figures to show what a miracle the Swadeshi movement has worked in the space of only three years.

"The Todas of the Nilgiri Hills" is the title of another article on Indian subject written by Sreemati Swarna Kumari Devi, the famous lady-journalist of Bengal. The paper displays a good deal of scholarship and reflects great credit on its able authoress.

## REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

### SPECIAL MAHOMETAN REPRESENTA- TION

"We are not Orientals, that is the root of the matter. We English, Scotch and Irish are in India because we are not Orientals.....We are representatives, not of Oriental civilisation, but of Western civilisation, of its methods its principles and its practices." Mr. John Morley at Arbroath in October 1907.

"Government by the dominant country is as legitimate as any other if it is the one which, in the existing state of civilisation of the subject people, most facilitates their transition to our state of civilisation." Mill on Representative Government.

"We cannot get out of our own history. We cannot leave the course marked out for us by the conscience of this country in dealing with what I am sorry to call alien races." Lord Morley in the House of Lords in June, 1908.

"We have a dark and ugly moment before us and we shall get through it—but only with self-command and without any quackey or cant of order or the quackey and cant of sentiment." Lord Morley at the Civil Service Dinner in London in July 1908.

We make a present of the above four extracts to Lord Morley in connection with the promised modification of his scheme of the Electoral Colleges. Public men are notorious for short memories and there is no reason to think that Lord Morley is an exception. It is not therefore from a spirit of presumption that we ask his Lordship to refresh his memory with the extracts which we have put forward at the head of this note.

In holding out a definite promise of a separate Mahomedan electorate from 'the top to the base,' Lord Morley has not only violated the spirit and principles of all the extracts we have made above but has completely surrendered to an unsuspecting Anglo-Indian agitation carried on in the name of Indian Mussulmans. There is no manner of doubt that if the London *Times* and some ex-rulers and satraps of India had not taken up so strong an attitude in this matter, and if their efforts in London were not backed up by so strong a support as the *Times of India* and the *Statesman* of Calcutta, with Mr. Lovat Fraser at their back, so readily gave to it in this country, the voice of the Moslem League, like that of the Indian National Congress all these long years, would have been a mere cry in the wilderness. These retired Anglo-Indian officials and Anglo-Indian newspapers threw in their lot with the Mussulman agitation not because they really wanted the Mussulman's condition or position to improve, but because they found the Mussulman name eminently fit to do duty for

(a) a good stick to beat the Hindus with,

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(b) a good factor to work the principle of *divide et impera*, and  
(c) a sound rock upon which to wreck the good ship of Lord Morley's Reforms.

It is unfortunate that Lord Morley did not have the strowdness to see through this spurious and got-up agitation and yielded so easily to the 'quackery and cant of sentiment,'—a thing upon which even less than ten months ago he looked down with contempt.

Spurious agitation indeed ! While Lord Morley's reforms were first announced in India, a large number of the most respected leaders of the Mahomedan community of Bengal joined hands with their Hindu brethren in approaching His Excellency the Viceroy to bless the whole scheme, including the proposal of mixed electoral colleges. Shortly after this, Syed Amir Ali, more an Englishman than an Indian Mussulman, was set up by a retired Anglo-Indian clique to raise up the Mahomedan cry on the other side of the waters and lo ! the Moslem League was at once busy in pulling the wires in all parts of India to take up that cry.

It is an old game in Indian politics—to bring the Mussalmans forward to wreck a popular cause. This game has been successfully played within living memory by Anglo-Indian officials of the type of a Chesney and a Colvin to wreck the good work and reputation of the Indian National Congress and to justify the greatest administrative blunder since the day of Plassy. Time without number, in Bengal, in the United Provinces and in the Punjab, organised attempts have been made to set the Mussalmans against the Hindus and to prevent their coalition. The most important object of the Bengal Partition, as officially given out, was to improve the condition of the Eastern Bengal Mussulmans as a class distinct from the Eastern Bengal Hindus. And in a hundred and one other cases, official influence has pampered Mussulman vanity to the general injury of that community and to the greater injury of the Indian People.

It is a pity our Mussulman friends do not realise the situation and see through this game. The Anglo-Indians use them, whenever needs be, not because they are liked or respected by them, but because they allow themselves to be used as very convenient tools for the prevention of the growth and expansion of a community of interests in India and to make the realisation of the idea of an Indian Nationality an impossible work. It does not speak much for either the intelligence or patriotism of a community that sacrifices its best interests for the mere blandishments of an alien bureaucracy. Do not the Indian Mussulmans feel that

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as they begin to raise their heads, and with the progress of education and the development of civic aspirations the day must come when even the Indian Mussulmans will no longer be content with their lot, they will be put down as remorselessly as the Hindus are being done to-day? Writing on this question, an eminently sober critic makes the following observations in an English newspaper :—

“ We trust that no one will imagine that we desire to see the Mohammedans of India pampered or set up as the special friends or favourites of British rule. That would be unjust, and it would be also most impolitic. Were we to do anything so foolish, the first result must be the demoralisation of the Mohammedan community, and the destruction of sound and honourable relations between them and us. They would at once begin to think that they were essential to us, that we could not get on without them, and that therefore we must pay them the price of their help. In a word, they would become a sort of Pretorian band, and they and we should both suffer from the evils of such a position.”

That is a plain enough situation in all conscience. But we are afraid our Mussulman fellow-countrymen will yet take a long time in realising it. In the meantime, we shall anxiously watch how long a designing Anglo-Indian clique may play marionettes with the followers of Islam in this country with perfect impunity.

It is not difficult to see why anti-Indian Englishmen should feel nervous over any possible chance of the fusion of the Indian races. The security of British rule depends, according to such Englishmen, upon the continuance of the main divisions of Indian life. A writer in a recent issue of the *London Spectator* puts the case in a very pointed way :—

“The opposition or incongruity—we do not wish to use a combative word—between the Mohammedans and the Hindus, and further between the dominant sections of the Hindus and the low-caste and no caste sections of that community, and again, between the Mohammedans and Hindus and the other remnants of the Indian population—remnants often very small when reckoned in percentages, but vast in the aggregate—is the essential fact in Indian politics, a fact which must never be forgotten. It is owing to this fact, and to this fact alone, that we are in India and remain there, and we shall remain there till the fact is altered. In the last resort, the races and nations of the world owe their special positions, special work, and special functions to the cause of necessity. They are doing the work they are doing because they are necessary, because they are wanted,

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because things could not go on and the state of the world be maintained without them. If India were, from the racial, religious, social and political points of view, a homogenous country—*i.e.*, a country in which the inhabitants, in spite of minor difficulties, were in sympathy and agreement upon the essentials of life—does anybody suppose for a moment that we should be ruling as we are now ruling there, with only about three per cent. of the population even nominally hostile to our rule, and with not one per cent., nay, not one-tenth per cent., willing to make any real sacrifice to get rid of us? We rule from the Ganges to the Indus because, however much men may deny the fact with their lips, that vast aggregation of human beings which we call India cannot get on without us."

We now come to the Mahometan claim for a separate Mahometan register. This claim seems to be based on two considerations—one is based on the fear that true Mahometans will have very little chance of being returned by a mixed college and an overwhelming Hindu majority will always swamp Mahomedan votes. The other claim is based on the fact that, considering the services rendered by the Indian Mussulmans to the State which render them an asset of peculiar value, it would be an injustice if they are not accorded preferential treatment to the remaining communities in India.

Regarding the first, all that needs be pointed out is that the fear is not warranted by the history of the elections that have taken place so far, time without number a Mahometan having been returned to a Municipal Board or a Legislative Council mainly on the support of a Hindu electorate. The fact also remains on the other hand that not even the most violent anti-Hindu Mussulman agitator ever suggested the idea of a separate electoral college for his community before Syed Amir Ali took the matter up in London,—a fact which logically leads to the conclusion that such a claim never entered into the head of any Indian Mussulman nor was ever entertained seriously by that great community. It is also significant that a special Mussulman register for any election purposes does not exist even in the dominions of the Sultan of Turkey.

It is now worth examining whether in the reconstituted Councils there is any chance of the Mahomedan interests being sacrificed or neglected in any province. First of all, there are no special Hindu or Mahometan interests to guard in the Legislative Councils. The Councils of the Empire very seldom deal with class or communal legislation and when they do, the Viceroy and the provincial rulers

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are permitted to take experts as additional members. This is a very necessary safeguard for all interests. Secondly, the Hindus as a class are not opposed to all Mahometan interests. And even if a wild-cat legislation that would prove prejudicial to the interests of the Mussulmans as a community were passed in any Council with the support of a Hindu majority, the Viceroy has always the right to set his veto upon it. But, above everything, there remains the fact that with a large body of representatives of European and commercial interests and with a good sprinkling of nominated members there is absolutely no chance of any of the Councils of the Empire being turned into a Hindu caucus. The fear, therefore, of the Mahometans being swamped anywhere by a packed Hindu majority is absolutely groundless.

Then there is the claim for justice to consider. As an asset of peculiar value to the Empire, the Indian Mussulmans think that it is only just and fair that they should be treated with preferential consideration. We must characterise such a claim as an aggressive demand. Certainly, the murder of a Viceroy and of a Puisne Judge of our High Court and several notorious riots in different parts of the country at different periods of our history can be placed to the credit of the Mussulman community as a set-off against the use of the bomb and the revolver and a number of dacoities committed by a class of the Hindu population of this country. But not half as many noble deeds of chivalry or bravery, not a quarter of the princely gifts and rich endowments, not a tithe of the public benefactions and golden deeds and not an infinitesimal portion of the important public services with which the Hindus have enriched the traditions of India can be claimed on behalf of our Mussulman fellow-brethren. And yet they are to be treated as an asset of peculiar value and dealt with in a preferential way! The claim is absurd on the face of it.

Having now disposed of the special Mahometan claim for a separate electorate, we shall proceed to discuss the ethics of the question. Once you concede the principle of a separate communal register for Mahometan electors all along the line, that will remain a 'settled fact' in Indian politics for evermore and create an acute tension of feeling between the two great communities of India. Occasionally such tension is also likely to find expression in severe riots and unhappy recriminations. The English are in India, we have been told *ad nauseum*, to preserve law and order and not to allow occasions for disturbance of peace. The English are in India, John Morley has told us on a memorable



occasion, to govern this country without consideration of race or creed and to inculcate Western principles and practices and here is a distinct violation of that assurance. The English are in India, we have it from the same authority, to enforce principles of justice in the administration of this country and to apply principles of European civilisation to help in the 'reconstruction of a decomposed Society.' Both of these boasts are cast to the wind when the fiat is sent out dividing class from class and religion from religion and making the principal communities of India independent of each other for all practical purposes in relation to the general civic interests of the country.

Thiers, the great French historian, pathetically characterised the Republic of his country as "the government which divides us least." A government which divided the people least may not commend itself to European standard of democracy, but it seems to be the best form of government which we can aspire to in India for yet a long while. But most unfortunately for the reputation both of England and of Lord Morley, we are now threatened with a government which shall divide us the most and make the blending of the two principal communities into an united people impossible for all time. Rightly did John Stuart Mill hold the opinion, which was quoted by John Morley with great effect in one of his Budget speeches in the House of Commons, that the only justification for any people to dominate over a foreign people is the opportunity afforded to the dominant race to bring the condition of the subject people into line with the superior civilisation. Judged by that standard, will the dividing line now drawn up by Lord Morley ever bring us nearer to a 'political personality' or to the equality and freedom of English or European political life? We shall wait for a reply.

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Lord Morley, true to his word, has lost no time in introducing his Indian Councils Bill in the Upper Chamber and the Lords, true to their instincts, have also lost no opportunity in mutilating it. There has been a sort of tug-of-war going on between the House of Lords and the Secretary of State on the question of Indian reform. The Lords have thrown out, on the motion of Lord Macdonnell and with the support of 'King' Lansdowne, Clause III of Lord Morley's Bill and severely criticised the Secretary of State's desire to appoint an Indian to the Viceroy's Executive Council. Lord Morley has answered the Lords by already appointing the Hon. Mr. S. P.

### THE COUNCILS BILL AND THE REFORMS

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Sinha to succeed Sir Erle Richards in the Law Membership of the Viceroy's Council and by threatening to restore Clause III when the Bill comes to be considered in the Commons.

For ourselves, we are not much keen or enthusiastic about Clause III of Lord Morley's Bill. It seems to us that it is meant to perpetuate two great evils—the rule of the Civilian Lieutenant-Governor in the principal provinces of India excepting Bombay and Madras and the territorial redistribution of Eastern India which goes by the name of the partition of Bengal. Civilian Lieutenant-Governors, even with executive councils, cannot be expected to reach that standard of impartiality and freedom from bias or prejudices which has been for a long time the key-note of the Bombay and Madras administrations. Civilian Lieutenant-Governors become proverbially biassed and one-sided and more often than not are likely to vitiate their executive councils also, if they get any, with their personal narrowness and prejudices. Clause III of the Indian Councils Bill, therefore, is not a step in advance but a reactionary move. But it is much more objectionable from the Bengalee point of view. If the clause is re-inserted when the Bill passes into law, it will have the effect of conferring a Council on Sir Edward Baker's government and another on Sir Lancelot Hare's, thus removing for ever the chance of re-opening the question of the partition. With two separate executive councils in two divisions of Bengal and one Indian member in each of them, no future Viceroy or Secretary of State will ever dare to approach Parliament again to disturb that arrangement. If, however, the clause in question is thrown out for good, Lord Morley will be obliged to readjust the Bengal boundaries if not for mere conciliation but for sheer justice. With enlarged executive Councils in Bombay and Madras, no Secretary of State can for long deny justice to the premier province of India. And no one can do justice to Bengal without re-opening the Partition question. We are therefore unable to see why our people should go into hysterics over the rejection by the House of Lords of the clause in question.

As regards the appointment of an Indian to the Viceroy's Executive Council by Lord Morley, we consider it the most courageous and just step that has been taken since the Crown took over the Government of India from the East India Company. This administrative measure can well be described not exactly as a reform but almost as a revolution, for it effectively raises the position of an Indian to an equality with his 'white masters.' Lord Macdonnell, says the *Review of Reviews* to hand by the last mail, 'perpetrated

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one extraordinary Irish bull by declaring that the Viceroy's Council would lose the confidence of the natives and the Princes of India if a foreign element were introduced in the shape of a native of India. For in the opinion of Anglo-Indiandom, the native is a foreigner in his own country and as long as that insolent inversion of facts prevails in the Imperial service, no one can wonder at the prevalence of native discontent. No man can tolerate being treated as a foreigner in his own native hand—not even if his skin be dark.' Lord Morley has now taken the sting off the word 'native' and established the proposition that the Indian is no longer to be treated as a 'foreigner' in the land of his birth or to be kept out from a share in the government of his country. All honour to Lord Morley for this just rehabilitation of the Indian in his own native soil. When we say that it has redeemed all British pledges for fairness and equality of treatment and that it has vindicated the position of the 'King's equal subjects' in India and that even Akbar the Great could not take such a bold step, we probably give to Lord Morley all the credit that is his due in this connection. All tall talk indulged by the English Press about a rebellion being hastened by this just appointment is utter nonsense ; on the other hand, it will go a long way in making sure the foundation of British rule in India. The name of Lord Morley will be writ large in letters of gold in the history of England's connection with this country.

So far as the choice of a deserving Indian for the post was concerned, we must regret the fact which precluded the appointment of Dr. Rash Behari Ghose to the office of the Law Member. Dr. Ghose is by far and away the most able jurist now going in India, and by his brilliant abilities and scholarship seems to have been not only the man marked for such high office but would fitly have adorned the chair once filled by men like Macaulay, Maine and Stephen. But unfortunately Dr. Ghose is a mere 'Vakeel' and the Indian Councils Act of 1892, the Act now in force, does not provide for any vakeel being appointed to any seat in the executive Council of the Viceroy, though provision has been made therein for civilians as well as barristers. We are sorry Lord Morley has not had the courage to remove this disqualification and amend the law accordingly. But already his task has been severe enough, and he has done more to offend vested interests than any other Secretary of State would have ventured to do. We have no doubt that a future Secretary of State, following in the footsteps of Lord Morley, may remove this disqualification and make it possible for deserving Indians, who have not had the opportunity in life of either entering

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into the Indian Civil Service or being called to the Bar, to take up a portfolio in the Viceroy's Council.

Under the circumstances, however, both Lord Minto and Lord Morley may be warmly congratulated on their selection of Mr. S. P. Sinha to succeed Sir Erle Richards. Mr. S. P. Sinha has fought his way up to the highest position in the legal world of India and enjoys the confidence of both the rulers and the ruled. Indeed, it seems to us that if a safe and sound man like Mr. S. P. Sinha were not ready at hand, it would have been impossible for Lord Morley to carry out before such a strong opposition his intention of appointing an Indian to the Viceroy's Council.

Mr. Sinha will, no doubt, have much responsible and strenuous work before him as the Law Member of the Government of India. It will devolve upon him to put the new Councils Act into motion, draw up the Regulations in that connection, elaborate the constitution of the enlarged Legislative Councils, revise the existing Statute Book and bring the entire machinery of Imperial and provincial legislation into line with the spirit of Lord Morley's general scheme of reform. Not only this. Mr. Sinha will have to launch a practical and satisfactory scheme for the separation of the judicial and executive functions and the purification of the administration of justice. If Mr. Sinha can do the above satisfactorily, he will not only justify Lord Morley's choice but will have also deserved well of his people. The whole country confidently expect him to furnish a most complete answer to Lord Macdonnell's challenge that there is no 'native of India' who can take his seat in the Viceroy's Executive Council without impairing the dignity of that body.

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"That India is a poor country I do not deny; that the system of Government is costly I know; that it is extravagant I suspect." John Morley in the Indian Budget speech for 1906.

**A LEAN YEAR  
ALL ROUND**

Both the financial statement of the Imperial Government and the Provincial Government of Bengal have been published within a few days of each other and both reveal startling facts. The East Bengal Government anticipated these budgets with a balance-sheet of equally ominous significance; but then, so long as that administration is continued on present lines, far removed from effective public criticism and strong in the strength of a 'settled fact,' no one can expect its finances to be anything better than they are. We shall therefore leave it alone and turn our attention to the other budgets. For the first time within the last twelve years has the Finance Member of the Government of India come forward with an adversity budget, the imperial

deficit reaching the appalling figure of nearly  $4\frac{1}{2}$  crores. Mr. Oldham's provincial budget is a much smaller business and has to meet only a modest deficit of about 22 lakhs. The cry of the Imperial budget is vanishing income, that of the provincial budget is increasing expenditure. In both, the cheery optimism of the government has given way to an attitude of anxiety, and Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson deals almost tragically with the deficit in the Imperial Exchequer. Failure of rain in several parts of the country leading to a poor harvest has caused the land revenue to fall far short of expectation in several parts of India, and the income from railways also fell short of the budget by 557 lakhs only to add heavily to the Imperial deficit. Trade we are told did as badly as agriculture, and high prices not only interfered with commerce but also sent up the expenditure for food and forage in the military estimates and necessitated compensation allowances to low-paid Government servants to the tune of 90 lakhs. Besides these, there was the cost of the Mohmand expedition to meet which came to nearly 19 lakhs, there was the payment of 41 lakhs made to the English War Office in consequence of the recommendation of the Romer Commission, there was nearly 33 lakhs of Rupees paid to the Ameer of Afghanistan out of his subsidy account and 11 lakhs were paid towards the increased salary of pay for the Indian Army which came into force on the 1st January last. We sincerely sympathise with Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson on the turn Imperial finance has taken for some months past and the untoward circumstances under which he has to 'swim against the ebb.' We are glad Sir Fleetwood Wilson has made retrenchment and economy the motto for his financial policy and we wish him success in his endeavours. But if unfortunately another lean year will follow the present mournful year, with 'a legacy of famine and its sequels,' even Sir Fleetwood Wilson will be compelled to resort to taxation. In a memorable debate in the House of Commons in 1906, Lord Morley observed: "If you want security and strength in India, one of your ways of getting it is to lighten taxation; and I should look therefore in the direction of greater economy in order to lighten taxation." We commend this quotation both to the Government of India and to the Bengal Government—particularly to the latter as it has spent an incredible amount of money on police and litigation and unproductive public works during Sir Andrew Fraser's tenure of office. As for the East Bengal Government, well, even Lord Morley is, perhaps, powerless to mend its affairs so long as the existing Partition remains a 'settled fact.'





**Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee**

# THE INDIAN WORLD

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APRIL—1909

[ No. 49

## DIARY FOR THE MONTH OF MARCH—1909

Date.

1. Mr. Arabindo Ghose files a written statement in the Sessions Court at Alipur denying all complicity with the offences committed by the anarchists in Bengal and all connection with the secret society at Manicktollah and putting forward the establishment of a Vedantic religion apart from a political propaganda as the ideal of his life.

An inadequate summary of the report of the Royal Decentralisation Commission is published in India.

2. The High Court of Calcutta confirms the death sentence passed on Charu Chandra Bose, the murderer of Babu Ashutosh Biswas.

In the House of Commons in reply to questions put by Dr. Rutherford and Messrs Mackarness, H. Law, G. Gooch and Keir Hardie, the Under-Secretary for India declined to inform the House of the grounds on which the recent deportations were made. Mr. Buchanan further stated that he was 'not aware' of what may have been communicated to the deportees regarding the charges brought against them nor in what form were the communications made, in writing or how. On Mr. Lupton inquiring what the difference was between 'this mode of dealing with prisoners in India' and the Russian method, Mr. Buchanan offered no reply.

3. The Bombay Art Exhibition is opened to-day.

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, consisting of the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Halsbury, Lord Atkinson, Lord Collins, Lord Shaw and Sir Arthur Wilson, rejects the petitions of Messrs Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Paranjpe, both of Poona, for special leave to appeal from the judgment and sentence of Mr. Justice Davar, of the Bombay High Court, convicting them for offences under section 124A and 153A of the Indian Penal Code.

In the *Hoonkar* Sedition Case, the accused, Kali Charan Bose, is let off with a nominal fine.

4. Mr. Norton begins his address to the Judge and the Assessors on behalf of the prosecution in the Alipur Bomb Case.

In the House of Lords, Clause III of the Indian Councils Bill is thrown out on the motion of Lord Macdonnell, 59 voting against and only 18 for the retention of the Clause.

Three thousand operatives of the Century Mill at Bombay strike work.

6. The Madras High Court admits the appeal preferred by Mr. G. Harisarvothama Rao, M.A., one of the accused in the Bezwada sedition case.

7. A large quantity of dynamite is found missing from the magazine of Koderma, in the Hazaribagh district.

Eight Punjabee youths are initiated into Brahmoism.

At Lakhimpur, the son of the Prime Minister of Indore married a widow according to orthodox customs, it being the first case of widow-remarriage among the important and conservative Vaish community of Delhi.



8. A very large and representative gathering of Hindus and Mahomedans assemble in the Calcutta Town Hall under the presidency of the Nawab of Dacca to protest against the action of the House of Lords in rejecting the provision for creating Executive Councils for Local Governments.

9. Babu Durga Charan Sanyal, sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment by Mr. Justice Brett in what is known as the Darjeeling Mail Assault Case, is released by orders of the Government of Bengal and that of Eastern Bengal and Assam on the ground of his having partially gone off his head.

Mr. Buchanan, Under-Secretary of State for India, is severely heckled in the House of Commons by Mr. Ramsay, Macdonald, Sir Henry Cotton, Messrs Mackarness, G. Greenwood, Keir Hardie, Belloc, Pirie and Sir W. Collins over the question of the recent Indian deportations. Mr. Emmett went even to the length of asking the Speaker's permission to allow him to move an adjournment of the House in order to discuss Mr. Buchanan's refusal to give the House any information on this subject. The Deputy Speaker refused the necessary permission.

10. The House of Lords again rejects Clause III of the Indian Councils Bill providing for the formation of Executive Councils under Lieutenant-Governors.

12. The Maharaja of Tippera dies at Benares in consequences of injuries received by a motor-car accident.

14. A number of houses of educated young men is searched in Bombay.

15. The special Tribunal of three High Court Judges, constituted under the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908, sits for the first time to try the Bighati Dacoity case.

The Ettiyapuram Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition and cattle show opens at Kalipathi, Madras.

Messrs. Mackarness, Alden, Belloc and Morrell again subject Mr. Buchanan to severe heckling on the question of the recent deportations.

16. The Judicial Commissioner of the Central Provinces reduces the sentence of two and a half years' imprisonment passed upon Mr. Kolhatkar, editor of the *Deshsewak*, for publishing certain lectures of Mr. Arabindo Ghose, to one of 15 months.

The appeal of Mr. Prabhudyal, the editor of *Jhang Syal*, Lahore, is rejected by the Sessions Judge of Sargodha.

19. Under the presidency of Mr. N. Subba Row Pantalu, a numerously-attended meeting of the inhabitants of the city of Madras is held in the Victoria Public Hall in connection with the rejected clause of the Indian Councils Bill and special class representation.

A widow-remarriage is celebrated at Lahore in a Hindu Temple, both parties belonging to the orthodox society.

20. Mr. Norton concludes his argument on behalf of the prosecution in the Alipur Bomb Case.

21. Miss Clarke, daughter of the Governor of Bombay, dies at Bombay.

A largely attended meeting of Hindus, under the presidency of Mr. Lal Chand, takes place at Lahore to protest against the concession of separate representation to the Mahomedans.

Lala Lajpat Rai arrives at Lahore from a prolonged tour in England.

22. Asrafuddin Mahammad, the late Sub-Divisional Magistrate of Manikgunj (Eastern Bengal), is sentenced to one year's hard labour on a charge of bribery.

A meeting of the Supreme Legislative Council is held in which the Imperial Budget is presented and a long discussion takes place over the Whipping Bill.

Lala Radha Krishna, the old father of Lala Lajpat Rai, addresses an open letter to his son Lala Lajpat Rai entreating the latter

to abjure politics and advising him either to revert to the legal profession or to the Arya Somaj educational work. He implores Lala Lajpat Rai not to mind the taunt of cowardice or the change of front but to follow his advice as a dutiful son.

24. A public meeting held in the Town Hall of Calcutta under the presidency of Mr. Saradacharan Mitter, a late judge of the Calcutta High Court, strongly protests against class representation and the partition of Bengal.

26. The Bengal Budget is presented to the Council by Mr. Oldham.

27. At Tenali in the Krishna district, a Mali is killed by the explosion of a bomb which was deposited by somebody at the edge of a footpath.

29. Judgment is delivered in the Bighati Dacoity Case by the Special Tribunal. Kartic Chandra and three others are convicted, the sentence varying from 6 years to 3½ years, Pundit Mokshada and another being acquitted.

A meeting of the Supreme Legislative Council is held in which a prolonged debate on the Imperial Budget takes place, Lord Kitchener making the most notable contribution to it. The debate was also remarkable for the Viceroy's explanation regarding the genesis of the Indian reforms and Mr. Gokhale's surprising defence of class representation.

30. The Viceroy leaves Calcutta and the 'season' closes in the metropolis.

31. Before a very distinguished and representative gathering, Sir John Hewett lays the foundation-stone of the New Canning College at Lucknow for which Sir James La Touche gave the site and the Maharaja of Balarampur 3 laks of Rupees.

### A Red-Letter Day

24. The appointment of the Hon'ble Mr. S. P. Sinha as the Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council is announced in India.

## NOTES & NEWS

### GENERAL

#### A Wholesome Order

The Raja of Nahan has ordered that whoever under eighteen years of age smokes cigars or cigarettes, uses or smokes tobacco or opium in any manner, or indulges in any intoxicating drug, wine, spirit or other intoxicants or any preparation thereof, except on a physician's prescription, shall be punished with whipping of five stripes, or simple imprisonment not exceeding fifteen days.

#### "The Sun-dried Bureaucrat"

Sir Louis Dane, in addressing a special Convocation of the Punjab University convened to confer the degree of L.L.D. on Lord Minto on the occasion of his recent visit to the Punjab, thus warmly refuted the charge of sun-dried bureaucrats levelled by a certain class of critics against Anglo-Indian administrators :—

"We public servants have been called sun-dried bureaucrats. If this means that we are sapless and soulless dried sticks, the senseless product of the union of tedious routine and lifeless red-tape, I repudiate the aspersion. We have our enthusiasm and we have felt the East a calling. Some of us, like myself, have played small parts in the government of countries and have spent the best part of our lives in the country. It is true that we have all felt the sun of India. But that sun has not withered our sympathies or blighted our aspirations. It has only warmed into love for India and its peoples the kindly affection which all true men must feel for the land of their adoption."

#### Mr. Sinha's Appointment.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* describes Mr. Sinha's appointment as Law Member of the Viceroy's Council as a "tremendous innovation" in the language of Lord Lansdowne and proceeds to observe that Lord Morley has taken a "swift and sweeping revenge upon the Peers for their stiff-necked refusal to accept his too-hastily conceived scheme by exercising his constitutional right of appointment with a papal assumption of autocratic omniscience which is quite characteristic of your doctrinaire Radical." The *Times* describes this appointment in less sonorous language as "the gravest act of State taken in India for half a century." The *Standard*, however, is content by remarking that "it will only serve to encourage fresh efforts to impair the prestige and shake the strength of the British dominion." On the Liberal side, the *Daily News* characterises it as 'the boldest and largest of Lord Morley's reforms.' The *Daily Chronicle*, while approving it, calls it 'a daring experiment.' The *Westminster Gazette* goes back to Plato to describe it, as 'the great wave' of the reform scheme and as 'a test of reality.' And finally, the *Manchester Guardian* hails it 'because of its symbolic rather than its intrinsic importance.'

### Calcutta Municipal Elections

The polling figures of the Calcutta Municipal election held on the 23rd of March last is compared by the *Statesman* with those of the election of 1906 as follows :—

Nine Wards were nominally and eight actually contested, as against ten Wards nominally and nine actually contested in 1906.

In each case the opposing candidate for one Ward withdrew immediately after the poll opened. Wards 11, 15, 16, 19, and 20 were contested on both occasions, the other contested Wards being 3, 9, and 11 this year and 10, 13, and 25 at the last election. The total numbers of voters and votes for the contested Wards compare as follows :—

	1906.	1909.
Number of voters on the election roll ...	2,521	7,931
Number of votes allowable ...	5,570	18,424
Number of votes recorded ...	3,475	8,267
Percentage of votes recorded on votes allowable ...	62%	45%
Number of voters voting ...	1,395	3,086
Percentage of voters in the election roll voting. ...	55%	39%

The change in the system of preparation of the Election Roll may, therefore, be said to have resulted in an increase of 138 per cent in the number of votes recorded and 121 per cent in the number of persons voting though one Ward less was contested and the percentage of votes recorded to votes allowable fell from 62 per cent to 44 per cent. Out of the whole electorate, however, only 11 percent actually recorded their votes and only 12 per cent of the total number of votes allowable were polled.

### Defects of Communal Representation

The following defects in the system of separate communal electorate are pointed out categorically by Mr. Mushir Hussain Kidwai of Lucknow in a letter to the *Pioneer* :—(1) The principle of separation is in itself demoralising and out of date. Even the constitution-makers of extremely heterogenous Turkish Empire have avoided it. (2) The system introduces religious considerations in political matters. (3) The very announcement of it has strained the tension between Hindus and Musalmans and has infuriated the former. (4) It will prove fatal to the interests of the general Muslim public as it will tend to array against the Muslim minority a non-Muslim majority bent on revenging the policy of separation introduced by certain Muslims. In District and Municipal Boards, where there will be no official party to take side with the Muslim minority at the time of their need, the "separate Muslim interests" will go to the wall. (5) It will put the official party in the Council in a false position and its agreement with any community will always be misunderstood. (6) It will be injurious to the best interests of the country because the communal interest will be made to predominate, by each separate community, the general interests of the country. (7) It will make the Council work inharmonious as the backward representatives of backward communities will sit with the progressive representatives of progressive communities and the religious bigots of one community will face those of the other. (8) It will perpetuate the backwardness of the backward commu-

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nities as their representatives in order to keep their representative character undiminished will have to keep themselves on the level of their backward constituents. (9) It will retard the progress of nationalism and unification in India. (10) It will encourage sectarianism in separate communities themselves. (11) As the population of India is very disproportionately inter-mixed, the formation of separate communal electorate will be very difficult. (12) The watchword of present-day Musulmans of the world is "Union and Progress" and separatism is against the spirit of Pan-Islamism.

### Cost of Committees and Commissions

The following amount have been spent on various Commissions and Committees since 1902-3 to the end of the last year :—

	Rs.
Assam Labour Committee ... ..	65,139
Stores Committee ... ..	13,550
Simla Allowance Committee ... ..	6,112
Chiefs' College Conference ... ..	1,603
Presidency House-Accommodation Committee ...	5,889
Police Commission ... ..	2,69,849
Railway Commission ... ..	1,039
European Hill Schools Committee ... ..	10,970
Salt Committee ... ..	64,862
Statistical Committee ... ..	17,566
Survey Committee ... ..	75,117
House Rent Committee ... ..	40,871
Excise Committee ... ..	1,14,675
Calcutta University Regulations Committee...	1,55,716
Telegraph Committee ... ..	1,43,308
Press Committee ... ..	1,000
Factory Labour Committee ... ..	2,15,988
Indian Universities Commission ... ..	76,717
Malkowal Disaster Commission... ..	10,682
Industrial Education Committee ... ..	4,905
Famine Commission ... ..	78
Furniture Committee ... ..	3,962
Civil Procedure Code Committee ... ..	52,550
Railway Police Committee ... ..	64,585
Committee on Decentralization ... ..	44,421
Royal Commission on Decentralization ... ..	2,03,948
Luff Point Commission ... ..	4,306
Ganges Bridge Committee for 1907 ... ..	14,568
Ganges Bridge Committee for 1908 ... ..	16,795
<b>Total</b>	<b>17,00,771</b>

### Scientific Results of Kite-Flying

In the Memoirs of the Indian Meteorological Department (vol. xx., part vii.) Mr. J. H. Field gives an account of the kite flights in India and over the neighbouring sea areas during the south-west monsoon period of 1907, in continuation of the useful experiments made in 1906. The work on land, at Belgaum, lasted from July 11 to August 3, but it was only during the first week of that period that successful flights were made. The records were unfortunately

few, but the conclusions indicate that at Belgaum (Bombay Presidency) the wind direction, from the surface upwards, showed increasing rotation as the wet weather approached. Temperature gradients during ascents were considerably greater in the lower stratum than the adiabatic rate for unsaturated air, and considerably smaller during descents, later in the day. At levels above 400 metres gradients during descents varied from about  $-0^{\circ}.4$  C. to  $-0^{\circ}.6$  C. per 100 metres. An upper limit to the humid layer was reached at about 1000 metres only on one day during completely dry weather, but if it persisted afterwards, as the weather changed, it must have been at more than three times that height. In the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea the experiments were made between August 24 and September 4. Over the latter the conclusions show that the following conditions obtained:—(1) The velocity of the wind increased appreciably with height, and the direction became west at 1800 metres, irrespective of the direction of the surface wind. (2) Temperature gradients were very nearly adiabatic up to about 500 metres, and afterwards decreased to about half that rate. (3) Absolute humidity remained fairly constant up to 400 metres, and afterwards decreased to quite low values. The results for the Bay of Bengal, so far as they go, indicate conditions similar to those of (2) and (3); no question of estimating wind velocity or direction arose, for the air was practically calm at the surface.

### The Quinquennial Educational Review

Mr. Orange, one of Lord Curzon's 'experts' brought out from England to bring the Indian administration into line with the Curzonian idea of 'efficiency,' has come out with his first quinquennial report of the progress of Indian education. As a review and report, it follows closely the lines adopted by Mr. Nathan in the previous quinquennial survey. Regarding the statistics, Mr. Orange does not deal with uniformly cheerful figures. While in the previous quinquennium, the number of students in the various Arts Colleges increased by 3215, those in the period under review (1902-1907) have increased only by 863. Upon this, the *Indian Nation* makes some pertinent observations:—"Mr. Orange's reports brings into prominence and exposes several fallacies regarding the educational conditions of this land. Mr. Orange dispels the current illusion that the output of graduates in India exceeds the demand. His statement is borne out by facts and figures which cannot be refuted by arguments. Thus one of the political postulates which is urged on every hand falls to the ground, *viz.* that educated Indians finding no other outlets for their activities take to agitation and sedition." When we come down to the figures of primary, secondary and female education, we find things looking up a bit. The increase in the number of girls under education during the period under review was *proportionately* greater than in the case of boys. In the quinquennium covered by the report there was an increase of 186,640, whereas in the preceding 15 years there was an increase of only 151,600. The condition of primary education appears to have been far more satisfactory during the quinquennium under review. It is very encouraging to note that whereas in the 15 years from 1887 to 1902 the increase in the number of pupils in primary schools was 627,912, in the period under review, 5 years,

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there was an increase of 621,239. The total number of boys of school-going age in India at the present time is computed to be 18 millions, only  $3\frac{1}{2}$  millions of whom were attending primary schools. India is yet far removed from the stage of universal education, but the increase in the last 5 years, almost equal to that of the preceding 15 years, is gratifying.

### **COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL**

#### **Progress of Indian Railways**

According to the latest returns 777 miles of new line of all gauges were added to the Indian railway systems in the official year that has just closed. The open mileage is now just under 31,000.

#### **Indian Railway Expenditure**

Under orders from the Secretary of State, the expenditure on railways for the year 1909-10 will be reduced from 18 $\frac{3}{4}$  crores (£12,500,000) to 15 crores (£10,000,000), and the programme of construction will be modified. The decision is probably due to the enormous decrease in the earnings for the current year, which has prevented the usual large surplus from being realized.

#### **Indian Flower Dyes**

Reference is made in the Indian Government's official trade "Journal" to a useful monograph on "Dyes from Flowers," written by Mr. I. H. Burkill, in which the information available regarding the uses of dyes from flowers in India is given. Mr. Burkill states that Indian flower dyes are apparently far more used in Upper India than in Southern India, but, in regard to Madras, information is more meagre than in regard to the Punjab and the United Provinces. It is of interest to note that flower dyes in India are all yellow, orange, brown, drab, or rose-red, some of the yellows being described as very beautiful colours.

#### **Wood Distillation in Madras**

The Director of Industries in Madras, having submitted a proposal for the establishment of a charcoal (wood distillation) factory on the Nilgiris, the Government of Madras have appointed a Committee to report on the scheme. The principal objects of the proposed factory are to supply acetate of lime to the Cordite Factory and to develop an export trade in the bye-products. The Director of Industries claims that if a wood distillation plant is established, it may lead to a further development of chemical industries on the hills, sulphuric acid, it is of interest to note, being already manufactured in the Cordite Factory. Moreover, the plant now proposed is expected to yield large quantities of methyl alcohol and tar.

#### **Russian Textile Goods in India**

It seems that the trade in dyed and printed goods in Russia is so dull just now that Lodz manufacturers are making arrangements for entering the Indian markets. They might as well save them-

selves the trouble, says the *Pioneer*. "The ill-finished goods they turn out are good enough perhaps for the Persian market, but do not compare with the artistic productions of the British mills which largely hold the market here. It is not the first time that the Russian manufacturer has attempted to invade the Indian piece-goods trade, but he has failed to find a footing and will fail again until he first learns how to manufacture goods equal in every respect to those with which he desires to compete."

### **The E. B. S. Railway**

A scheme is under discussion for the fusion of the Bengal and North-Western and Eastern Bengal State Railways. The two together are about 3,600 miles long, and 1,000 miles of this is standard gauge, the rest being metre gauge. The scheme provides for the two lines mentioned and the Tirhoot Railway to be worked as one system, and in the usual Indian style it would be leased to a working, profit-seeking company, which would be entitled to share in the gains when they exceeded a crore of rupees. It is thought that by bringing the roads together in this way they might be able to find more capital without drawing on the Government funds. The scheme proposes the transfer of the management of the E. B. S. Railway to that of the B. N. W. Railway.

### **Indian Iron Ore**

There was again a decrease in the output of Indian ore in 1907, the total amount raised being 67,667 tons, as compared with 74,120 tons in 1906. In consequence, however, of the working of richer deposits in the Singhbhum area, the value returned for 1907 was greater than that reported during the preceding year. The year 1907 marked what will probably be an important stage in the history of Indian iron manufacture, owing to the flotation, at Bombay, of the Tata Iron and Steel Company, Ltd. The company has secured a lease of 20 square miles of iron ore lands in the Mourbhanj State, Orissa, and a considerable area in the Raipur district of the Central Provinces. Hitherto, the only successful iron-smelting works in India, conducted on European lines, have been those belonging to the Bengal Iron and Steel Company, at Barakar, Bengal.

### **Indian Emigration to the Crown Colonies**

The object of the Government in appointing a committee to inquire into the question of Indian emigration is to endeavour, as far as possible, to remove the serious difficulties which have arisen as to the employment of Indians in certain portions of the Empire. The committee is the first outcome of an earnest desire to reach, if possible, a practical and real solution of the racial problem. It is felt that, although there are certain portions of the Empire to which Indian immigration is not acceptable, there are still many parts where Indian immigration would prove of mutual advantage. The idea of this committee emanated from Downing-street a few months ago, the Indian Government willingly co-operated, and an officer of the Indian Civil Service went specially to England to discuss the affair at the request of the Government. The inquiry of the committee is to be limited to Crown Colonies where there



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are opportunities for the employment of Indian labour, provided that the terms are in all respects fair and reasonable. It is hoped that as a result of the Committee's inquiry a properly safeguarded field for Indian coolie labour may be found.

### Industrial Development

Mr. R. F. Chisholm, late of the Madras School of Art, read a paper at a recent meeting of the East Indian Association on "Indian Industrial Development" in which he said that he agreed "with the view that if India possessed a dozen institutions like the Madras Engineering College, and about a thousand high schools, equipped so that a boy with industrial instincts should have at least a chance of ascertaining that he had such instincts, the country would move forward and take her proper place among the industrial nations of the world. If for these 1,000 schools a similar number of schools of industrial art of the kind which he carried on in Madras were substituted, the desired result would be brought about at a comparatively low figure." Lord Reay, in presiding over this meeting, observed that "in new universities the tendency was to develop the engineering and scientific side of education, but this had not yet manifested itself in India." He was convinced that "once public opinion in India was awakened to the immense loss which resulted from this neglect we should see our Indian fellow-subjects claiming their proper share in scientific and technical development."

### Hard Wheats

The Agricultural Research Institute of Pusa has published a Bulletin as to the improvement of Indian wheat for export trade, in which the compilers summarise the results of the investigations undertaken in the following paragraph: "In conclusion we would emphasise the point that both the Indian and the English consumer prefer hard wheats, whether red or white, and that the demands of the local and export trade are identical. The growth of weak soft white wheats, for export trade, we consider to be a mistake, and that when the English millers realise that India can produce much stronger wheats than those at present exported, the growth of the weak soft white wheats like Muzaffernagar will be given up and the hardier and more easily cultivated, stronger, flinty wheats will take their place. The hard wheats referred to in this paper by no means exhaust the stronger sorts we now have in cultivation. A number of others have been isolated by us in pure culture which we propose to test next year. At present, the seed of these varieties at our disposal is too small for a proper milling or baking test." The Pusa Institute's investigations may reasonably be expected to have ultimate far-reaching effects in the way of leading to the cultivation of the article most desired by exporters and at the same time to an improvement in the Indian home supply.

### Sericulture

The *Englishman* says: Sericulture is a subject of very particular interest to Bengal, where at one time the industry flourished. The decline of sericulture, is due to many causes, not the least of which were ignorance and greed. No care was taken to prevent disease, worms were insufficiently fed, the sanitary conditions of the house in

which the insects were kept was abominable. All this led to epidemics and a high mortality, to deterioration of all kinds. Lastly much bad and dishonest silk was put on to the market, and the weaving of the piece silk was of the crudest. When, on top of this all, came the slumps in the silk trade in Europe, the stagnation in the China trade and the competition of the various artificial or imitation silks it is small wonder that the Bengal silk trade was nearly killed. Now the silk trade begins to revive. The German and other artificial silks are being found out, and the dislike for them grows. People too are beginning to realise that it is in the end cheaper to get silk than stuff that is half tin salts or soda. There is hope for Bengal, if she opens her eyes and sets honestly to work as Kashmir has done, and as the Punjab, in imitation of Kashmir, is doing. The success of sericulture in Kashmir has been placed on a sound basis, and now provides work and comfort for thousands of families, and a profitable revenue to the state. This is due entirely to common sense, care, cleanliness, and ceaseless industry, to which has been added a perfect organisation. All diseased eggs and insects have been destroyed, and clean disease free eggs imported and bred from. The utmost vigilance is observed against any recurrence of disease, and good food, perfect sanitation in the conditions under which silk-worms are handled have resulted in the production of fine healthy insects. Good eggs, good moths, good worms and cocoons have meant good silk. Now the Punjab is about to follow suit, and experiments are to be made in certain favourably situated irrigated tracts, where the mulberry will grow. Bengal, on the whole, is very much more favourably situated than is the Punjab for sericulture which may be styled one of our natural industries. If the moneyed classes will second the efforts now being made by Government, information regarding which may possibly be secured from the Commercial Intelligence Department, Bengal silk may again be what it was.

## SELECTIONS

### THE ARTISTIC TRADES OF THE PUNJAB

The industrial arts of India employ an appreciable number of clever craftsmen in various parts of the country and are responsible for a certain amount of commerce. In comparison with other branches of industrial work however, the numbers of individuals concerned are small and the trade they represent is of only minor importance. At the same time the art-industrial community is a feature of the country and its sphere of work is in itself of such peculiar interest as to call for special attention. It is a little difficult at times to get the ordinary man of commerce to see this point of view. He regards art in any forms of luxury, and the artist pure and simple as not a very useful member of society. He toils and spins it is true, but his work at the best is supposed to have no direct influence on the welfare of the country. Some branches of art work give employment to a fairly large number of hands, as for example carpet weaving, but as a rule they concern very small communities, dotted about here and there, and it cannot be said that the development of these even in a large province like the Punjab will ever give statistically any important results. The improvement or extension of any one of these art trades brings about no great industrial revolution, gives little or no impetus to the trade of the province, and affects only a little other non-art industries with which it may be associated. In these circumstances the man of business may well ask whether it is worth while spending time and money over these trades of small profits and still smaller returns? The friends and supporters of the art industry can then only defend them on the ground of sentiment and tell of the influence the many beautiful art crafts of India have on the lives of the people, the brightness and cheerfulness a decorated article brings into the poor man's home, and the refining effects good architecture, pure ornament, and skilful design have on the rich and cultured. Fortunately for the art craftsman, India has this delightful quality of appreciation of the beautiful very strongly developed, and the wonderful art crafts of the country owe their existence and maintenance to this sympathetic view and sentimental feeling which both the rich and the poor alike display almost unconsciously towards them. It is true that two somewhat indefinable influences, namely, taste and fashion, have occasionally stepped in to modify this statement regarding the national character, but this in no way alters the fact that the country appreciates and loves a decorated article and has a great respect and admiration for the artistic efforts of its own people. The universal encouragement of the art industries is therefore of almost vital importance because their maintenance means the fostering of a very refining feature of life, it constitutes an appeal to the finer susceptibilities of the people to which they have from the very earliest periods of their history most freely responded. It behoves India to treat the art craftsman with more than ordinary sympathy

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and to support this interesting and deserving community by developing in every way within her power the special trades to which these people devote their hereditary knowledge and extraordinary manipulative ability.

This then is the brief for the artistic industries of India. Their history and traditions are well-known but lie behind us in the dead past. With regard to the living present and boundless future, the country must always remember that these æsthetic trades, small and unimportant individually, are collectively part of her life. The cultivating influences of these have contributed no small share towards moulding all that is good in the national character.

The object of this paper having been explained, an account of some of the more important of the art industries of the Punjab and any steps that have been taken to develop these may be outlined.

The artistic industry that employs the most labour is carpet weaving, the principle place where this is carried on being Amritsar. As is well-known the jails of the province also conduct a considerable trade in this manufacture. The industry was an indigenous one or at least very much developed in the 16th century owing to the great encouragement given by the Emperor Akbar. With the decline of the Moghul dynasty carpet weaving also declined and, at the time of the annexation of the Punjab, appears to have become practically extinct. About 1850 a revival of the art took place, mainly due to a desire for Indian goods in Europe, and the jails, seeing an opening, took the manufacture up. The market rapidly increased to such an extent that private firms came into existence to meet the demand. This has resulted in the flourishing trade of the present day and large number of looms that are being worked in Amritsar at the moment. Before criticising the competition of the jails, rather a popular argument at times, one should remember that it was the enterprise of these that called the trade into being ; the jails revived the trade and the private firms have made it what it is. The question that arises is, have these manufacturers made the best of the industry from the artistic point of view ? As a matter of fact they themselves admit that they have not, that their designs are not good, and that the general artistic character of their productions is not of the highest standard. One has only to look through the show rooms of any of the large firms to see that this is only too true. The powerfully designed patterns in strong combinations of colours characteristic of the art as developed by the Emperor Akbar are few and far between. Light schemes of colouring, far from oriental, predominate, and the general appearance of the designs is neither of the East nor of the West. "Freak" patterns also are not uncommon, one year what were called "Egyptian winged globe" carpets were to be seen on many of the looms of the Punjab, and other weird and wonderful creations are occasionally woven into rugs. But it must not be imagined that these are produced on account of the inartistic knowledge of the manufacturer. Far from this, he has, as a rule, a keen appreciation of good patterns and colouring of the approved and appropriate indigenous order and his experience in oriental designs is usually particularly sound. In fact he is only too willing to criticise the productions of his work-shop and laments deeply the use

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of these hybrid compositions. He has to produce however according to his demand and here that impossible barrier to all good art work, public taste, rises up clogging his movements and binding him down to articles which are far removed from his own ideas of what a good oriental rug should be.

This is, briefly, the state of the carpet industry in the Punjab at the present day. The maker has to take up the line of least resistance and the line that pays. There is no remedy, it can only be hoped that public taste will in course of time improve and that by the swing of the pendulum the really pure oriental pattern will again come into popular favour. As regards materials and manufacture it is believed the bulk of rugs produced by the better class looms of this part of India are practically as good as of old. Some fleeting dyes and crude colours are still used, and a cheap carpet means a very poor bargain for the buyer, but there is not much to criticise in this direction. One type of rug, owing to want of support, has completely died out within the last ten years and a very inferior and different class of article is produced in its place. This is the white and indigo cotton rug of Multan, which it is now quite impossible to obtain. Steps might be taken to revive this trade and also purge out the present gruesome style of manufacture. A scheme for a small technical school taking up two or three of the arts of Multan which require encouragement has been outlined and presented to the authorities but has not yet been put into effect. It may be mentioned that the Lahore School of Art has supplied on demand several designs to the carpet manufacturers and deputed trained students when required to work in the designing departments of some of the leading firms of Amritsar.

The second largest art industry in the Punjab is probably that of wood working, either carved or inlaid. This craft is carried to a very high state of excellence and the Sikh workers in this material have a great reputation both as carvers and joiners. The Art School at Lahore has for over thirty years conducted a class where the art of wood carving is taught on the most approved lines. Under the control of the most able staff it is possible to procure, the subject has been taken up from both its artistic and scientific points of view and it is felt that in this branch of art work some good may have been done to foster the handicraft. Design on the traditional lines has been thoroughly taught; selection and treatment of the wood has been made a speciality, and the proper construction of the article after the completion of the decoration has been insisted on. The result is that many students have been sent into the world with a thoroughly sound knowledge of every branch of this craft and the trade is at least as good if not better than as at any previous period. Efforts have also been made to encourage and improve the commercial aspect of the art and the work-people have been placed in communication with their market. It has been found possible to do this in a practical manner on account of the frequent applications made to the school for good example of its work. These commissions have been passed on the old students of the school working in the bazaar, with the stipulation that the work must be periodically inspected and approved by the Principal or a member of the staff. The reason of this condition is obvious. It has been found most necessary and at the same time

## *ARTISTIC TRADES OF THE PUNJAB*

has never led to anything but the most satisfactory results. This system might be developed much more extensively, but apart from the fact that it hardly lies within the sphere of the school, it also needs much labour and time spent outside ordinary school duties. Nevertheless it seems to be a useful step and one that Schools of Art might take up and carry out if the work of those institutions will permit the introduction of such a scheme. A word may be said regarding the first stages of the student's education in this or any other craft as put into effect in the Lahore School of Art. A system of stipends has been designed whereby any State, District Board, Municipality or community is enabled to nominate the son of any deserving artisan and send him to work in the Art School on a subsistence allowance. To assist him to live comfortably on this a Boarding House has been established near the school conducted on the most approved lines. By these means lads are sent in from all parts and are able to take up any course of study in the school under the most favourable conditions. In this way the deserving and persevering receive encouragement and every corner of the country comes within the sphere of influence of the School of Art.

Another step has also been taken in the direction of the industrial arts of the Punjab which it is trusted may have a far-reaching effect on their æsthetic aspect. Up to the present the idea has only been carried out in connection with the industry of wood carving and joinery but it is quite possible with time and money to extend it to other arts. It consists of a system of art pattern books containing a representative selection of purely indigenous examples gathered from some of the most historic sources in the Punjab. One hundred different plates have been drawn, fully illustrating all the principal styles of work in this particular material. It is proposed to reproduce these in a fairly inexpensive manner for the assistance and guidance of the wood carver. The patterns are prepared in the form of "working drawings" and, it is anticipated, will be of value to any workman requiring a good series of specimens to refer to in connection with any art woodwork he may have in hand. The object of this pattern book is to prevent the rapidly increasing use of the very worst form of foreign drawing of illustration to which unfortunately the wood-carver owes many of his present-day inspirations. Not only in the trade referred to, however, is this particular failing noticeable but also in many other traditional art crafts of India is this pernicious influence being absorbed in a similar manner. Silver workers may be seen utilising common designs from cheap trade catalogues, irrespective of the fact that the original article from which the drawing was copied was cast-iron or earthenware, while kinkhob weavers may be seen weaving in threads of silk and gold common kitchen wall papers bearing the price of two-pence half-penny the square yard. The Industrial Art Pattern Books are an attempt to stem this tide of ugly and unsuitable designs which are now flooding the workshops of India. It must not be supposed that this scheme is for the purpose of encouraging "inbreeding" by binding the workman down to the sole use of indigenous and traditional patterns. No objection could be raised to artistic elements from any source being introduced into

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Indian manufactures, art must grow and progress as do all things. But it has been initiated with the purpose of guiding the workman into the right lines and of preventing him from being contaminated by unsuitable and inartistic ideas in his efforts to produce novel results.

Of the other art trades of the province, the industry of metal embossing may be specially referred to. This is mainly carried on in Amritsar and is principally in the hands of Sikh workmen. It was probably developed very extensively during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh as much work of this type is to be seen on the Sikh temples of that period. The style is usually architectural in character, due to its employment on buildings for doors and other similar features, but there is very little demand for this now. It has therefore been utilized for the decoration of smaller articles such as bowls, vases, lamps, etc., and a certain market is found for these in both copper and brass. To stimulate the art a class has been instituted in the School of Art, Lahore, for all the various forms of hammered metal work, and one or two fully qualified students have passed out and opened shops in the bazaar. As in the wood carving section this branch is under the direction of two of the best metal workers procurable in Amritsar and this arrangement of the tuition has been found satisfactory. A course of study has been designed based on the methods evolved in the bazaar by which the experienced workman teaches his son or apprentice. This system is a modification of and an improvement on the somewhat crude indigenous curriculum and the results are proportionally better in many ways. It may be mentioned that a similar course has been adopted with regard to the methods of teaching the other art industries in the school. A carefully graded series of examples and designs has been prepared, after a very close study of the art as carried on by the craftsmen of the Province, and guided by the principles underlying the indigenous process, this is the foundation of the teaching as conducted in the school.

Many other artistic trades characteristic of the Punjab might be described, as for example the ivory carving of Delhi or the demascening of Koth, besides a host of smaller industries carried on by one man here or a family there, all of which have some special artistic interest. The foregoing may however convey an idea of the more important art industries of the Punjab and call attention to a few of the steps out of many that have been taken to develop and encourage these on approved lines. (Mr. Percy Brown, Principal of the Calcutta School of Art, in the *Statesman*.)

## MR. LOVAT FRASER'S LETTER TO *THE TIMES*

### THE NEW INDIAN PROVINCE : RESULTS OF "PARTITION"

Travelling up the vast waterways of Eastern Bengal, one is voyaging in the midst of an entirely new India, an India almost beyond the imagination of the casual traveller. A journey along the mighty streams of the Lower Ganges and the Brahmaputra brings home to the mind, as nothing else can do, the truth of Lord Lansdowne's recent *dictum* in the House of Lords that "there are

a great many countries in India." These huge rivers, in places two miles wide even at this dry season, have nothing in common with the bare brown plains of the Deccan, the placid luxuriance of Madras, or the burning deserts of Rajputana. They have a charm that never fades. In the faint opalescence of early dawn, when the great square-sailed country craft drift past in dim and ghostly silence, they recall memories of unforgettable hours on the Nile. Your vessel seems to be steaming through the morning mists on some illimitable lake. Even in the full glare of noon-tide the abiding beauty of the scene remains undiminished. The steamer traverses a flat green land, and swings past village after village embowered in trees. At every halting place the crowd of passengers on the banks reveals a medley of bright colours. The shallow side creeks are full of quaint craft. The little shore boats, dancing swiftly across the glittering waters, are like sampans; the vessels floating slowly down the broad bosom of the stream resemble a fleet of junks. Immense, unwieldy flats laden with jute glide slowly by. A keen, fresh, wholesome breeze is blowing, and sweeps away the languors of enervating Calcutta; and even to those who think they know India the journey is so picturesque and unfamiliar that it is like a voyage into the unknown.

Turning into the wide channel of the Meghna river—one marvels here to encounter noble streams whose very names are almost unknown outside the province—a short run brings the traveller to Narainganj, the port of Dacca. Narainganj is in the nature of a revelation. Its long rows of wharves and godowns, its river crowded with shipping, attest its importance as the greatest provincial centre of the jute trade. It has a large resident European population, it is rapidly expanding, and some of the big Calcutta trading establishments are already acquiring sites for opening new shops. From Narainganj a train journey of a little over half an hour leads to Dacca, the capital of the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. Dacca long ago fell upon evil days. Once the eastern capital of the Moghul Empire, it was still a great city when Job Charnock selected the site of Calcutta amid the swamps of the Hughli. The rise of Calcutta completely eclipsed it, and reduced it to comparative insignificance. Its famous muslins ceased to be manufactured, and are now almost unobtainable; and Dacca was left forlorn and desolate. The creation of the new province has revived its "dreams of a dead past that cannot die." Fresh gleams of prosperity have been shed upon a city that seemed destined to moulder on into oblivion. A new spirit of hope has arisen, and Dacca is likely to regain more than a little of its ancient greatness. Its population fully realize the benefits they are deriving from their altered position, and rejoice at the change. Trade is reviving, and in some quarters building sites are steadily increasing in value. Beyond the confines of the old city, far from the locality where the present houses of European officials stand on the banks of the river, New Dacca is rapidly arising. A spacious Government House, which is nevertheless rather too small for the needs of a Lieutenant-Governor, is steadily approaching completion. Modest but comfortable residences are being built for the principal officers of the new Government. The Secretariat buildings have just been commenced, and the people are at last beginning to feel that their province is to be a permanent reality. After a while the rich



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absentee zemindars, who have hitherto maintained houses in Calcutta to be near the centre of government, and have rarely visited their neglected estates, will find it necessary to build residences in Dacca. The creation of a High Court for Eastern Bengal, which has become imperative owing to the congested condition of the Calcutta High Court, will greatly increase the importance of the new capital. That Dacca will at no distant date recover something of its former proud position as the most flourishing city in this land of great rivers seems certain.

### BEFORE THE "PARTITION"

No one can visit the new province, and endeavour to inquire impartially into its condition before the "partition," without realizing that some administrative division of Bengal had become imperative. Until five years ago, Eastern Bengal was the "Cinderella" of the provinces of India. Good administration stopped short on the line of the Ganges. Beyond that line officers were few, and the interest of the central authorities in their work and in the welfare of the people in their charge was comparatively limited. The vast district of Mymensingh, for instance, with an area of 6,000 square miles and a population of four millions, was often left in charge of a single European officer. Land revenue administration was persistently neglected in the temporary settled tracts. Calcutta and its immediate vicinity, and the more accessible districts of Old Bengal, absorbed the greater part of the time and the attention of the Bengal Government. Money was poured out upon Calcutta and its environs, and Eastern Bengal was financially starved. Very little was spent upon education, and the whole riverain region was most inadequately policed. Crime was far more rife in the southern districts of the province than in any other part of India. The peasantry groaned beneath the exactions of the representatives of absentee landlords, and they were left unregarded and unprotected. The whole province suffered because its rulers were immersed in the preoccupations of Calcutta. The very railways were constructed, not to serve the needs of these 30 millions of people, but to meet the requirements of the city on the Hughli. Travel in Eastern Bengal is still a hapless business, a mixture of little railway journeys and long river cruises; and so preposterous are the present lines of communication that even now there are few places in the province which can be reached from Dacca without first travelling half-way to Calcutta.

### THE NEW ADMINISTRATION

It is remarkable to note how, in the short space of three years, the old deplorable conditions of Eastern Bengal have already undergone a satisfactory process of modification. The province is no longer content to be dragged at the tail of Old Bengal. A new and independent provincial spirit is springing up. Eastern Bengal is beginning to recognize all that a separate existence means to it. Its Civil servants, from the Lieutenant-Governor downwards, take a pride in the great work of regeneration which has been entrusted to them. Their task is enormous, and the workers are far too few. They are like men who have been set to create a new colony out of a land of chaos. They have before them almost as formidable an undertaking as the making of modern Egypt, but it is an Egypt of

green rice-fields with half-a-dozen Niles. They have entered upon their labours with that dogged enthusiasm which distinguishes the Englishman in India at his best. Eastern Bengal is fortunate in that it has found good men, who are placing the province on the path. It did not receive at its inception the sweepings of the Bengal Secretariat. It includes within its *cadres* some of the ablest and most devoted civilians in India.

Sir Bampfylde Fuller, at the very outset of his control of the new province, at once perceived that its most pressing need was a better system of education. The Mahomedans were practically receiving no education at all. The high-caste Hindus had a system which was both inadequate and defective. With characteristic vigour he turned his attention at once to the educational needs of the province, and inaugurated a policy which has since been steadfastly followed. The educational budget has been doubled in the last two years. The demand for higher education in Eastern Bengal is perhaps greater than in any other part of India. The admirable Government College at Dacca has now been provided with splendid buildings, begun, however, before the "partition." The whole province is being supplied with a set of colleges adequate to its needs. The staffs of the colleges are being augmented and their administration overhauled. The principal private colleges are also being assisted with liberal grants and transformed into institutions which will give a sound education. The exceptionally large number of "high" English schools in Eastern Bengal had also been greatly neglected, both those under the Government and those in private hands. All are now being improved, and are receiving liberal assistance. The primary schools in the province had always been a reproach, but a network of Government primary schools is being formed, under proper management, with suitable buildings and appropriate modern methods of instruction. Female education has been the study of a special provincial committee. It is hoped that a comprehensive system of primary and secondary schools will be established for girls, and that there will also be a well-supervised system of zenana classes and other devices for home education. The scheme will, however, take a number of years to mature. The authorities are paying special attention to the training of teachers. A training college under qualified European supervision is being established at Dacca for teachers in English, the divisional schools for vernacular masters are being reorganized, and sub-divisional schools are everywhere being started for the training of village schoolmasters by approved methods. Decidedly, in matters of education Eastern Bengal already has a record of which its Government may well be proud.

#### LAND SURVEY AND PUBLIC WORKS

Another important task undertaken by the new Government is that of conducting an elaborate survey and framing a Record of Rights in the zemindari tracts which constitute the bulk of the province. The undertaking was devised before the "partition," but it has been expedited by the change. It is an extraordinary thing that in all these permanently settled areas there has hitherto no record and no map. The consequence was that the cultivators were constantly bullied and harassed by the agents of

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the absentee zemindars, and were never able to feel any responsible security of tenure of the land they tilled. Land disputes were incessant, and were constantly accompanied by loss of life. In the Backergunge district, the most turbulent area in India, there were frequent riots, of which murders were an almost invariable feature. Since the framing of the Record of Rights in Backergunge this class of crime has already decreased by 50 per cent. The cultivators have been educated in a knowledge of the rights conferred upon them under the Bengal Tenancy Act, and there is less room for quarrels. A similar work is now being carried on in other districts. That strife about land should entirely cease in Eastern Bengal is, however, too much to hope. The cultivators of the deltaic districts are probably as rich as any peasantry in the world, and their prosperity is appreciably greater than that of the Egyptian fellahcen. They are always assured of bumper rice crops, and never know want; but they are reckless and improvident, and delight in spending much of their money in litigation. A single district yields an average annual stamp revenue of £80,000 per annum, nearly all in judicial stamps. Elsewhere, in those districts in the north-eastern portion of the province which are not under the Permanent Settlement, land is being steadily taken up, and the land revenue is increasing. The waste places of the province are being brought under the plough.

In many other respects the administration of Eastern Bengal is undergoing improvement. Its public works, so long pinched and starved, are receiving a proper allotment of expenditure. The great danger at present before the province is that in the present unfortunate condition of the finances of India it may again receive the portion of Esau. Its importunities are liable to pass unheeded amid the appeals of the older provinces, though its needs are greater than any other. An important work now in process of fulfilment is the reorganization of the police, with special reference to the policing of the rivers. Investigation has revealed an enormous amount of almost unsuspected minor piracy on the great waterways and the vast plexus of smaller channels. More European police are needed, as well as more civil servants; the cry for more men is incessant. Questions of rural sanitation and water-supply, issues which perhaps concern the welfare of the people most nearly in these malarious low-lying regions, are receiving urgent attention. The improvement of railway communications is another pressing question, particularly because the provincial port of Chittagong must be properly linked up with its *Hinterland* before it can commence that large process of expansion which ought to lie before it. The trade of Chittagong has doubled since the "partition," but it is still lamentably small. A cognate question is that of the better utilization of the great waterways of the province. These huge rivers bring down so much silt that their channels are constantly changing, and the short cuts through side creeks are always becoming choked. The creation of a Waterways Commission, with an adequate allotment of funds, which is in contemplation, ought to do much to develop these invaluable highways of commerce. They bear upon their waters a trade of enormous value. Most of the jute of India is grown in Eastern Bengal, and the area under jute has increased

to a vast degree in the last ten years. It seems almost incredible that river navigation in the province should so long have been left to take care of itself.

#### THE FUTURE

If this recital of the work already accomplished and in progress under the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam—and the half has not been told—does not serve to justify the “partition,” it has been set forth in vain. I have yet to meet anybody, English or Indian, who can tell me in what respect the “partition” has injured a single living soul; while one has only to visit this province, invigorated with new life and inspired by new aspirations, to realize the benefits the severance has conferred upon millions of neglected people. To alter or to modify it now would be suicidal folly; it would be worse, for it would be a criminal blunder. It would not placate the wordy “patriots” of Calcutta, who have used the “partition” as a rallying cry for lack of a better grievance; and it would alienate the 18 millions of backward Mahomedans in the province who have placed their reliance in British honour and British pledges. The Nawab of Dacca, with whom I had a long conversation on the subject, declared that any attempt to meddle with “partition”—an attempt he still seemed to fear was possible—would produce the most deplorable results among his co-religionists. They were, he said, awakening the new endeavours; they were realizing their backward condition, and meant to try to regenerate themselves; the knowledge that they were no longer under the heel of Bengal had aroused hopes which he thought would be fulfilled. Any change now would drive them beyond the bounds of endurance.

Nor is there the slightest need for change or modification. The “partition” is already thrice justified in the eyes of all men, save only a few malcontent members of Parliament who know nothing of present conditions in Bengal. Even in Calcutta the outcry, which was always less against the fact of the “partition” than against the motive which the Bengalis erroneously believed to have prompted it, has long ago died away. Yet, justifiable and necessary though the “partition” was, it remains to be added that, apart from its complex administrative problems, Eastern Bengal will never be a very easy province to control. The high-caste Hindus, the Brahmins, the Baidays, and the Kayasths—the Brahmins and the lesser Brahmins—rule the roast, and it will be long years before the teeming millions of Mahomedan cultivators emerge from their depressed condition. The few Mahomedan families who can claim noble birth are decadent and disappearing. The Hindus have absorbed their lands, the clever lawyers have converted themselves into rich landowners. It is from the ranks of these high-caste Hindus that are drawn the members of the revolutionary societies to which I alluded in a telegraphic despatch sent from this city yesterday. These classes show a persistent and increasing spirit of hostility to the British Raj which no amount of conciliatory measures will overcome. It is impossible to move about the province and to converse with the men who know it best without feeling that the situation is full of dangerous possibilities. The men of Eastern Bengal are more courageous, more determined, more persistent than their compatriots in Old Bengal; and the better classes of Hindus have

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qualities which are not easily discernible in the Calcutta *babu*. They approach more nearly to the spirit of the Mahrattas of the Deccan than any other section of the people on this side of India. It is a significant fact that most of the prisoners now under trial at Alipur in connexion with the anarchist conspiracy come from Eastern Bengal. But even as one writes one realizes how difficult it is to generalize in this country of startling paradox. The other day in Dacca, 200 Hindu pundits assembled to present a Sanscrit address to the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Lancelot Hare. Many of them had come long distances. They were all old men with great nobility of countenance, some with long beards, others with the face of the Cæsars. And at the conclusion of the ceremony each kindly and venerable scholar advanced, and with great dignity presented the Lieutenant-Governor with a rose. From the bombs of last week to the roses of yesterday, what a gulf lies between the two !

### II

#### ANARCHISM IN BENGAL : ITS ORIGIN AND CHARACTER

Yesterday, February 10th, towards sunset, the Viceroy left Calcutta, to seek a brief respite from labours which have never been more arduous than of late. As he entered the Sealdah station, calm but grave, word ran round the little throng of spectators that there had just been another anarchist outrage. An eminent Bengali pleader, who was assisting in the prosecution of the anarchists at the Alipore Court, had been shot dead outside the court-house little more than an hour before. The crime was deftly timed. It was evidently intended to convey a parting warning to the Viceroy that all is not yet well in Bengal. And his Excellency's long white train had scarcely traversed the amorphous suburbs of Calcutta, and passed into the open country, when upon the self-same line two ineffectual bombs were flung at a local train. The anarchists make bombs badly at present, but they may acquire greater skill. There was nothing to prevent the bombs from being flung at the Viceregal train ; and the incident shows with startling and unexpected clearness how difficult it may become to afford adequate protection even to a Viceroy of India.

#### EARLIER MOVEMENT

While Calcutta is still seething with excitement over this unexpected recrudescence of anarchism, it is difficult to turn with restraint to certain larger considerations which must not be ignored, even at such a moment. We are, perhaps, too prone to consider the unrest and hostility of which these incidents are the latest casual symptoms as something new in the history of British rule in India. We picture the last century as a period of complete placidity, broken only by the Mutiny. As a matter of fact, it was nothing of the sort. The epic tragedy of the Mutiny has obscured all minor episodes ; but one has only to turn over old records to be reminded how frequently waves of unrest have spread far and wide in India. For some of the characteristics of the recent agitation—it may still be called recent, in spite of yesterday's local crimes—there are repeated precedents. Most Oriental peoples, while normally docile, are liable to be fitfully rebellious ; and that

statement is conspicuously true of India. It is even capable of rough demonstration that whenever the British Raj has given a notable proof of its prowess in war the country has been quiet for a time, whilst after prolonged peace internally and on the frontier unrest has generally made itself visible.

To quote many examples of preceding waves of unrest is beyond the scope of this article ; and pre-Mutiny days must be left untouched, though it is perhaps forgotten that in 1831 the whole of the country north and east of Calcutta was in rebellion, and a small British force was cut up within two hours' ride of the capital. Ten years after the Mutiny the great Wahabi conspiracy, which filled the valley of the Ganges with nests of treason, reached its height ; and in 1871, a Chief Justice of Bengal was stabbed on the steps of the Town Hall by a Musulman assassin, who was undoubtedly associated with that agitation. In the following year, in the Punjab, occurred the outbreak of the Kuka Sikhs, which has always been believed by those best qualified to judge to have been associated with political designs. In its outward character it was Sikh against Mahomedan ; but more lay behind it, and a British force had to suppress the rising. An outburst of virulent sedition in the native Press in the late seventies produced Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act, so unwisely and incontinently withdrawn. The Afghan War was followed by a lull, but the cow-killing agitation in the United Provinces and Behar in 1893-94 was unquestionably partly political in character, and it resulted in a substantial loss of life. The tree-smearing excitement in Behar which followed is now believed to have been a subtle device for extracting money from the credulous peasantry, and may, perhaps, be dismissed ; but the late nineties—supporters of the theory I have quoted without endorsement or disapproval would say the period of the Boer War—saw the inception of that gradual wave of unrest which, in its worst manifestations, has produced such outrages as were committed yesterday.

Unrest in India, in its latest form, has, however, certain characteristics which differentiate it very markedly from all earlier manifestations. For one thing, it has so many imperceptible gradations that it is impossible to draw any sharp dividing line. At one end you have the eloquent and not indefensible utterances of Dr. Rash Behari Ghose at Madras, and at the other end the pistols and the picric acid of the Manicktollah garden. Again, even extremism has its own shades and indefinite distinctions, and not all extremists are advocates of the bomb. All that can be said with certainty is that the gospel of violence, the creed which advocates the use of any form of force against the British, is Mahratta in its origin ; but so far it is the Bengalis alone who have put it into practice. It was conceived in Poona, which city has always continued to inspire and direct it ; it was transferred to Baroda, where it flourished in secret among a limited circle ; and it was transplanted to Calcutta, where it grew apace, somewhere between the years 1902 and 1904. Certain classes of Bengalis, who are all adepts at intrigue, took up the new idea with enthusiasm ; but not all who knocked were admitted to the inner circle. The real conspirators were still probably few in number when the "partition" of Bengal gave the politicians their opportunity. The

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anarchists were furious at the partition agitation. They were quite content that less militant persons should prepare the ground for them, by preaching to the people of the iniquities of the British Raj; but they were reluctant to see the popular mind actively diverted to such minor issues as *swadeshi* and the *boycott*. The extermination of the British was their one and only aim.

### THE ANARCHIST ORGANIZATION

However, as the Congress politicians had succeeded in arousing intense excitement about the partition, the anarchist gang sought to turn the situation to their own advantage. The formation of the bands of "National Volunteers" gave them precisely the opportunity they sought. The eminent gentlemen who encouraged young students, armed with staves, to become National Volunteers, created, no doubt unconsciously, literal nurseries of anarchism. The bands had no joint organization; each sufficed unto itself. But directly the leader of a *samiti* showed conspicuously violent tendencies he was approached by an anarchist emissary and invited to join in "active work." The *samitis* were recruiting grounds for the anarchists, at any rate in Calcutta and Bengal, and it is reassuring to know that the Government have now taken power to suppress them, wherever necessary. Recruits were, however, only gradually admitted into the inner ring; and there were many people who associated with the anarchists, and sometimes furnished them with funds, who never took part in their operations.

Propaganda formed a prominent feature of the anarchists' work. In this department the worst types of seditious journals, which have now disappeared, played a great part. Such newspapers as the *Yugantar* started "messes" and "hostels," to which subscribers, particularly those residing up-country, were invited to come free of charge. They stayed for a day or two, heard the new gospel preached, and then made way for others. Attempts were made, though with limited success, to foment strife among the mill-hands who swarm around Calcutta; the various strikes were probably not the work of the anarchist gangs. Yet another branch of activity was the despatching of young men to Japan as well as to various Western countries, to gain knowledge likely to be useful to the anarchists in their nefarious work. Out of the steady stream of young Indians who have gone to Japan perhaps very few were real anarchists; but many became possible recruits, and few have returned better citizens for their sojourn in the Far East.

The existence of this considerable organization was not really suspected by the police until after the attempt to wreck Sir Andrew Fraser's train in December, 1907. Some of the anarchists were under suspicion, and were being watched as notoriously disaffected persons, but even the shooting of Mr. B. C. Allen, District Magistrate of Dacca, in the same month did not reveal the conspiracy. The police were, however, on the right track; and a couple of days after two unfortunate ladies had been killed by a bomb at Muzaffarpur, on April 30, 1908, they acted. At a house in Calcutta, and in a garden on the outskirts, large seizures of bombs, explosives, and revolvers were made and about 30 alleged

anarchists were arrested. Other arrests followed. The famous Manicktollah garden was the principal scene of anarchist activity. It is so secluded that one wonders it was ever discovered. Far on the confines of Calcutta, through a network of mean huts beneath waving palms, a series of winding paths leads to a couple of mouldering gatepillars innocent of any gate. Within, under shady trees, stands a small building in the last stage of disrepair. Its verandah is upheld by four massive pillars, and from its portico you look out upon a slimy pool surrounded by umbrageous foliage. The building contains only one large room, flanked by a tiny kitchen. The sole furniture consists of a few rickety *charpoy*s (native bedsteads). It is mean and dirty and squalid, the true squalor of anarchism. If it is only in such a spot that any movement can be hatched for the overthrow of the British Raj, then the British Raj is safe for a long time.

The prisoners were taken to the Alipur Gaol, and their trial was commenced at the Alipore Police Court. I visited the Court one day—I think it was the seventieth day of the trial—and marvelled afresh. They were ranged in rows, about 50 men, all young, all huddled together and squatting on their haunches. The only man among them with an intellectual face was Arabindo Ghose, the alleged leader, who sat in a far corner. He has the face of a dreamer, as indeed he is, and with his long hair and short beard might very well pass for a certain type of artistic Frenchman. Whether he be guilty or not is no affair of mine, but his record excites pity. He went to England with brilliant gifts and high hopes, and he had a distinguished career at school and University. But men who profess to know say that he had more than the ordinary share of the rough and tumble of juvenile life amidst alien and often thoughtless comrades, and that those years were made thoroughly unhappy for him. When at last after he had passed for the Civil Service, he was rejected because he could not pass the horsemanship test, one can perhaps understand that a man of his temperament returned to India with black rage and despair at his heart.

But his associates seemed to be mere boys, haggard, wild-looking youths of a peculiarly low physical type. A few had beards, the rest were thin-faced, narrow-chested students. Again one was tempted to ask "Are these the men who propose to upset the mighty British Raj?" Nevertheless, these weedy youths are a source of danger when armed with a bomb or a cheap revolver. Beside Mr. Eardley Norton, who prosecuted on behalf of the Crown, sat an alert comfortable-looking man of middle age, with closely-cropped whiskers and moustache, who in another clime might very well have been a family physician. He was Babu Ashutosh Biswas, Public Prosecutor, who met his death yesterday at the hands of one of his own compatriots. His murderer was just one of these weedy youths, undersized, underfed, with a twisted arm, and other physical defects.

#### CHARACTER OF THE MOVEMENT

There are people who hold that in Bengal, as in other countries, anarchism is partly the product of defective diet. Nearly all the prisoners I saw were certainly deficient in vitality. The diet of Bengalis of the student type is atrociously inadequate. Recent



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experiments have shown that the average Bengali of this class has 20 to 25 per cent. fewer red corpuscles in his blood than the average country-bred European. Sir James Crichton-Browne has, I understand, advanced similar theories of under-feeding to explain the excesses during the Commune which followed the siege of Paris. Certainly on one side the anarchist movement in Bengal is essentially emotional and hysterical. In no sense does it produce the cold, calm courage which can face pain. The youths who fling these bombs and fire their cheap revolvers have been worked up into a temporary frenzy, which does not denote true courage. Macaulay was not wrong, and the Bengali has not changed in a day the character his race has possessed for a thousand years. The Bengalis have many splendid qualities, but physical bravery is not among them; and there is no need to draw fresh and startling deductions from the spasmodic ebullitions of a few excitable youths in a state of overwrought exaltation.

Withal the anarchist movement in Bengal should not be regarded with mere contempt. It has another side which, if it be not mockery to say so, is essentially spiritual in character. Therein, no doubt, it touches the less militant sections of the anti-British movement. Those who regard even these miserable anarchists as engaged in a mere league of murder do not properly appreciate the forces now at work in Bengal. I have read in translation masses of seditious literature in the last few weeks, and have been struck by the intensely religious spirit which prevades much of it. The spiritual side of things still appeals to the introspective Bengali far more than a vague pseudo-patriotism; and we shall never fully understand the various aspects of the unrest in Bengal until we consider its psychology.

Had I been writing yesterday morning, I might have been inclined to say that anarchism in Bengal was now dispirited, leaderless, and futile. That cannot be said unreservedly to-day, for it must always be remembered that there are other and cooler brains at the back of these miserable lads who do the actual deeds. Clearly there is more than one organization at work; clearly bomb-throwing will go on. It must be further remembered that outside the actual anarchists, who are probably still few, there are large masses of people who sympathize with them either openly or in secret. No reforms ever devised will affect these conditions, though the reforms should not be delayed on that account. These things are part of our burden in India. I have tried to show that similar ebullitions in varying forms have occurred before, and they will, doubtless, recur from time to time. They are to a great extent independent of the weakness or strength of this or that Administration; they are a natural outcome of the conditions under which we hold the country. As time passes the anarchist movement will probably be directed less and less from Calcutta and Poona, and more and more from London and Paris. The day may come when it will rest with the British Government, rather than with the Government of India, to strike at the roots of the movement and to arrest and deport its leaders. Englishmen have sometimes seemed almost proud that their land of freedom affords sanctuary even to anarchists—of other countries. But what about this growing brood of dark-skinned anarchists who are our fellow-

## *THE INDIAN JUTE INDUSTRY*

subjects? Their aims are frankly revolutionary. The growth of anarchism in India may eventually compel the British Government to consider our whole attitude towards anarchist refugees.

I have dealt solely with anarchism, but it should not be forgotten that it is only the final fruit of the far larger movement of extremism, which is possibly more rife in Bengal than anywhere else in India. Yet there is one re-assuring circumstance. As in the Deccan, so in Bengal, anarchists and extremists and moderates alike have never found a really effective cry to rouse the people on the land. We can always, if occasion arises, hold the cities in check. We do not realize how strong we are in India, in spite of all our difficulties and seeming dangers.

### THE INDIAN JUTE INDUSTRY

It would perhaps be difficult to discover a more striking record of industrial progress than that which is presented by the Indian jute industry in recent years. The rapidity of the progress can best be realized from a few figures which show how the business of jute manufacture has developed during the last 23 years :—

Year	No. of Mills	Nominal Capital £	Employees	Looms	Spindles
1879-80	22	2,246,000	27,500	4,950	70,800
1889-90	26	2,600,000	59,500	7,700	156,900
1899-00	34	3,978,000	102,400	14,100	295,300
1904-05	38	5,395,000	133,200	20,000	409,200
1906-07	44	6,330,000	166,900	25,300	520,500
1907-08	50	7,019,000	187,800	27,200	562,300

This table brings out the remarkable fact that, while the number of mills has increased by 127 per cent. and the capital by 212 per cent., the looms and spindles have increased by 450 and 694 per cent. respectively. Moreover, employment is now found for about seven times as many persons as formerly. All but three of the mills are located in Calcutta or its vicinity, and all but two are worked by joint-stock companies. It is worth noting that a considerable change has occurred in the relative amounts of sterling and rupee capital invested in the industry, the former constituting nearly two-thirds of the total of nominal capital in 1879-80 and only two-fifths in 1907-8. If paid-up capital and debentures are taken together, the rupee investments amounted to £ 5,643,000 and the sterling to £ 3,020,000 in 1907-8.

#### INCREASE IN PRODUCTION

The increase in actual production has been even greater than the growth in productive power as indicated by the number of looms and spindles, owing to the enhanced demand for jute manufactures, and possibly also to improved organization of the industry and greater skill on the part of the workers. Thus the average annual exports of gunny bags for the quinquennium 1879-80 to 1883-84 were 54,900,000, while those of gunny cloth were 4,400,000 yards, the whole being valued at £ 833,000. In 1907-8 the corresponding figures were 293,000,000, bags and

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790,000,000 yards of cloth of a total value of £12,199,000. So during the period the exports of gunny cloth rose from an insignificant figure to a gigantic total, and their value was greater than the value of the exports of bags. The average price of Hessian cloth (10½oz., 40in.) in 1907-8 was 17s 10d. per 100 yards, as compared with 19s. 6d. in 1906-7 and 15s. 2d. in 1905-6. The rise in the value of jute manufactures is, of course, largely due to the increased value of the raw material, the output of which, though showing a considerable increase, has not risen in proportion to the demand in India and abroad.

### GROWTH OF EXPORTS

It is noteworthy that exports of raw jute have risen with the outturn of jute manufactures in India, though by no means proportionately. During the period from 1879-80 to 1883-84 the price of ordinary jute was Rs. 23½ per bale of 400lb., and the average annual export of the fibre was 7,500,000 cwt. In 1907-8 the exports were 14,200,000cwt., and the price was Rs. 42 in 1905-6. Thus the fall in 1907-8 was greater than the rise as compared with Rs. 65½ in 1906-7 and Rs. 44 in 1906-7. The last estimate for the season's jute crop was 6,310,800 bales, or a decline of 35 per cent. on the preceeding one. The imports into Calcutta and Chittagong for the six months to December last amounted to 5,837,000 bales, while the exports amounted to 3,196,000, and the takings of the local mills to 2,391,000 bales.

The trade returns for the nine months ended December 31st last show that India's exports of raw jute and jute manufactures, as compared with the corresponding period in 1907, were as follows :—

	Raw Jute	Bags	Cloth
1908 ...	Cwt. 13,562,829 £10,264,260	No. 224,747,780 £4,030,778	No. 610,807,253 £4,282,776
1907 ...	Cwt. 10,670,926 £9,440,694	No. 212,747,488 £4,333,829	No. 632,106,238 £5,345,963

These figures serve to show that in spite of financial troubles and a diminished demand from certain markets the trade of the current financial year has been by no means unsatisfactory. (From *The Times' Financial and Commercial Supplement*.)

## LEADING THOUGHTS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF HINDU ARCHITECTURE

Dr. Macdonell, Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford and author of a very interesting History of Sanskrit Literature, recently read a paper before the Indian Section of the Royal Society of Arts on the "Buddhist and Hindu Architecture of India." In this paper, Dr. Macdonell holds that architectural monuments are, for the absence of all other sources, the best existing materials for constructing the history of ancient India.

"The literary records of India, beginning with the Rigveda, went back to an earlier date than those of any other Indo-European people; but they hardly supplied any information about chronology, because of the total lack of works of an historical character during the enormous period extending from the rise of Indian literature (perhaps as early as 1500 B. C.) and the beginning of the Mahomedan Conquest (c. 100 A. D.). We were accordingly very largely dependent on archæology in its various branches for the reconstruction of the external history of the religious and social institutions, as well as of the political events of early times; indeed, the study of archæology was therefore relatively more important in India than in perhaps any other country of the present day."

But unfortunately for us, even these relics of a bygone day have not escaped the vandalism of a modern age. Says Dr. Macdonell: "The ancient monuments, in which so much information lay buried, had, however, been disappearing from the face of the land, and thousands had been lost for ever. Vast numbers were destroyed or mutilated by Mohammedan invaders in bygone centuries, and many others had from time immemorial been used as quarries by neighbouring villagers. Antiquities of priceless value were known to have been destroyed within the last century. Thus the great stupa of Amaravati in Southern India was standing less than one hundred years ago, but now there was hardly a trace of it left, though several of its sculptures had been rescued for museums. Again, it was recorded that about sixty cartloads of ancient Buddhist sculptures were removed from Sarnath, near Benares, and thrown into the neighbouring river to form the foundations of a new bridge about a century ago. Much damage had been done in the process of

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making roads, railways, and bridges, and in Southern India especially, by the practice of pulling down old shrines and using the materials for building new ones, while buried sites had further been often greatly injured by the operations of untrained and irresponsible excavators, innumerable sculptures of great archaeological value having thus been dispersed and lost."

Dr. Macdonell thereupon proceeds to trace the principal landmarks of Indian Archaeology :

"In the pre-Buddhistic phase of Indian religion from which Hinduism was directly descended carved images of the gods and temples for worship were equally unknown, and though the earliest record of Indian religion, namely, the Rigveda, went back to a very ancient date, probably 1500 B.C., Indian religion did not begin to express itself in the form of structural and plastic art till a comparatively late period. None of the architectural antiquities which survived in India could, with one exception ( the brick stupa at Piprahwa, on the Nepal frontier ), be dated earlier than 260 B.C., and earliest remains were all connected with religion, the form of religion which they illustrated being Buddhism. It was with the reign of Asoka, the great Emperor ( 272-231 B.C. ) originally an adherent of the Brahman religion, but who became a convert to the doctrine of Buddha, that the history of Indian art could really be said to begin, vast numbers of stupas being erected by him all over India, and rocks and monolith pillars inscribed with edicts for the promotion of the Buddhist faith. The Buddhists were the first to build with stone in India, and the remains of their art were almost entirely architectural and sculptural, sculpture practically always appearing in connection with the architecture, and invariably in the service of religion."

The following are the conclusions at which the learned Professor arrives on the subject of the development of Hindu Architecture. "Early Buddhist architecture might be divided into three main groups—( 1 ) Stupas, or relic mounds ; ( 2 ) chaityas, or places of worship, corresponding to our churches ; and ( 3 ) viharas, or dwellings for the monks. The stupa was a dome-shaped structure erected to serve as monument for enclosing relics of Buddha or of Buddhist saints. The chaityas were the exact counterpart of Christian churches, not only in form, but in use. Hindu architecture, of which there were two distinct types, the Southern or Dravidian style and the Northern or Indo-Aryan style, were developments of Buddhist prototypes, and were respectively the descendants of two entirely distinct classes of Buddhist building, the Southern

## LORD MORLEY SINDIAN REFORMS

Hindu temple being clearly evolved from the Buddhist monastery, while the Northern or Indo-Aryan temple was as clearly a development of the Buddhist stupa."

### LORD MORLEY'S INDIAN REFORMS

On the above subject Sir Andrew Fraser, the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, has contributed a very interesting paper to the *Empire Review* in which he undertakes to review the reform proposals of Lord Morley from a statesmanlike point of view. The article, we confess, has come as a surprise upon us, being remarkably conspicuous by the absence of that bureaucratic touch which is the keynote of the writings on Indian topics by retired members of the Civil Service. Sir Andrew emphasises the importance of 'economic' causes in the creation of discontent in India and is of opinion that the announcement and introduction of reforms should not be delayed on account of the unrest in India. Says Sir Andrew :—

"To delay reform on account of the unrest would scarcely be in accordance with our ideas of Indian rule. It would be to abandon recognised principles on account of difficulties in the situation and to punish the many for the offences of the few. It would be to play into the hands of those who are the real agents in producing the worst feature of the unrest. It is anarchy and crime that we want to put down. Those who have practised and encouraged these offences, and sought to undermine the Government, are few ; and they neither demand nor even desire what these proposals offer."

Having declared that there is much in recent unrest that is perfectly natural and "not even to be regretted," Sir Andrew turns to the educated classes and speaks of them in this manner :—

There is undoubtedly a tendency to think of the educated classes as if they were wholly confined to the professional classes. Fortunately this is a mistake. We must take a wider view. There are now not a few educated men among the Zamindars or landowners and amongst the leaders of the commercial community, as well as among the professional classes than of the rest. The majority of educated Zamindars and merchants are not heard in this matter.

Regarding the importance of the educated classes and the legitimacy of their aspirations, Sir Andrew has the following sympathetic observations to make :—

It would be a most unwise as well as ungenerous thing to ignore or lightly esteem the educated classes. We have by our own educational system created these classes ; and by many indications and positive declarations of our policy we have given them their hopes and ambitions. We are bound on that account not to ignore their reasonable claims. We are bound also by the generous promise of Queen Victoria in the great

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making roads, railways, and bridges, and in Southern India especially, by the practice of pulling down old shrines and using the materials for building new ones, while buried sites had further been often greatly injured by the operations of untrained and irresponsible excavators, innumerable sculptures of great archaeological value having thus been dispersed and lost."

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Proclamation transferring the Government of India to the Crown—a promise which has just been solemnly retreated by his Majesty the King fifty years later—to see that, as far as may be, his Majesty's subjects of whatever race or creed shall be freely and impartially admitted to offices in his service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge.

Sir Andrew is of opinion that these promises made by Queen Victoria in regard to the admission of Indians to offices under the Crown, far from being lost sight of by the Government, have been steadily and persistently carried out, and as a proof he invites our attention to the following history of Bengal.

In 1871 when I went to India there were no Indian members of the Indian Civil Service in Bengal. At the end of that year, three Indians came to Bengal, and were appointed Assistant Collectors on 400 Rs. a month. These have all left the service. But at the end of last year there were thirteen Indian civilians on salaries ranging from 776 Rs. to 2,250 Rs. a month, besides ten other Indians holding posts ordinarily reserved for that service : twenty-three in all as against three in 1871. Besides this, the Provincial Service then consisted of 177 officers, of whom forty-five—or just over one-fourth—were Europeans : it now consists of 361 officers of whom only forty-five—or just under one-eighth—are Europeans : the whole addition to the strength of that service has been from Indians. Not only so, but we have had, among our Indian officers, not only Collectors and Sessions Judges, but also Commissioners of Divisions ; and I had for a time as Senior Member of the Board of Revenue—the next highest executive office to that of Lieutenant-Governor—an Indian Member of the service.

Indians have thus risen to the highest ranks in the service, not only judicial, but also in other departments of the Government service, such as those of medicine, education, law and engineering and more recently in the police department. Lord Morley is, therefore, proposing no new departure in principle when he proposes to go a step further.

Sir Andrew thinks that the crux of the whole agitation is the demand for the employment of qualified Indians to the highest offices of trust and responsibility, and he doubts therefore, whether any part of Lord Morley's scheme has been received by many of the educated classes with as great enthusiasm as his proposal to give certain places to Indians in the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and of certain provincial rulers. He next dwells upon the question of local self-government as introduced by Lord Ripon. Sir Andrew controverts the view of those who are inclined to think that experiments in that direction have completely failed. He, on the contrary, takes a modified view and says that the policy has been as much successful as might have been expected under the circumstances. The reason why the measure did not attain complete success is explained by Sir Andrew in the following manner :—

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India does not understand and cannot work the principle of election as understood and worked in England. The constituencies created for the District and Local Boards in Bengal, for example, were ridiculously large. The gradual development of representative government through centuries of political education in England was apparently forgotten ; and the present English practice was introduced suddenly into the Indian system. Constituencies were formed consisting of large numbers of persons, the vast majority of whom took not the slightest interest in the affairs which were ostensibly committed to them, did not understand the privileges or responsibility of the franchise, and were of such a position in society as to preclude the true leaders of the people from appealing to them for their votes.

The result was that it was the professional men who alone could manage to get them elected ; whereas, the natural leaders of the people who are, according to Sir Andrew, mostly zeminders and landholders, often declined to stand for election. Government has, therefore, felt itself compelled to resort to the expedient of nomination as a substitute for election. This system also is not without defects, for, says Sir Andrew :—

The great disadvantage of this plan is that the nominee, however honest and manly he may be and be known to be, is regarded or represented as the creature of the Government, bound to vote as he is desired to vote.

Sir Andrew thinks that the system can be wholly freed from defects if the same man who is nominated by the Government can be got *elected* by the people instead of being nominated by Government. "To bodies elected on this system," says Sir Andrew, "we could give greatly increased powers, and we might look forward with confidence to improved work and to real interest on the part of those who have a stake in the country. This is what the proposals of the Government of India, generally accepted by the Secretary of State, aim at in respect of the non-official element in the Legislative Councils." Next he comes to the electoral college as an effective means of securing the due representation of special classes. Here his views are characteristically pro-Mahomedan and anti-Hindu.

Sir Andrew says :—

It seems to me that with the electoral college it would be easy for practised wire-pullers to secure as the Muhammadan member a man who would not in any way represent the feelings and interests of the Muhammadan community generally. And it would also be possible to swamp the real Zamindars or large landowners by the votes of men with small estates, who, while nominally Zaminders, have only a secondary interest in land.

Regarding the reform scheme in general Sir Andrew has the following :—

The great principles underlying Lord Morley's proposals have my heartiest approval ; and I cordially wish the Government all success in working out the details. It seems to me that it would not be very

difficult—and would certainly be possible—to work out a practicable scheme for Bengal. And I am strongly of opinion that it would be wise to leave details to be worked out by the local government (subject to the sanction of the Government of India) for each province.

The next point he touches is the question of dispensing with the official majority in Provincial Councils. Says Andrew :—

I regard this proposal as sound. It seems to be quite safe. In the first place, provided that the non-official majority is small, it is scarcely possible to conceive of all classes of non-officials, Europeans and Indians, Hindus and Muhammadans, Zaminders and merchants, uniting against the Government, in respect of any matter in which it would be wise for the Government to carry out the view which all these classes have united to condemn. And, in the second place, the vote of the head of the Local Government, and the legislative powers of Government of India, provide a sufficient safeguard against any such altogether unlikely contingency.

The only other point Sir Andrew discusses at some length is the proposal to have an Indian member on the Viceroy's Executive Councils, the controversy over which has been set at rest by the appointment of the Hon. Mr. S. P. Sinha as Sir Erle Richard's successor. Sir Andrew concludes his able article with a short reference to the proposals regarding Advisory Councils. He is glad that the proposal has fallen through because he thinks

“ the proposal is surrounded by so many practical difficulties as to be apparently unworkable.”

### DISTURBANCES IN BENGAL.

The above is the title of an anonymous contribution which appeared in the March number of the “ Westminster Review.” The writer, an “ old Bengal Civilian who retired some 14 years ago, after 25 years' service,” likes to suggest what he considers to be the causes of the present unrest. We are informed at the outset that he began his career with an intense desire to be friendly with native gentlemen, but owing to the prevalence of “ too strong class interest ” which often animated native Magistrates to deviate from the true principles of justice, he was compelled to “ withhold his sympathy with the educated Bengali.” Then he enumerates a number of instances in which he inflicted sentences of imprisonment and fine on Zemindars and students for acts of high-handed oppression, but regrets that in almost all of these cases the undue interference of the High Court in remitting or reversing the punishment served to destroy that deterrent effect for which punishment was so desirable. The argument the writer leads up to is—

## *DISURBANCES IN BENGAL*

"That Bengal wants more rule and less law. English law, following Roman precedents, with its exaggeration of the rights of property, is causing grave political trouble. When we arrived on the Indian scene, some two centuries back, there were no professional lawyers in Bengal. The Bengalis were renowned for their peaceable quiet nature. They may have had a bad character for cunning and duplicity; but who in those days would have described them as anarchical law-breakers, ready to commit political assassinations wholesale! Yet that is the character those of the rising generation are gaining."

To those who assert that the whole change is due to the education given to them at Government and Missionary Colleges, the writer advances the following reply:—

"It is partly due, no doubt, to the fermenting of the new wine of western knowledge poured into the old oriental bottles. Knowledge has provoked criticism of political relations and has generated in some respects healthy dissatisfaction."

But he thinks a much greater cause has been at work:

"The Indians naturally ask why they should be ruled even in the most minute matters by foreigners. We must be ready to face this attitude, and to furnish a reasonable answer. On the whole question of our position in India we undoubtedly have such an answer. But it is doubtful if we have, when we come to the details of provincial administration. We have had complete control of Bengal for well over a century. It has a highly civilised and highly educated upper class, and yet nearly all the superior machinery of government is still run by Englishmen. An English judge, magistrate, and police officer are stationed in nearly every district, not to mention an English Commissioner in each division and in Calcutta an English Inspector-General for each department. The head financial officers, as well as the judges of the High Court, are also nearly English." The fact that yet unrest exists in Bengal is accounted for by the writer in this manner.

"Men have been trained and educated in English ways of thinking and then no sphere of action is given them, no outlet for their intellectual energies. The educated Bengali has certainly not found a field for his energies and trained intellect in agriculture. It is only in making litigation and conducting it that he has shown his special attitude." The writer goes on:—

"And here I would not entirely blame the Bengalis. We found them with a rational land system, one that, while Government was assured of its revenue, kept the landholder at home, and made it

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strongly his interest to possess agricultural capital, and to use it for the betterment of his estate....There was no room for the multitude of Hindu shares with abstract sharers, fighting in far-off law-courts and cutting one another's throats. Except for the payment of Government revenue, the wealth gained by agriculture was spent locally. A large part of it did not go as now, to fee lawyers, often Englishmen. Under the old system not only was agricultural wealth conserved, but the unity and strength of the management promoted rural life and movement."

After shortly reviewing the position of Zemindars the writer adds :—

"Our contention is that this faulty condition of land management, with its endless quarrels and litigation, and its prevention of agricultural improvements and enterprise, has a malign influence on nearly all young Bengal. It introduces him at an early age to the perilous excitement of litigation, and it used to be said of him that he was as proud of his first lawsuit, as the English boy is of his first cricket match."

The writer justly complains—

"How can the youth of Bengal be expected to grow up with ideas of order and authority, when the whole countryside has nothing of interests to discuss but land quarrels, often accompanied by outrages. No social system can be a success, where a due element of authority is wanting, as it is in Bengal among the upper classes, and where religion, scholastic discipline, and well-regulated land system, are all in dissolution. Other nations have the discipline conferred by service in the Army and Navy to uphold sense of authority. But Bengal has no such advantage. In fact, there is not a single institution making for this necessary ingredient in the national character. Most other parts of India do contribute soldiers to the Army, but it is doubtful if a single soldier is drawn from the natives of Lower Bengal." Then with regard to the Zemindars the writer has the following :—

"The Hindu Zeminder was merely a representative of the Government and of the community. He connected the two, and through him as medium the despotism of Government was tempered, for he was also a member of a joint family, naturally affected by its religious and social ideas. While the English "Raj" keeps control over the Zeminders, the whole organism of government is complete. But if we resolve the Zeminder (or raja, as he is called when his estates are large) into a private person, and give him private property in the lands settled with him, you strike at

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the keystone of his power and influence. He was the representative of the government, and that gave him self-respect and a sphere of moral action. He had duties to perform in return for his privileges. If you relieve him of his duties and allow him to retain his privileges, you gradually undermine his morality. This has now been done to a very great extent, and a general feeling of anarchy has been the result."

The writer offers a few very pertinent remarks about increasing the powers of the police and passing stringent press laws. He is of opinion that such measures are good for temporary purposes but they would not deal with the causes of discontent; "and the chances are," goes on the writer, "that there would soon be a recrudescence of crime. The leaders of native society are bitterly opposed to any increase of power being given to the police. They are the most hated instrument of Government and if we rely still more on them we shall lose the good will of many of our present supporters." The writer holds that greater use should be made of the Zemindars, for they are the conservative force of the country, and "if they are properly approached, they must be on the side of order—they stand to lose too much by any disturbance of our rule. What is to be feared is that the Zemindari interest may be driven into the party of disorder, if there is any attempt to increase the power of the police." The writer further hopes that

"If the Zemindars are re-clothed with authority, the cultivators' interests must also have some representation in local councils; and this could well be provided for by giving powers of election to village headmen. Their nominees would hold those of the landlords in check, and out of the two forces so organized might be created a public opinion, that could be depended on to support the Government, and to drive out of the field the revolutionaries that now preach sedition and ill-will."

The writer briefly refers to the usefulness of forming District Councils out of an electorate consisting of "full" Zemindars, representative sharers and village headmen, who would supply delegates to a Provincial Assembly, thereby enabling Bengal to have a "real liberal constitution." The following are the concluding words of this interesting article:—

"India is essentially Hindu-stan, the land of the Hindu, and everything must be based on this. Therefore, to divide by statute the electorate into two camps, would be impolitic. We English are in India as arbiters and our power must be exercised by statesmanlike administration, so as to promote union and agreement, for

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"to divide and rule" is a counsel of despair. Let franchise depend on property, and not on so-called education, and let any unfair disparity between religions and classes be corrected *where necessary*, by administrative knowledge and good sense. To build up an Indian nation capable of self-rule should be our supreme object."

Coming from a retired Indian Civilian, it shows which way the wind is blowing at present. All educated Indians should feel grateful to the writer for the frank expression of such a bold and liberal opinion at a time like this.

### A UNITED INDIA

The Rev. Edwin Greaves of the Benares London Mission who must be very familiar with the readers of the *Indian World* contributes a very suggestive paper on the above heading to the pages of the March number of the *Indian Review* in course of which he gives a very clear, precise and exhaustive analysis of the present construction of social life in India with its many merits and shortcomings and urges the need of a total reconstruction of the same with a view to help the realization of the inspiring ideal of a *United India*. In view of the enormous difficulties in the realization of this seemingly impossible ideal, people are prone to condemn its preachers as dreamers and visionaries but the reverend missionary wisely refuses to agree to this cant of impossibility while he regards its ultimate fulfilment as one of those "events of human life that are not the chance out-comings of a bald fatuity, but the realization of hopes and aspirations which have first been dreamed, and then by patient endeavour and strenuous persistence incarnated in the domain of actual life." The writer, however, asks his readers "to look the difficulties that stand in the way fairly and squarely in the face" without an adequate appreciation of which, he apprehends, the efforts of the Indian reformer to build up the future of his nation may be totally baffled. He then describes these difficulties as "a heritage from the past for which we are not personally responsible. But though trammelled by the past, we are not absolutely bound by that past, not entirely conditioned by it. The future is not entirely the outcome of the past, it may be greatly modified by what is done in the present."

He then enumerates the obstacles as follow : "India is more a continent than a country, including, as it does, many nations

with "widely differing mental equipments and various stages of civilization." Nor are "all these various peoples intellectually capable of grasping the meaning of the conception of a United India." On the contrary Rev. Greaves suspects that caste prejudices will "stir up feelings of positive antagonism." Referring to national and racial differences our esteemed writer very tersely observes :—

"Race-feeling is often far more racial and deep-seated than that which is merely national. Some nations dwelling far apart have racial affinities, other peoples though dwelling side by side are racially distinct."

On the influence of religion upon a people, Rev. Greaves holds the opinion :—

"Religion, where it is really vital, not only orders men's lives, but moulds their temperaments and characters, and even when it does not provoke, or even foster, any feelings of animosity towards those holding a different creed, it doubtless does stand in the way of that fulness of sympathy which is so important in the attainment of effective unity."

We, however, fully share the anxiety of Rev. Greaves in safeguarding the interests of all communities in India—Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis, Europeans and Eurasians while we entirely endorse the author's belief that "the fostering and festering of the alienations which sometimes exist between Indians and Europeans, not only tends to mutual unhappiness, but stands distinctly in the way of the realization of a united India."

"Would the departure of every European from India, say by the end of the present year, further the realization of a united India?" asks the writer in reply to those turn-heads among our countrymen who would demand an immediate relinquishment of India by her British rulers and our reply is an emphatic and unequivocal 'no' and we quite believe "this question is put forward in no partisan spirit, but as a question for calm and careful consideration." But at the same time we can not ignore human nature. The silly reference to the conquest of India by the British sword and British blood (?) in the imperialist Press of England, the conceit and wrong-headedness of Lord Curzon in flouting Indian public opinion and vilifying publicly the entire Asiatic race and, to crown them all, the most provoking self-arrogance of Sir Bamfylde Fuller, have naturally created a wide gulf between the rulers and the ruled which we equally with the writer most sincerely deplore.

The writer then very justly points to the differences in language and the vastness of the country with various conditions prevailing



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in it as another most serious obstacle in unifying all the different races in India. He observes :

"The first essential for a sound and effective unity is a clear comprehension of the conditions and needs of others who are members of the same great federation. Some way for free and untrammelled communication appears to be absolutely necessary, and it must by some means or other be found, before any great advance towards the realization of a practical unity can be made."

The few suggestions the writer has got to make by way of remedies to overcome these difficulties, however general and academic nature they are of, are valuable in their own way. One is certainly entitled to an expression of opinion on the probable effect of communal representation proposed by Lord Morley in the realization of the ideal of united India in a subject like the one under notice, which has such a close practical bearing on the present situation. The writer, however, is loth to enter into these unpalatable controversies.

The nature of the unity that India ought to strive after is, according to the writer, "not complete uniformity or sameness but harmony." "It might be possible," Mr. Greaves proceeds on, "to overcome some of the divergencies, to "level up" some of those who have lagged so far behind, but there are differences depending on natural conditions which cannot be dealt with in this way ; these cannot be eliminated, they can only be accepted and allowed for in seeking to weld the various nations of India into one great federation." And to realize that end in full reverend missionary considers "it most essential that our countrymen should seek to secure its realization first, by grasping the broad scope of its meaning ; secondly, by fostering in their own minds a genuine sympathy for those who have been left out in the cold so long and, thirdly, by trying to awake in all the desire for this unity, and the willingness to strive for its attainment." Then with reference to the racial and religious differences the writer warns his readers that "patriotism, unless of a broader type and more liberal spirit than is commonly found among men, is liable to become a dividing rather than a unifying impulse," but he does not regard it "impossible for men who differ in nationality, race, and religion, to unite through common interests and to form a federation which may reach such a degree of union as to stimulate that which has patriotism as its base."

Rev. Greaves is, however, of opinion that, "such common interests do not constitute patriotism, and the bond can never

prove of so enduring and effective a nature as genuine patriotism ; it is not perhaps difficult to arouse, but it is very difficult to maintain."

The Reverend Missionary asserts however that "if there is to be a united India it will not come about in the natural order of things, but through some far higher and intelligent unifying force" and this "large, noble and all comprehensive, uplifting and unifying force," our worthy writer very properly regards to be the "desire to seek the good of all"—a desire, which Mr. Greaves hopes, "shall bind the peoples of India together by animating them with a noble as well as a common purpose." But he fully apprises his readers of the obstacles in the way which they have got to overcome and which he sets forth in the following manner : "Probably in no country in the world has the doctrine of world-renunciation and self-renunciation been so sternly formulated and carried out in life as in India, but the service of humanity has never taken the place which is its by right. This is the need now, as it has always been ; here, as it is everywhere, that we should realize our common brotherhood, and thus find an impulse to love one another, and to seek the common good."

Referring to the vastness of the country and the various conditions and circumstances prevailing in it the writer observes : "undoubtedly the difficulty has been minimized by the development of the railway, postal, and telegraph systems ; the widely separated parts are much nearer to one another than they were half-a-century ago. Some features of the difficulties cannot, however, be overcome altogether ; they can only be accepted and allowed for. Centralization and concentration, to a certain extent, there should be, but these should be elastic ; decentralization is well nigh as important, if the unity is to be generously and effectively worked out."

Thus acquitting himself most creditably in essaying on such "a vast subject of no ordinary proportions" Rev. Edwin Greaves concludes his able paper with the following gospel of hope and encouragement and a passionate appeal to strive unflinchingly for the ideal of an united India, indicating a width of mind and breadth of vision of the writer which we have the pleasure to most sincerely appreciate :

"The magnitude of the task, however, and the many and great difficulties should not be allowed to discourage, but should serve to stimulate to vigorous and patient effort. Dreaming will not bring about the desired result, there will have to be hard thinking,

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sustained effort, self-restraint, the cultivation of unselfishness, the broadening of sympathy, and the loftiest magnanimities of which humanity at its very best is capable. Let our nationality be what it may, and our religion what it may, let us strive to think the most generous thoughts of one another, and to cultivate cordial relations with those who are our nearest neighbours."

### INDIAN ADMINISTRATION AND ARTS AND CRAFTS:—A RESPONSE TO LORD MORLEY

The above is the heading of an informing paper contributed by Mr. E. B. Havell, the well-known author of *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, to the April number of the *Hindustan Review*. The paper throughout breathes the writer's genuine sympathy for the suffering craftsmen of India, spirit of sincere devotion to duty, high sense of appreciation of the splendid traditions of the architects of ancient India and keen sense of disappointment at the negligence of the Government in this direction, and coming, as it does, from an expert of Mr. Havell's reputation, with a brilliant record of about 25 years' service under the Government in connection with Indian arts and industries, the views herein expressed by him are certainly entitled to most serious consideration by the Government of this country against which Mr. Havell prefers a most serious charge of indifference in this direction. Mr. Havell undertakes to express these views in response to a declaration made by Lord Morley in the House of Commons that "if any one with experience of Indian affairs would lay his finger on any specific defect in the working of the Government machinery, he would exert all his power to remove it," and we hope he will succeed in drawing the Secretary of State's attention to this subject of vital importance to India. For an art administrator sincerely devoted to the cause of arts and crafts in India, Mr. Havell considers it most important "first of all to realize the essential differences, economic and artistic, between the situation in India and in Europe on which he observes :

"India has even now an immense advantage over Europe in having a still living national art. The wave of commercialism which in the last two centuries has swept over Europe, carrying away all but a few feeble remnants of the splendid traditional craftsmanship of the Middle Ages, has not yet entirely overwhelmed Indian art. Art in India, especially in the North, is much more real and living, less artificial and exotic, than it is in the great

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art centres of Europe. India needs no art schools," museums, picture and sculpture galleries. The descendants of the architects who built the Taj Mahal, of the court painters who executed the exquisite miniatures which are the delight of modern connoisseurs, of the craftsmen who decorated the palaces of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, and of the engineers who constructed their great public works, still carry on the traditions of their forefathers. And throughout the villages of India there are still handicraftsmen, weavers, cotton printers, potters, goldsmiths, brass smiths, wood and stone-carvers etc., whose skill of hand and inherited craft traditions represent a natural source of immense industrial wealth, which in Europe is being revived artificially by an elaborate and costly system of teaching in art schools, by museums, art galleries and schools of handicraft. Mr. Havell then condemns modern industrialism in Europe and rightly regards it to be "a magnificent opportunity for the art administrator to foster and develop this great national art tradition in India or for the statesman with sufficient foresight and grasp of modern industrial problems, to help India to avoid the frightful social evils which modern industrialism has brought into Europe, and to build up an industrial system which might be a pattern for the world."

The writer then deplores Lord Curzon's policy of merely preserving the ancient monuments while building "imitation Rhine castles at Simla" as being utterly inadequate to the needs of the situation and observes :

"It is of infinitely more importance for Indian art to maintain and foster the living architectural traditions of one of the greatest architectural schools the world has ever known than it is to preserve the monuments of antiquity." Referring to the almost criminal indifference shown by the Government to the claims of the Indian master-builders to lucrative appointments under the State service, Mr. Havell indignantly remarks :

"Under our stupid University and Public Works system the Indian master-builder finds all approaches to lucrative employment barred to him, throughout British India and in many of the Native States, unless he abandons all the traditions of Indian craftsmanship and becomes a mechanical copyist of the regulation European, departmental designs." Mr. Havell is no less severe with sundry other departmental defects including the faulty system of architectural training, as he observes : "The make-believe system of architectural training in Anglo-Indian Engineering Colleges, the utter indifference of the Indian Universities to

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æsthetic culture, and the impossibility under present conditions of the official art experts gaining the ear of Government—these are all links in a long chain of administrative inefficiency and incompetence—all combine to hasten the extinction of Indian art."

Mr. Havell then invites the attention of Lord Morley to this urgent task "of removing the incubus which is draining the vitality of Indian craftsmanship, and depriving our Indian fellow-subjects of their magnificent heritage of artistic culture."

Referring to the economic or industrial side of the question Mr. Havell makes out a similar charge of "ineptitude and lack of imagination on the part of the Government as on the artistic side." He bitterly criticises the Government Industrial policy which gives preference to the development of steam-mill industries of textile fabrics and treats as a negligible factor in economic progress the millions of handicraftsmen representing the greatest of India's Industries, *viz.*, textile manufacture." According to Mr. Havell, the output of handlooms in India is "still three or four times that of all the steam-mills put together. The logical consequence of this industrial policy of the Government has been, as Mr. Havell observes, "to convert the skilled handicraftsmen of India into mill-hands; to force upon India a system utterly opposed to the civilization and the genius of the Indian people; to reproduce on a gigantic scale all the social evils which European statesmen have now to combat—the extremes of immense wealth and the most abject poverty, the depopulation of villages, the foul slums of great European cities and their utter moral, spiritual and intellectual depravity."

As an alternative policy that will best suit the conditions of India the writer suggests: "To make India industrially self-supporting by developing her own magnificent resources of industrial skill to the utmost—by bringing European science not to crush out handicrafts but to fortify it, and thus bring back prosperity to the decaying village communities which are the foundation of India's social and economic system." "The policy of exploiting the skill of the Indian hand-weaver only for the purposes of the capitalist," the writer condemns as "unsound and detrimental to the best interests of India." Mr. Havell points to the rapid progress of applied science tending to extend to the small workshop and the individual craftsman the advantages which, since the introduction of steam-power, have been the monopoly of the capitalists," and invites the attention of the Government "in the direction of original research aiming at the perfecting of electrical storage and its application for

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the purpose of domestic industry—towards the utilisation, for instance, of the vast store of electrical energy in the heat of the tropical sun—rather than to hasten the decay of village industry by the barbaric methods of early 19th century industrialism in the interest of the large capitalist." Mr. Havell does not even approve of the official efforts to build up "a system of large handloom factories in place of those worked by steam and electricity," which in his opinion, instead of lifting up the traditional Indian weaving craft into a better economic state, will create a new type of modern commercialism to compete with it." "The Government has yet to realize," continues our writer, "that the best famine Insurance policy is not to dole out "special relief to weavers" for keeping body and soul together when harvests fail, but to assist village handicraft when the harvests are plentiful. A good many crores of rupees must have been distributed in these unproductive doles within the last fifty years, but if half the amount had been spent in improving the village looms and organising village industry in times of plenty the hand weaving industry in India might now be as prosperous as it is in some of what are commonly regarded as the most backward states of Europe. For the fact is indisputable that by a capital expenditure of ten rupees on simple mechanical improvements, used in Europe for a century and a half, the ordinary village weaver in India can double his output."

Mr. Havell holds the Government no less responsible for its sloth and indifference in developing the export markets for Indian handicrafts : "While Austria, Holland, Germany and Italy are developing profitable handicrafts at India's expense, the Indian handicraftsmen are being driven to agriculture or into the factories of the capitalists, both from want of efficient instruction and organisation, and by the direct influence of our wholly unintelligent system of artistic administration."

After that it is gratifying to find an Anglo-Indian official sincerely appreciating the efforts of the much reviled *Swadeshi* leaders of Bengal in improving the economic situation of the country ; Mr. Havell observes : "If bureaucracy were not so blind, Anglo-Indian administrators would feel and understand that beneath the political causes for the present discontent in India, which now absorb official attention, there are deep-seated and more keenly-felt economic causes, existing for long years which political reforms will never touch.....The *Swadeshi* leaders of Bengal, always keenly alive to the political opportunities, opened a National Weaving School five years before the scheme drawn up by myself had run

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the gauntlet of departmental criticism. Will the Government still wait for these matters until the Indian Nationalists have taken the wind out of its sails, and the rising tide of public opinion drags the Ship of State with it."

Mr. Havell concludes his able paper with a passionate appeal to Lord Morley's constructive statesmanship, in which we most gladly associate ourself, to take the initiative in removing these grievous blunders in art administration in India.

## REVIEWS & NOTICES OF BOOKS

### A CLASSICAL WORK ON HINDU MEDICINE

[*An English Translation of the Sushruta Samhita*: Edited and Published by Kaviraj Kunjalal Bhisagratna, Calcutta.]

Since Macaulay made his historic pronouncement against oriental literature and Philosophy, Oriental scholarship has discovered a mine of wisdom in the various departments of intellectual culture of ancient India. The philosophy of the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagabat Gita*, the historic traditions of the *Ramayana* and the *Maha-Bharat*, the account of social life described in the Pali Scriptures and in the Sanskrit *Abhyas* have established the fact that eastern wisdom is not inferior to the best records of Greek and Roman culture.

It is now being generally recognised that the Hindu intellect in ancient India did not concern itself with purely philosophic or academic questions but gave considerable attention to the study of scientific subjects. Dr. P. C. Roy of the Calcutta Presidency College startled the scientific world a few years ago by the publication of his *History of Hindu Chemistry* in which he brought out the fact that an advanced knowledge of chemical properties was not altogether unknown in India before the Greek and the Arab invasion.

Similarly, in the domain of medicine, the works of Charak and Shusruta have revolutionised the modern conception about the ancients' knowledge of the ills which the human flesh is heir to. One of these works has now been translated into English and published for the benefit of the very wide reading public to which that language appeals. Dr. P. C. Roy describes *Shusruta* as the first personage of Hindu Chemistry and Medicine whose identity is 'rather historical than mythical.' Dr. Hoernle, to whose profound scholarship and indefatigable labours the world is indebted for the excellent edition of the Bower manuscript, has deduced from palæographic evidence that it must have been copied within the period of about 400 A. D. to 500 A. D., a conclusion at which Prof. Buhler has independently arrived. The translator of the book under review places *Shusruta* at about the 3rd century B. C. Dr. Roy seems to be of opinion that the *Shusruta* now extant is not the original work but the recension of a recension and proceeds on to remark :

"The period when the *Shusruta* received its final cast must always remain an open question. Vagbhata in his *Astangaridaya* makes copious extracts both



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from the Charaka and the Susruta. The latter must therefore have existed in their present form prior to the 9th century A. D. Madhavakara in his *Nidana* quotes bodily from the *Uttaratantra*, and as the *Nidana* was one of the medical works which were translated for Caliphs of Bagdad it can safely be placed in the 8th century A. D. at the latest. It is thus evident that the present redaction of the Susruta must have existed anterior to that date and that it had become at that age stereotyped as it were."

The style of Susruta is dry, pithy, laconic and matter-of-fact and therefore makes it a difficult work to render into a foreign language. In spite of these difficulties the translator has acquitted himself creditably and deserves well of the public for this laudable venture.

The translator has furnished the work with a very interesting introduction in which he discusses the age and personality of *Susruta*, putting *Susruta* prior to the time of Charak and about three centuries before the birth of Christ and the scope and nature of *Susruta's* Surgery and Physiology. On the Greek influence on the Hindu System of medicine our translator observes :

"We know that simultaneously with the birth of Buddhism, Buddhist Sramanas were sent out to Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt and other distant countries to preach their new religion. They were known to the Greeks and there is good reason to believe that the Greek Simnoi (venerable) were no other than the Buddhist Sramanas. Now a missionary usually teaches the sciences of his country in addition to the preaching of his gospel. The distant mission stations or monasteries of Buddhism were the principal centuries for disseminating Brahmanic culture in distant lands, and Hippocrates, though he did his utmost to liberate medical sciences from the thralldom of speculative Philosophy, yet might have thought it necessary to retain only those truths of the Ayurveda which Pythagoras and the Buddhistic brotherhood might have imparted into his country, and which do not exactly appertain to the domain of pure metaphysics."

The Ayurveda is divided into eight different branches, such as the Salya-Tantram or the Science of Surgery, the Shalakya Tantram or the science of treatment of those diseases which are restricted to the upward fissures of the body, such as the ears, the eyes, the cavity of the mouth, the nostrils etc., the Kaya Chikitsa or the treatment of general diseases which instead of being restricted to any particular organ affects the entire system such as fever, the Bhuta-Vidya or the treatment of demoniacal diseases, the Kaumara-Bhritya or the treatment of infant diseases, the Agada-Tantram or Toxicology, the Rasayana Tantram or the science of rejuvenation and the Vajeeekarana-Tantram or the Science of Aphrodisiacs. Of

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these eight branches the Salya Tantram or the Science of Surgery is treated at its entire length in the Sushruta Samhita.

At present we have only the first volume of the work before us—the *Sutrastanam* which treats only of food and drink and consists of forty six chapters of the book which deals with the origin of the science of medicine and its classification and general explanation. A disease is described to be something which afflicts the Purusha (Self-conscious personality), or those things or incidents which combine to afflict the Purusha are usually interpreted to connote that meaning. Diseases are classified into four different types, namely, Traumatic or of extraneous origin (*Agantaka*), Bodily (*Sharira*), Mental (*Manasa*) and Natural (*Svabhavika*.)

After that we have the author's opinion of the influence of the different seasons of the year on human health and drugs. Diseases which owe their origin to a deranged state of bile, phlegm and wind, are respectively ameliorated in Hemanta, Summer and Autumn by natural causes such as, the variation of earthly or atmospheric temperature, rainfall, etc. These fundamental bodily humours, augmented and accumulated during the Rains, Hamanta and Summer should be checked as soon as they become aggravated in autumn, spring or in the fore part of the rainy season.

Thereupon Shusruta enters into the heart of his subject and describes the various surgical instruments and appliances with their names, uses and construction. About twenty chapters are devoted about the treatment of surgical patients, their nursing and food, cauterisation, bandaging and dressing of ulcers and exploration and extraction of splinters. It may be noted here that sushruta divides surgical operations into eight different forms such as, incising (*chhedya*), excising (*vhedya*), scraping (*lekhya*), puncturing (*vedya*), probing (*eshya*), extracting (*Aharya*), secreting fluids (*visravaya*) and suturing (*seevya*) and that he almost suggests antiseptic treatment in surgical cases. It is also remarkable that within the purview of this work fall such interesting questions as dissection, anatomy, amputation, midwifery, lithotomic operations and ophthalmic surgery. Much stress has been laid on the importance of teaching surgery to pupils with experiments. Though the method of carrying on these experiments can not be said to exactly tally with the modern scientific method, the experiments having generally been made on suitable fruits, sometimes on dead animals but never on dead bodies of men—it is still a wonder that even in those dim days of yore human intellect could soar so high as to get into such minute details of a most abstruse branch of the Medical Science. The remaining

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chapters of the work are devoted to drugs, purgatives and the different kinds of food and drink which were known to the ancients.

*Sushruta* gives a scientific treatment of the Pharmacy of alkalis (Kshara). It is held that in cases that require incising, excising and scraping, alkalis or alkaline preparations are of greater importance than surgical instruments and appliances as they are possessed of the virtues of subduing the three deranged bodily humours (such as wind, bile and phlegm). They are antitoxic, anthelmintic and possess the property of curing mucous accumulations in the intestines. They tend to reduce fat and phlegm and they have the virtue of destroying skin diseases. In large doses, Alkalis have the effect of destroying the virile potency of a man." A scientific process of the preparation of alkalis (kharas) from various species of trees has also been given.

The general arrangement of the work seems to us to be admirable and some of its lessons seem almost a page taken out from a modern work on Therapeutics or Pharmacopea. Of course there is much in the work that is childish and puerile and much of the knowledge conveyed on many subjects is unreliable and empiric. But no one can expect from a book written twenty two hundred years ago the verified etiology of modern science. Yet one can not help admiring how in this ancient work diseases are described, rules laid down for diagnosis, chemical properties of food and drugs analysed and instructions set forth as to what food to eat and what to avoid. *Sushruta* lays special stress upon the caution to be taken in the selection of food which, fully digested with the help of the internal heat and ultimately assimilated in the system, gives rise to lymph chyle (Rasa). The chyle produces blood; from blood is formed flesh; from flesh originates fat which gives rise to bones; from bones originate marrow, which in its turn, germinates semen. So food being the primary origin of the most fundamental principle of the human body, a great care ought necessarily to be taken in the selection of the same. On the subject of drink our author says:

"Milk or meat essence should be prescribed to persons who have become fatigued with the labours of battle or of a long journey or who are oppressed with the heat of the sun or of a blazing fire.....Wine (नद्य) is the proper after-drink for enfeebled subjects and water saturated with honey is the potion for corpulent persons."

A long list of the names of birds including that of a wild cock and of several kinds of deer is recommended as wholesome meat diet.

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Among fish, some species of marine or sea-fish are recommended as extremely strength-giving. Fresh-water fish, we are told, are possessed of greater tissue-building properties than their marine kindred and fish bred in tanks or ponds are described to be palatable to the taste and demulcent in their effect.

Our readers must not forget that the *Susruta Samhita* is primarily and principally a work on Surgery. Consequently a very large portion of the work is devoted to several kinds of ulcer or wounds, how and when they are to be operated, dressed and bandaged (we have as many as fourteen different kinds of bandage mentioned in the work) and how to use a lancet or forceps.

Diseases are arranged into two classes—medical and surgical—and *Sushruta* asserts that no disease either medical or surgical can occur without the direct mediation or intervention of the deranged bodily humours (Vayu, Pittam and Kapham).

It has sometimes been argued that all human beings would be in a danger of perpetually falling ill in the event of the relation between diseases such as fever etc. and the deranged bodily humours being constant and inseparable. *Sushruta* contends, however, that in case of their separate existence, it is but natural that their characteristic symptoms should separately manifest themselves instead of being simultaneously present with fever etc., as they are found to be in reality, and accordingly the theory that diseases such as fever, etc., and the deranged bodily humours have a separate existence, and are not *prima facie* intimately co-related with one another, falls to the ground. On the other hand, the assumption of their separate existence, invalidates the incontestable conclusion, that diseases such as, fever etc. are fathered by the deranged humours of the body.

*Sushruta* gives a description of the ground which is best suited for the culture of medicinal herbs. A ground which possesses soil that does not contain any sand, potash or any other alkaline substance is favourable for the germination of medicinal herbs. Medicinal drugs are classified into thirty seven groups according to their therapeutical properties.

In the book under review the translator has thoughtfully attached four plates taken from the Thakore Shaheb of Gondal's *History of Aryan Medical Science* containing drawings of more than a hundred different kinds of knives, lancets, probes and other surgical instruments used by the Hindus at the time when the work was written.

## ARTICLES

### SOME THOUGHTS ON THE PRESENT SITUATION.

The next remedy proposed and one which would indeed touch the root-cause of the present malady is the grant of representative institutions in the administration of this country. It may be necessary to proceed slowly and cautiously ; but proceed we must towards an end which is as inevitable as a cause and its effect, or as an event and its consequence. Lord Morley has said that as far as his imagination can pierce he can only see an endless night for the Indian people, while others still more positive have in their invincible prejudice definitely laid down as an axiomatic truth that democratic rule is absolutely incompatible with eastern administrations. In their eagerness to maintain and justify the present unnatural arrangement archæological distinctions have been drawn between the East and the West and climatic conditions postulated to establish the unsuitability of democratic ideas to Asiatic soil, as if political institutions were like vegetable products which have their homes according to latitudes and longitudes. But even if they were so, is it absolutely impossible to cultivate them in hot-houses in uncongenial climates? What is East in one way is west in another, and in spite of the epigrammatic doggerel of the rhymster, which was evidently invented to perpetuate wrongs, "the twain" has met, fought and decided the question on many a field. It is the East that heralds the dawn and light always travels from the East. In the morning of this world when the Western hemisphere was enveloped in darkness, was it not the East—was it not India that held the beacon light to the rest of mankind? Is it not a fact that ideas of communal unions and village Panchyets, the prototypes of "village hundreds" and "shire moots," were first developed in India? And is not the feudal system, out of which arose the great barons who first laid the foundation of the British constitution, of Indian origin? Is it to be contended that the Indians of the present day are less advanced or more inefficient than the Anglo-saxons of the middle ages, who struggled against "benevolences," "star chamber justice" and "divine right of kings?" There are certain deep-rooted prejudices against the Asiatics in general and the Indians

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in particular from which the average Europeans generally suffer no less on account of their ignorance and bigotry than on account of their interest and vanity. It is an article of faith with them that Europe or Christendom is the quintessence of this world and that there is not a single direction in which Asia can ever approach her. But modern researches and discoveries have considerably reduced this vanity, and we have it on the most recent authority of the *Historian's History of the World*, that not many centuries ago and almost about the time of the Picts and Scots India enjoyed a form of representative Government which was consecrated neither in royal blood nor in general massacres and bloodsheds. The writer in this history says,—“Our ideas as to the social conditions that prevailed during the Budha's time in the Eastern valley of the Ganges have been modified. The people were divided into clans, many of them governed as republics more or less aristocratic. In a few cases several such had formed confederations and in four such cases such confederations had already become hereditary monarchies.” A compassion with any modern State in Europe was evidently not palatable to the writer and he adds,—“The right historical analogy is not with the State of Germany, but with the State of Greece in the time of Socrates.” Nevertheless he had to confess that “the *Sakyas* were still a republic. They had republics for their neighbours on the East and South, but on the Western boundary was the Kingdom of *Kosala*, the modern Oudh, which they acknowledged as a Suzerain power.” It may be that in the almost endless vista of the past to which our vision may be stretched through the darkness in which Indian history is shrouded, such democratic institutions were few and far between ; but they bear unmistakable testimony to the traditions, instincts and capacities of the people and contain the most convincing refutation of a charge which is as illogical as it is unjust. Even if India had never known any other form of Government than the monarchy, her monarchies were always more limited than most of the European monarchies of the present day. The Czars, the Kaisers and the Don Carlos have no place in Indian history. Popular voice may have been more or less powerful at times, but evidence is not wanting to shew that it was always an important factor in the administration of a State. The king reigned for the welfare of his subjects and where he failed he was either dethroned or forced to abdicate. Even his domestic relations were sometimes controlled by public opinion. Queen Bez was strong enough to rule her subjects with an iron will ; but the unfortunate Indian

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monarch, who was afterwards deified, was forced to renounce a virtuous queen upon the merest suspicion of his subjects. Call the one a fiction and the other history, the fact remains that the idea and sentiment involved in the one case was centuries older than the other. Then the highest philosophy of personal freedom and of religious toleration has been always preached in this country, while the most marvellous revolutions have taken place without those messages and bloodsheds which have marked the progress of civilisation in Christendom. If democracy is based upon the principles of individual rights and responsibilities and is founded upon human conceptions of liberty, fraternity, equality and loyalty, it cannot be the exclusive product of any particular climate, nor the monopoly of any race. It must be the heritage of all nations that are capable of enjoying it. Japan has established her claim to it; China, Persia and Turkey, whether they belong to the sick or the dead nations of the world in the estimate of Europe, are slowly awakening. The West had its night when the East had its day. The East has slept long and is bound to awake with the end of its night. The absurd theories invented in the struggle for supremacy to perpetuate wrongs were as common in ancient times as in our own days and they are bound to be exploded in the future as they have been in the past. Excepting Great Britain and France what country is there in Europe which can boast of its democratic institutions so as to justify the disqualification sought to be imposed upon the Asiatic countries? Even advanced Germany, the Fatherland of the Teutonic races with her law of *Zes Majeste* and all her dirty court scandals in the heart of Europe is yet in her cradle as regards democratic principles and representative institutions. If India has never worshipped in the past at the temple of Democracy, the mysterious Demogorgon is also not to be found in her pantheon. On the contrary if India is to be properly governed she can only be governed on a representative basis. In a free country the interests of the crown and of the people are almost identical and where there is but one people they are bound to be represented in the administration whether there is any system of representation or not. But it is a totally different matter with a subject people, particularly as in India, where there are not only diversities of races; but there is an alien government which however enlightened can not altogether divest itself of its foreign instincts and idiosyncracies and its natural impulses and prejudices, and above all, is bound to maintain its coliding interests at almost every step. An

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autocratic rule in such a country is always liable to be misunderstood and misinterpreted and therefore bound to become unpopular. If representative institutions are needed to reflect popular ideas and sentiments in the Government of a country, it ought fairly to be conceded that the form of Government best suited to the condition of India should be democratic and not autocratic in its character.

Another plea advanced for withholding representative institutions from India is the question of *Majority* and *Minority*. The question of majority and minority may no doubt have an important bearing as regards public offices and preferments; but it is difficult to conceive how they can affect the expansion of Legislative Councils or the enfranchisement of the District Boards and the Municipal Corporations. If such a doctrine has furnished no obstacle to the growth of representative ideas and institutions in the United Kingdom as between Englishmen, Scotchmen, Irishmen and Welshmen, it is not easy to perceive what application it has in the case of the Hindus, the Mussulmans, and the Parsis in India who all live under the strong hand of a paramount power firmly controlling their mutual relations and scrupulously guarding their legitimate interests. Besides, is there any evidence on record which warrant any suspicion against the majority and necessitate such solicitude for any minority in this country? Has not the Hindu often voted for the Mahomedan and the Mahomedan for the Hindu in the elections for the existing councils irrespective of all considerations of caste or creed? And has not the Parsi in other matters been often freely chosen by, and in preference to, both? Even in the heat of racial controversies have not Mahomedan and Hindu Magistrates fully maintained the dignity of law unsullied by racial consideration and drawn the unstinted admiration of both the communities? To the eternal glory of the Indian judiciary one would vainly look for a single instance where Judges and Magistrates have in these days failed in the impartial administration of justice as between different races or communities. Wherever they have erred they have erred neither on the side of majority or of minority, but always on the side of the paramount authority. The Hindus and the Mahomedans live side by side under a common administration and are governed by the same laws. They have a common interest to preserve, a common right to secure and common liabilities and responsibilities to discharge. Their mutual relation and interdependence have practically fused them into one community in the villages in all but their religious



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ceremonies. People are not therefore wanting who honestly suspect that this theory of majority and minority has been invented only to defer reforms and perpetuate wrongs.

Much is being said about the Reform Proposals formulated by Lord Morley. It is no doubt true statesmanship that has at a critical situation devised means to conciliate the people and has boldly declared that the recent disturbances will not stand in the way of these reforms. Besides, as these proposals were started sometime before these disturbances arose, there can not be any apprehension of their being regarded by any sane man as either forced or compulsory. But repeated disappointments have made the people somewhat sceptical, while the most unsympathetic pronouncements from time to time voluntarily advanced by responsible men in authority have not a little contributed to the suspicion with which these proposals are regarded in certain quarters. It is not necessary to attach any exaggerated importance to these proposals; but if they are honestly carried out it would be absurd to regard them as mere lollipops. True it is that the proposals do not go far enough and that they hardly bear any comparison with what the Philipinos or the Boers have got within an incomparably shorter period; but it ought to be fairly admitted that they contain the first recognition of a principle, rudimentary as it may be, which is the basis of a representative constitution. The germs are there, whether they will be allowed to grow or not is a totally different matter upon which it would be idle to speculate at present. However gloomy may be the prophetic vision of Lord Morley as to the future of India his Lordship must know that it is the unexpected that often happens and that the gravest developments in this world of accidents are not sometimes without the strangest of humours about them. While his Lordship is undoubtedly so pronounced in his pessimistic scepticism, it may be that in spite of himself he is paving the way for the future historian to pronounce him as the Simon de Montford of an Indian Parliament. The appointment of two Indian members to his own council, followed by the admission of a third Indian into the inner sanctuary—the holy of holies—of the Indian administration, though not permanently secured by any statutory provision, and enlargement of the councils on representative basis, are decisive steps towards an end to which a liberal Secretary of State and a conservative Viceroy are being conjointly driven by the force of irresistible circumstance. Speaking in 1906 Lord Minto said, "that there was a great wave sweeping over Asia bearing on

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its crest new ideals and aspirations and it was the duty of Government to place itself at the head of this movement." Mr. Buchanan in course of the recent debate on the Reform Bill also repeated the same idea. "It was essential," he said, "that in this question of reform the Government should lead and not be driven," though ultimately he was frank enough to admit that it was not the Government but India that was moving fast. The reforms proposed are therefore neither too premature nor too violent.

The reforms are however threatened with a collapse. The primary idea of building a politically united nation in India which has been the goal of the Indian National Congress as being the only salvation of India and which after a struggle of nearly a quarter of a century was about to be partially realized stands in danger of being blasted away not by the author of the scheme, not by the British Parliament, but what is more to be regretted, by the shortsighted suicidal policy of a section of the Indians themselves. People who have seldom, if ever, taken any part in the politics of the country, who have never made any sacrifices in the struggle and who, if they have ever moved, have moved only to become a drag in the wheels of progress, have suddenly emerged from their seclusion and asked for not only class representation but the lion's share of the proposed reforms. They ask for adequate safeguard of their "special interest." But what that special interest is they either do not know, or are unable to explain. If Mahomedans can with perfect confidence entrust the defence of their life, liberty and property to Hindu Lawyers and if they more often than not prefer to be judged by Hindu Judges and Magistrates, is there any reason why their co-religionists are absolutely necessary for the purpose of framing laws which must be equally applicable to all sections and communities in the country? Let the best and the strongest men go to the Legislature irrespective of racial considerations. It is deeply to be regretted that men of Messrs. Agakhan and Ameer Ali's position and attainment should have proposed such a false, suicidal step. Hitherto Hindus have ungrudgingly elected Mahomedan representatives and Mahomedans have returned Hindu representatives to the Council and can either of these gentlemen point to a single instance where they have abused or forfeited each others, trust? Do these Mahomedan leaders foresee the snares and pitfalls that underlie their proposals? The idea of establishing an Islamic and a Non-Islamic India is as grotesque as it is ruinous to the progress of the country. If the bare numerical strength of any community

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is such an important factor, the pecuniary and educational qualifications of other communities cannot be altogether negligible quantities in deciding the question. On the contrary if these latter tests are to be taken into account the decision would be wholly reversed. Besides, if the Hindus as a whole are in the majority, if their interest in the country is much larger, if they pay heavier taxes and their education is superior, is it not but natural and logical that they should also be in the majority in the Legislature? The protection of a minority does not extend to the destruction or subordination of the majority. The principle enunciated by Mr. Ameerali is fundamentally wrong and clearly opposed to all recognized rules of representative institutions. Then the claims advanced by him are also inconsistent. If the minority of his community in India is entitled to preferential treatment, what about the Hindus in Eastern Bengal and the Punjab where they are exactly in the same predicament? What is sauce for the goose ought also to be sauce for the gander. It is a most deplorable mistake not to have a grasp of the real issue involved in the case. That issue is not one of Hindus *versus* Mossalmans, but of a paramount Autocracy *Versus* the Indians. It is a question between the Government and the people. United we stand, divided we fall. Then as regards the claim based upon approved loyalty the less one protests about it the better. No people can be more loyal to the British rule than the Britishers themselves and if the British Government is itself disposed to grant representative institutions to the people of India, the majority of whom are admittedly not the followers of Islam, it may not feel very much pressed to take a fresh census of its different "important assets" in the country. Besides, this absurd plea contains an insinuation which is as unworthy of any responsible person as it is extremely unjust and unwarranted. It is to be deeply regretted that those who have placed themselves at the head of this sectional movement should not perceive that they are unconsciously playing in the hand of persons who, if they are unable to set back the hand of progress, are nevertheless anxious to retard its course as far as practicable, and that nothing would give them greater pleasure than to find the whole scheme shelved for another generation. Failing in their opposition to the proposed reforms these candid friends of the Mahomedan community have undoubtedly got the satisfaction that a pretext has at last been secured practically to wipe off the bugbear of non-official majority in the councils and thereby nullify a scheme which after 150 years of British rule proposes to give

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some voice to 300 millions of His Majesty's voiceless subjects in the administration of their own affairs. Much may be said to expose the utter absurdity of these narrow, unpatriotic proposals ; but the matter is far too delicate to handle in a controversial spirit. It may simply be added, that if these suicidal proposals succeed they will not only imperil the success of the Reform Scheme, but also unnecessarily aggravate the present situation even to a much wider extent and in much larger volume than the Partition of Bengal, and those who will be responsible for the grievous wrong done to the country will have only a Tower of Babel for their monument. Let us not however despair. Lord Morley and Lord Minto are not likely to wreck their own scheme, and although the Indians have long been accustomed to pursue the *mirage*, the *oasis* that has at last appeared in the horizon may not prove altogether a deception. Lord Morley may be unable to give us the moon ; but there is a ring of earnestness and sincerity about his pronouncements which ought to encourage us in the hope that after all he is not going to disappoint us with mere moon-shine.

The third and last remedy proposed is the reorganisation of the services. The entire administration of the country in all its branches is in the hand of one train of officials belonging to one and the same service, inspired by the same sentiment and dominated by the same prejudices. The Indian civil service has no doubt a brilliant record of its own ; but it has done its work and is no longer adapted to the environments of the present situation. Armed with immeasurable authority, working always with a sense of enormous security and irresponsibility and overborne by a natural pride of superiority, the entire service from the oldest veteran to the rawest assistant forms as it were a convalidated brotherhood with all its powers, privileges, immunities and mysteries as a joint-stock in trade in which every member has an abiding interest and which every member feels bound to protect as his future heritage. They all live under the protecting ægis of a *Pater Familia* and the Pater Familia also knows that they are the objects of his parental care and affection. They are thus spoilt and the "heaven born service" has practically degenerated into a mutual admiration society. Under the Indian Civil Service Act of 1861 they enjoy a complete monopoly of all the higher offices of the state and like all monopolies the service has become saturated with caprice, vanity, contempt and abuse. Speaking of this monopoly with the authority of no less than 30 years' Indian experience and with the hereditary interest of three generations in the Indian administration

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Sir Henry Cotton remarks that "the time has come for the repeal of this monopoly" and then proceeds to add that the Civil Service "is however a form of administration adapted only to autocratic rule and must die out from its inherent inapplicability to an environment where changes are rapid. After a prolonged period of magnificent work the time has come to replace it by a more popular system which will perpetuate its efficiency while avoiding its defects." Such is the verdict of an Indian administrator and one of the brightest ornaments of the Indian Civil Service.

It is not the Indian Civil Service alone that stands in need of reform. The subordinate judicial and executive services also require a complete overhauling. The nomination system which has completely done away with the competitive examinations has not only lowered the efficiency of the criminal and executive branch of this service, but has thoroughly demoralized the system of administration. The civil branch of this service no doubt possesses some safeguard, being directly in the hand of the High Court ; but even this branch suffers from the inherent defect in the system of recruitment. Young, inexperienced bachelors of law are generally pressed into this service and these are mostly trained as indifferent judges at the expense of the parties. There are no doubt brilliant exceptions to this rule, but they are few and far between. As a consequence the bar often proves stronger than the bench and the dignity of the latter, which is so essential for the prompt and successful administration of justice, often stands compromised. It may not be possible to attract successful legal practitioners to the lowest grades of these services ; but trained and experienced lawyers may be available for a certain proportion of appointments in the higher grades both on the civil as well as on the criminal side. The separation of the judicial from the executive function in the criminal administration of the country has been the crying demand of the people for the last twenty-five years ; but although the imperative necessity of this important reform is practically admitted on all hands its consummation is still as problematical as ever. A proposal has no doubt been made for the trial of an experiment in some selected districts in Bengal ; but the nervousness of the provincial authorities has again led to its indefinite postponement if not to its final consignment in the dusty upper shelves of the Indian secretariat. It is difficult to conceive on what principle this proposal for selecting a few advanced districts for such an experiment is based. It is quite intelligible why the jury trial should have proceeded

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upon such a selection, for its success largely depends upon the advanced condition of a society ; but is not the consideration reversed in the case of ordinary administration of justice ? The darker the place, the stronger is the light required for it. If the separation of the two functions ever comes to be effected it is to be hoped it will not take the form of model agricultural farms for the cultivation of a patch here and a patch there for the protection of advanced communities who are already better able to protect themselves than their backward neighbours.

The above is a short survey of the present situation and of the remedies which suggest themselves for an improvement of that situation. India is passing through a natural transition and the highest statesmanship lies in the Government firmly placing itself at the head of this movement and carefully controlling and guiding it in its proper channel. Caution and slowness may be great virtues, but absolute immobility is opposed to nature's progress.

**Ambica Charan Mozumdar**

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"Records the fact that the "grondees and Commanders, Gollam Hossain, in describing the early years of the reign of Siraj-ud-Doulla, "who had already conceived a dislike to the new prince on account of his levity and profligacy as well as his harsh language and the hardness of his heart " finding themselves subject to "the arrogance of his newly created favourites" were seething with discontent ; everyone of them cherished in his breast the thought of getting rid of so arrogant a ruler. None now remained attached to the musnud of Murshidabad excepting a few youngmen as profligate and as giddy as the Nawab himself. The principal men in the city and army, everyone of them, were shocked to see such a man as Siraj-ud-Doulla on the throne of Bengal and were intent on finding out the means of overturning his power, whether by art, by force, or by treason. Suraj "neglected and daily insulted those ancient commanders that had served so faithfully and bravely Aliverdikhan, and they were shocked at the dishonourable expressions made use of in speaking to them." The bravest and ablest of his chiefs were mortally dissatisfied by "his harsh language and choleric disposition." As for Suraj being totally destitute of all sense and judgment, a respectable authority has recorded the fact that "he knew no dis-

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inction betwixt good and bad, nor betwixt vice and virtue.”\* “The haughty Mussalman nobles seem incensed by his insulting demeanour, and the Hindus had still stranger grounds for estrangement.”†

The financial department had been since the days of his grandfather under the management of the Bengalees whom Aliverdi had treated with respect and consideration. Even high military appointments were entrusted to the Hindus. “Their connection became such an opulent influence in the government of which it pervaded every department with efficacy, that nothing of moment could move without their participation and knowledge, nor did they ever deceive their benefactor, but co-operated to strengthen his administration and relieve his wants.” ‡ This powerful factor of the government Suraj-ud-doula well succeeded in displeasing by his wickedness and worthlessness. These defenders of districts viewed with disgust the glaring contrast afforded by the great talent and courteous bearing of their late ruler to the feebleness and profligacy of his successor. “Ungifted with stability of mind and administrative talents of his predecessor, Suraj’s reign had not been one to please the people.”§ Discontent was so widespread that scarcely a voice appears to have been raised to warn him of the growing disaffection and the impending danger. When the very existence of his dominion was thus at stake, he became suspicious of all around and became more than ever whimsical and peevish.

At this juncture the Nawab, instead of proceeding with prudence and calmness, had imprisoned Manick Chand and on releasing him fined him one million of rupees, which he was compelled to pay. The Dewan Ray Dullabh, although the first civil officer in the state, found his conduct subject to the control of the favourite Mohan Lal, which sank deep into his heart. “He would not hear of submitting to Mohan Lal’s superiority.”§ Mir Jaffar, the first man in the state, was degraded by the sudden elevation of Mir Madan, a citizen of Dacca, to the command of the army.|| The connection between the Nawab and Mir Jaffar became so strained that the latter declared that he apprehended “assasination everytime he went into the Durbar.” And he ultimately ceased to

\* *Seir Mutaghharin*, vol. I, pp. 718—720.

† Martin’s *Indian Empire*, Vol. I, p. 275.

‡ Orme, II p. 53.

§ *Torrens’ Empire in Asia*, p. 34.

§ *Jamsit Twarikh*.

|| Vide *Seir* I. pp. 759-62 c. f. also *Reis-at-Salatin* p. 364. *Jamsit Twarikh* and Orme II. p. 147.

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attend the Court.\* But thanks to the efforts of the widow of Aliverdi, a temporary truce was made between them. He often treated Jagat Sett, the principal citizen of Murshidabad with slight and derision and threatened him with circumcision.

Under circumstances such as above, an unholy compact was soon formed between the principal Hindu, Mahometan and English malcontents to make short shrift with Suraj. They were determined not only to put an end to his rule but also to his life.

Had the conspirators boldly deposed by force of arms the worthless and despotic Nawab instead of taking recourse to such treasonable contrivances, history would have recorded a different tale of the British conquest of Bengal. Unfortunately such a bold and straight-forward policy was not adopted. It was generally known in Bengal that only one person, and that person a woman, disdainfully rejected to enter into such a treacherous and cowardly conspiracy.

Yar Latty Khan, an officer of 2000 horses who had been in the pay of the Setts, was the first to apply to the English for the deposition of Suraj-doula on the 23rd of April. No heed was given to it when on the next day a similar proposal was made by Mir Jaffar with the intimation that "Dewan Ray Dullabh, the Setts and several officers of the first rank in the army had engaged to join if the English would assist in dethroning the Nawab." If the scheme were accepted he requested Clive to break up his camp immediately "and soothe the Nawab with every appearance of peace until hostilities should commence."† The proposal of this scheme was no sooner made than it was greedily accepted by the English. They were determined to support Mir Jaffar and to depose the Nawab, and fortunately found Clive ready at hand willing to undertake the work on their behalf. Clive accordingly, on the 2nd of May, informed Mr. Watts at Cassimbazar of the Company's resolution to supplant the Nawab by Mir Jaffer. He also authorized Mr. Watts to make terms with Mir Jaffer in such a manner as his knowledge and experience of the affairs on the spot might suggest to him.

The English were to keep up an appearance of peace and amity with the Nawab and to amuse him with discussions simply of commercial affairs, while they would remove their men and property to a place of security and mature their plans. Accordingly Clive on the 2nd of May addressed a "soothing letter to the Nabob through Mr. Watts, requesting him to withdraw his troops from

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\* Orme 12, p. 149, and *Seir. Muet.* 1. p. 758.

† Orme 12, p. 149.



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Plassy as a token of peace. He at the same time desired Mr. Watts to assure Mir Jaffer to fear nothing and that he would march night and day to his assistance and would stand by him, while he had a man left, and that he had no doubt of being able to drive the Nabob out of the country.\* "The policy of double-dealing was kept up to the end. The English continued to press the Nawab to remove all fears about peace, by withdrawing his troops and fulfilling his agreement, when they had resolved and had engaged to Mir Jaffer, that no act of the Nawab should prevent their making war."†

On the 29th of April, Mir Jaffar, in accordance with the orders of the Nawab, had to start for Plassy, leaving a confidential agent at Murshidabad to settle and arrange the terms of the conspiracy with Mr. Watts. By such means everything was going to be smoothly settled, when an untoward circumstance brought the plot to the brink of discovery. Watts finding it no longer possible "to elude the sagacity" of Omichand had at last disclosed to him the story of the confederacy with Mir Jaffar. So fully did Clive also share this confidence that he instructed Mr. Watts to consult Omichand on any modifications that might be required in the treaty.‡ The thrifty, sagacious and crafty Omichand did not take a long time in finding that Watts, after having kept confidence so long, had at last disclosed it through fear and necessity. "From this hour implacable hatred arose between them, although they co-operated in the conduct of the confederacy. Omichand found at the same time that no advantage was intended for himself more than restitution in common with the other gentoo merchants of Calcutta, but that he should run the same risk of his person as Mr. Watts, which to both were great indeed, and more of his fortune, as being much greater than Mr. Watt's, he therefore claimed a commission of five in the hundred on all the Nabob's treasures in money, and fourth part of his jewels."§ On Mr. Watt's objecting to this as unreasonable, Omichand threatened that if for the immense loss of property he sustained during the capture of Calcutta, Rs. 3,000,000 were not awarded to him as compensation, he would reveal the conspiracy to the Nawab. Whether Omichand really intended to jeopardise his person and property "by betraying a transaction in which he had from the

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\* Malcolm's *Clive*, vol. 1. p. 240.

† Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 302.

‡ Malcolm's *Clive*, vol 1, p. 240.

§ Orme, II, p. 151.

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first borne a leading part, may well be doubted.\* But Watts was astounded and dismayed at this unforeseen danger, which seemed to involve the general ruin of the conspirators and he lost no time in informing Clive about it, that he might find out some speedy measure to avert the impending danger.

The treachery of Omichand surprised the Calcutta authorities, especially Col. Clive, who had all along advocated his cause and defended his character. They determined to punish Omichand and the punishment proposed was to deprive him of all share in the spoils of their victory. "They were in his power, however, and therefore he was not to be irritated. It was necessary he should be deceived. Clive whom deception, when it suited his purpose, never cost a pang proposed that two treaties with Mir Jaffer should be drawn up."† One which would be made use of to deceive Omichand should be drawn up in red paper containing all the stipulations demanded by Omichand. The other in white paper, omitting all mention of his name, was to be really binding between the contracting parties.‡ As the true and the false treaties came to be signed by the contracting parties, Admiral Watson, to his honour be it spoken, refused to sign the false treaty declaring that "he would have nothing to do with it, he was a stranger to deception, they might do as they pleased."§ Clive, however, boldly cut the Gordian knot by causing one Mr. Lushington to forge the Admiral's name, without the least hesitation and compunction. He never made a secret of it, and afterwards audaciously declared in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1772 that under similar circumstances "he would do it again a hundred times." This piece of trick completely lulled the suspicion of the treacherous Omichand. He now exerted his energy to the furtherance of the conspiracy. His art and tricks prevailed on the weak Nawab so far as to restore to him the sum of Rs. 400,000, which had been taken from his house during the capture of Calcutta and to order the Raja of Burdwan to repay to Omichand Rs. 450,000 which he borrowed from him.¶

The English authorities at Calcutta at this time received a letter purporting to be written by the Mahratta Peshwa Balaji, offering the Mahratta alliance to them against the Nawab. Clive, deeming it a trick of the Nawab, determined to defeat its purpose by communicating

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\* Martin's *Indian Empire*, Vol. I., p. 27.

† Mill II, p. 136.

‡ Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, 1772. p. 220.

§ *First Report*, p. 15.

¶ Malcom's *Clive*, Vol. I., p. 245. Orme II. p. 136.

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it to him. Accordingly, Scrafton was deputed to the Nawab's court, apparently to show off to the Nawab the sincerity of the Company, his ostensible mission being to visit Mir Jaffar at Plassey, to procure his signature to the real and fictitious treaties.\* Scrafton in his interview with the Nawab succeeded in producing a favourable impression about the sincerity of the English, and induced the weak, inexperienced Nawab to call back Mir Jaffar with his troops from Plassey. The Nawab's suspicion, however, prevented Scrafton from giving out the object of his mission. Though Scrafton had an interview with Mir Jaffar on the 30th of May, the day on which he arrived at Murshidabad, he could not secure his signature to the treaties owing to the vigilance of the Nawab. Satisfied only with Mir Jaffar's approval through his agent, Scrafton set off for Calcutta on the 30th of May, accompanied by Omichand, who had been skilfully persuaded by Mr. Watts to leave Murshidabad for Calcutta on the ground that his safety and interest would be better secured thereby.

At Calcutta on the 8th of May, Omichand's reception by Clive and the Select Committee was apparently cordial and he was treated by them 'as a friend and confederate.† From the vague surmises respecting the conspiracy which were then afloat, Suraj-Doula received Mir Jaffar on his return from Plassey with marked distrust and displeasure and dismissed him from his office and command on the 4th of June. Mutual jealousy and aversion were now openly avowed. Mir Jaffar henceforth ceased to attend the court. He gathered together his retainers in his palace on the other side of the river and put it in a state of defence. The Nawab was so enraged as "to order canon to be planted against Mir Jaffer's house" and to surround him with ships and secretly guard all the communications with Jafferjung.‡ Raja Dullubh Ram had been sent on the same commission along with Mir Jaffar, by the Nawab at Plassey, to choose a suitable ground for throwing up intrenchments. In spite of the surveillance under which Mir Jaffar was placed there, Mr. Watts succeeded in sending the treaties to him for signature, through his trustworthy agent. Mir Jaffar duly signed them on the 4th of June. It became now indispensable for Mr. Watts to have an interview with Mir Jaffar to see him take oath before him to observe the treaties,

\* *First Report*, 220.

† Orme, Vol. II, p. 157.

‡ Orme, II, pp. 159-60, *Seir I*, pp. 758-9. *Jamset Twarikh*.

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which had been signed not in his presence. Such intercourse, however, owing to the vigilance of the Nabob's men, became very difficult. "However, Mr. Watts, relying on the fidelity of his own domestics, and on the manners of the country, went in the afternoon from his own place in a covered palanquin, such as carry women of distinction, and passed without intervention into Jaffer's palace, who, with his son, Meerun, received him in one of the apartments of the seraglio, into which the bearers carried the palanquin." After a brief conference, Mir Jaffar gave his full assent to the terms of the real treaty, "placing the Koran on his own hand, and his hand on the head of his son, whilst Mr. Watts held the paper open before him, he swore with great solemnity, that he would faithfully perform all he had promised."\*

The terms of the treaty were :—

1. The articles agreed to by Suraj-dowla to remain in force.
2. The enemies of the English to be the enemies of the Nawab, whether they be Indians or Europeans.

3. The French factories and effects in Bengal, Behar and Orrissa to be transferred to the English and the French never to be allowed to settle in these three provinces.

4 to 7. Compensation to be granted to the Company and for losses at Calcutta ... .. Rs. 10,000,000.

To the English inhabitants of Calcutta ... Rs. 5,000,000.

To the Native " ... Rs. 2,000,000.

To the Armenian " ... Rs. 700,000.

8. The tract of land within the Maharatta Ditch and which surrounds the borders of Calcutta and 600 yards without the ditch be ceded.

9. All the land lying to the south of Calcutta as far as Calpee to be granted as a Zemindari to the Company, subject to the usual payment of Revenue to the Nabob.

10. Whenever the Nabob will demand the English assistance he will be at the charge of the maintenance of them.

11. The Nabob will not erect any new fortifications below the Hooghly near the river Ganges.

12. As soon as Mir Jaffar is established in the government of the three provinces, the aforesaid sums shall be faithfully paid by him.

The Hon. Company on their part laid down this additional article :—

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\* Orme II, p. 160-1, c. f. also *Memoirs of the Revolution in Bengal*.

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13. On condition that Mir Jaffar Khan Bahadoor shall solemnly ratify, confirm by oath, and execute all the above articles, which the Company's representatives do, declaring on the Holy Gospels and before God, that we will assist Mir Jaffar Khan Bahadoor, with all our force, to obtain the *Soubaship* of the Provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, and further, that we will assist him to the utmost against all his enemies whatever, as soon as he calls upon us for that end provided that he, on his coming to be Nabab, shall fulfil the aforesaid Articles.\*

Along with this agreement, Mir Jaffar agreed to pay Rs. 2,500,000 to the army, Rs. 2,500,000 to the navy, Rs. 280,000 to Mr. Drake, the Governor, Rs. 280,000 to Col. Clive, and Rs. 240,000 each to Messrs. Watts, Beecher, Major Kilpatrick and other inferior members of the Committee.†

There are English historians who have vindicated these various items drawn by the conspirators not as parquisites but as presents. Sir Edward Colebrooke, Bart, however, justly stigmatises them as "moneys bargained for the sale of a province under a transaction stained with falsehood and treachery throughout." "The whole of this private agreement," remarks Mountstuart Elphinstone, "was highly reprehensible. It set an example which afterwards led to still more disgraceful exactions."

The Nawab, having received some vague intelligence of the conspiracy, brought canons against the palace of Mir Jaffar and messages of threat and defiance passed between them from the 8th to the 11th of June. On the 11th, Jaffar sent a message to Mr. Watts to make his escape without delay. Nevertheless, Mr. Watts determined to wait still longer till he were advised by Clive to leave Moorshidabad. In the meantime he dexterously removed all his property and soldiers from Cossimbazar. The next day, however, he received a note from Clive, warning him against the chance of a disclosure and the danger of his loitering there any further. Mir Jaffar also sent him a similar communication. So, on the evening of the 12th, he went out with three other Englishmen forming his suite, on pretence of hunting, and arrived at Clive's Camp at Kalna near Hoogly, afternoon of the following day.

The news of the departure of Mr. Watts reached the Nawab on the morning of the 13th of June. It overwhelmed him with astonishment and terror, because it convinced him now, which he so long had been induced to disbelieve, that the English

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\* Aitchison's *Treaties* 1824, vol. I, p. 15-6.

† Vide Evidence before the Committee.

## THE TREACHERY AT PLASSY

and Jaffar had been conspiring for his ruin. On that very day (the 13th), he sent a letter to Admiral Watson, charging the English with breaking the treaty with him. It ran thus:—  
“According to my promises, and agreement made between us, I have duly rendered everything to Mr. Watts, except a very small remainder, and had almost settled Manick Chand's affair. Notwithstanding all this, Mr. Watts and the rest of the Council of the factory at Cossimbazar, under pretence of going to take the air in their gardens, fled away in the night. This is an evident mark of deceit, and of an intention to break the treaty. I am convinced it could not have happened without your knowledge, nor without your advice. I all along expected some thing of the kind, and for that reason I would not recall my forces from Plassey, expecting some treachery. I praise God that the breach of treaty has not been on my part: God and his Prophet have been witnesses to the contract made between us, and whoever first deviates from it will bring upon themselves the punishment due to their actions.”\*

On the same day, Clive set forth in a letter to the Nawab all the Company's grievances and marched from Chandernagore with 650 European infantry, 150 artillerymen, 50 Seamen and 2100 Sepoys, making a total of some 3000 soldiers and 80 field pieces.

The new governor of Hooghly, who had succeeded Nuncoomar on his removal from that office, threatened to oppose the passage of the army; “but the twenty gun-ship coming up and anchoring before his fort and a menacing letter from Col. Clive deterred him from that resolution.”† The flight of Mr. Watts and the general movement of the English induced the Nawab to change his hostile attitude against Mir Jaffar and to open negotiations with him. Mir Jaffar, however, through suspicion or scorn, refused to visit the Nawab.”‡ Had the Nawab been a vigorous man of action, he would then and there have inflicted condign punishment on the conspirators by seizing their persons and removing them from this world. But weak and vacillating as he was, he beautifully allowed himself to be entrapped into the net laid out for his destruction.§ He was so terrified at that time that he humbled himself by personally going to Mir Jaffar's palace on the 15th of June with a retinue not sufficient enough even to give him umbrage. “The Koran was in-

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\* Ives p. 145.

† Orme II p.p. 163-4 Malcolm's *Clive*, vol I p. 264.

‡ Orme II p. 167.

§ *Scir*, p. 758.

roduced, the accustomed pledge of their falsehood."\* Touching it, Mir Jaffar swore fidelity which was sufficient to convince the ignorant Nawab that the reconciliation was complete. Justly remarks Ives on this transaction :—" If the Subah erred before in abandoning the French, he doubly erred now in admitting a suspicious friend."† Thus duped, the unfortunate Nawab sent 15000 Cavalry, 35000 Infantry and upwards of 40 guns under Mir Jaffar to Plassey. Mir Jaffar and Raj Dullabh amply repaid the confidence of their master by winning over the officers of the army on their side by offers of money. So they gathered large numbers around them and only a few were left to Suraj. ‡

On the 17th, Clive received a note from Mir Jaffar in which " he acknowledged his seeming reconciliation with the Nawab, and his oath not to assist the English against him, but said nevertheless, that the purport of his covenant with them must be carried into execution." § On the 19th, the English took the Fort of Culna. Its governor, in accordance with previous arrangement that he would "surrender after a pretended resistance," abandoned the Fort with 14 pieces of canon and large quantity of grains and ammunition to be occupied by the English. On the following day, Clive received a message from Mir Jaffar that he would march on the 19th of June from Murshidabad "and that his tent would be either on the left or the right of the army, whence he promised to send more frequent explicit intelligence" which hitherto he was precluded from doing on account of the vigilance of the Nawab's guards. " It had thus become impossible for him to join the English before the day of the battle, but that it would be easy for him in the action to desert the Nabab and decide the fortune of the day."¶ At the same time a letter arrived from Omichand informing that Mir Jaffar's reconciliation with the Nawab was cordial and complete. § Clive was perplexed by these accounts and by his own position which seemed to be extremely hazardous.

The question of crossing the river under such dangerous circumstances and risking a battle with the Nawab's army now confounded and staggered Clive beyond description. In these difficulties he wrote for advice to the Committee and also summoned a council

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\* Scrafton's *Reflections*, p. 85.

† Voyage p. 146, Parker p. 64.

‡ *Tarikhi Musaffari*.

§ Orme, 11. p. 169.

¶ Orme, 11. p. 169. Also Mill 11. p. 132.

§ First Report, 149.

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on the 21st of June to decide "whether they should cross the river and attack Suraj-ud-doula with their own force alone, or wait for further intelligence."\* Clive, however, contrary to the usual practice, first declared his opinion in favour of waiting for further intelligence and was supported by 8 other officers, but some young officers, headed by Coote, were for immediate action.† "In this interval," remarks Scrafton, one of the officers in the camp, "the majority of our officers were against crossing the river and everyone bore the face of disappointment; but on the 22nd of June, the Col. received a letter from Mir Jaffar, which determined him to hazard a battle, and he passed the river at 5 in the evening."‡

The letter in question arrived at 4 in the afternoon of the 22nd and its purport was "that the Nabab had halted at Mancura, a village 6 miles to the south of Cassimbazar and intended to intrench and wait the event at that place, where Jaffer proposed that the English should attack him by surprise, marching round by the inland part of the island." Colonel Clive immediately sent back the messenger with the answer "that he should march to Plassey without delay, and would the next morning advance 6 miles further to the village of Daudpore, but if Mir Jaffer did not join him there, he would make peace with the Nabab."§ Accordingly, the troops were pushed on to cross the river before sunset, and a little after midnight they arrived at Plassey. There they occupied an extensive mango grove surrounded by a bank of earth from which place they heard the music of the enemy's camp, situated in their imposing grandeur within a mile of their position. Under such circumstances of shameless treason was the battle of Plassy fought and the foundation-stone of the British Empire in India was laid. A Mr. J. M. Ludlow observes in his *History of British India*: "The establishment of the English power in India is an ugly one. It begins in feebleness and cowardice, it is pervaded by rapacity, it closes with a course of fraud and falsehood, of forgery and treason, as stupendous as even lay at the foundation of a great Empire."

G. L. D.

\* First Report, p. 149.

† First Report p.p. 149-153, c. f. also Malcolm's *Clive*, Vol. I p. 258.

‡ Scrafton's *Reflections*, p. 90. c. f. also Parker's evidence p. 65.

§ Orme, II, p. 171, c. f. also Ives, p. 150.



## **PLANT LEE, MANURE AND A FEW CORRELATED FACTS**

In an agricultural country like India, it is depressing to find our people so utterly ignorant of the full importance of maintaining the fertility of the soil by manuring. True, that the peasants use some form of manure, which is generally the rotten sweepings of his homestead mixed with refuse from the cow-shed, but the extent to which this is done is exceedingly limited as compared with the total area he cultivates. The benefit to be obtained by a rotation of crops is known to him and his knowledge is confined to that only.

In order that a plant may grow and foster, it must be able to draw its nourishment from the soil and atmosphere. The mineral and inorganic matter, specially the phosphates, the nitrates and potash, which a plant draws for its nourishment, is lost to the soil, so that, if an area is cultivated year after year and nothing returned to the soil in the shape of manure, the crop will gradually become poorer every season and after a period become exhausted. It is only a question of time when the exhaustion is completed. In Bengal, the soil being specially rich, the cultivator does not readily know the deterioration of the quality and the quantity of the crops. Whenever a record has been kept, it has been proved to demonstration that the exhaustion does really occur. Thus in France, Beet was grown which takes in particular, a considerable portion of potash out of the soil. So that after a few years the Beet lands were found incapable of yielding a good crop. When however the importance of manure was known and the scientists ascribed the failure to exhaustion of potassium salts, it was thought that, if after the extraction of sugar, the megass (plant residue) was returned, the potassium salts would be restored to the soil and fertility preserved. So it was found to be in reality, and the profitable Beet sugar industry became possible.

An extensive series of analyses and study into the life process of plants have shown what may be formulated into the following doctrines, (Liebig).

1. The nourishment of all green plants consists of inorganic and mineral substances.
2. Plants require carbonic acid, ammonia, nitric acid, phosphoric acid, sulphuric acid, water, lime, magnesia, silicic acid, potash, soda, and iron, for their growth.
3. Between all the components of the soil, water and air,

which participate in the life of the plant, if there be one link missing in the chain of phenomena bringing about the conversion of inorganic matter into supporters of organic activity, the plant will not thrive.

4. The manure, the excrement of man and animals, does not support plant life by its organic elements, but by its decomposition into inorganic substances by the action of the soil. Therefore organic manure, (remnants of plants and animals) can be replaced by inorganic compounds, to which the organic manure is decomposed in the soil. This last is the one to which we need pay our special attention.

Out of the several constituents of the plant, the following are the most important :—

The Phosphates, representing Phosphoric acid.

The Nitrates, representing Nitric acid.

and The Potassium salts, representing potassium.

Their presence in the soil in varying *quantities* accounts for the more or less fertility of the soil. Their presence in varying *proportions* also accounts for the fact why a particular plant will thrive better upon a soil than another, the climatic conditions remaining the same. Thus nitrate is the dominant nutritive required by wheat, oats, rye, grass, potato etc., and on the nitrate also depend the richness of the juice of sugar cane. Potash is primarily necessary for potato, beet etc., while phosphate is the staple food of all plants generally, and is more particularly absorbed by rice, maize, turnips, etc. It must be borne in mind that all the above three substances must be present in sufficient quantity for the proper growth and nutrition of every plant. As all plants and animals build up the phosphates, nitrates and potash in their structure, we may look to the plant and animal refuse, rationality, for a supply of these, which only become useful and fit for absorption after decomposition, as has already been pointed out. Or we may supply to the soil the phosphates etc., in an inorganic and soluble form, these latter constituting the artificial manure. As the cultivators understand it, the manure is the organic manure, the remnant of plants and animals. Any attempt to introduce a manure which is not visibly organic, is to him an innovation, which he looks upon with suspicion. It is natural, it should be so, with uneducated people, but the strange part of it is that, while the cultivators of other countries have quickly taken advantage of the new knowledge, our men are entirely primitive in their ways and is as unconscious as ever, to this matter, which affects them vitally. This

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fact comes before us with an additional force when we remember that the so called artificial manure is no new substance, but is the natural manure in a more concentrated and soluble form. While in India we do not know how to utilize the manures in which our country is abundant, in other countries, America, Germany, England, Japan, men are moving heaven and earth to obtain a cheap supply of it.

We shall first deal with the phosphate, this being the most important. Guano, which is the deposit of excreta of a kind of birds, supplied the world with phosphates for manure for a long time, but the supply is getting rapidly exhausted and may last but a dozen years more. Another agricultural phosphate is the Mineral phosphatic deposit, which is widely scattered over the earth's surface. These are quarried out and converted into soluble state by treatment with sulphuric acid. These minerals do not make excellent manure but are still largely used. Here may be opportunely mentioned a few words about the history of the agricultural phosphates. When practical example in the field showed that the phosphates are assimilated by the plants, imparting them growth and vigour, England first set the example of converting the mineral phosphates to manure, thus establishing the now very well known "superphosphates" industry. Starting from Great Britain the Superphosphates industry rapidly spread all over the civilized countries. Such was the rapid expansion of the trade that the known deposits of mineral phosphates could not supply the increasing demand. All the parts of the world were searched for phosphates, to supply the raw material for the existing manure works. The statistics of the world's production of Phosphate shows, with what energy this search was carried out, the world's production of phosphate being in

1900	...	...	...	2,800, 000, tons.
1905	...	...	...	3,800, 000, tons.,

this amount of phosphate requiring 3,000,000 tons of sulphuric acid for conversion into field manure. This zealous search for phosphates exhibited itself in another mode in Germany. The Bessemer process of converting phosphatic iron ore to steel was long known. But when Thomas and Gilchrist took out the patent for converting the phosphorous in iron into phosphoric acid, and, by mixing with lime, into Calcium phosphate, then only the production of steel from phosphatic pig iron became possible, the calcium phosphate going to form the manure.

While so much has been done in other lands, we are still content to let our soil get exhausted without any substantial effort to manure

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it. The search for phosphates as we have told, in its world-wide zeal, reached India and found excellent raw material in the shape of Bones (which are particularly rich in the phosphates) lying strewn in the fields, without any one taking care for them or considering them of any value whatsoever. As a result we find several Bone Mills sprung up all over India, in Madras, Bombay and the Bengal Presidencies, almost wholly worked by foreign capital ; whose sole business is to ship out of India hundred percent of their product. We talk big about the drain of Indias wealth,—here is one which is allowed to pass off without any check, without any attempt on our part to retain the wealth in India. These bone mills emitting noxious smell are regarded as a source of pure nuisance to the neighbouring land, and let lie despised and ignored, without any one stopping to think, why are these mills here, what is the utility of the noxious stuff manufactured therein. The only people concerned in the trade being the foreign capitalists, an up-country durwan, and the Methars who do the collection of the bone and conduct the manufacture.

In the shape of powdered and raw bone alone India loses about 100,000 tons every year. This material for conversion into manure would require 86,000 tons of Sulphuric acid of chamber strength, which brings the value of the finished manure, to 11,160,000 Rs. or in round numbers 11½ lakhs of Rupees. If this manure be employed in india it will modestly be presumed it will bring three times its own value again in the increase of crops which makes it 446 lakhs of Rupees. But this only represents a fraction of the total prospected increase of the wealth of the land. To produce the 86, 000 tons of sulphuric acid we must have a large acid factory, which will multiply the investment on it many times by bringing back to India the industries which are now lost to the country. Indeed the phosphatic manure industry is the stronghold of all acid factories. There is a cry in the official quarter here for a cheap supply of sulphuric acid ; the imported acid on account of its freight being exceedingly dear. While admitting that the sulphuric acid either imported or manufactured is dear, it must not be lost sight of that the manufactured acid can not be cheaper within the existing limits of consumption. In reality the few factories owned by private parties in India, find it difficult to dispose of their acid, although the manufactured product is at least 25 per cent. cheaper than the imported article. If a demand for the manure were created the sulphuric acid will necessarily become cheaper for the increase in consumption. For the greater

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part of all manures must be the converted phosphates, requiring about 86 parts of sulphuric acid. With a cheap supply of the mother acid, a series of big and potential industries is sure to spring into existence. It is impossible even to sketch a glimpse of the industries we have lost, on account of the dearness of acid. We import Rs. 3,19,407 worth of alum (the chief use of which is for the dying industry), every year. Alum is obtained by treating the mineral Bauxite with sulphuric acid. Good Bauxite very nearly free from iron, is available in India, and it is only for want of cheap acid that we have to import Alum. If sulphuric acid were produced in large quantities it will require no inconsiderable amount of pottery for the stone ware storage jars, which are now all imported. With the increased demand we might have a large and prosperous Pottery works. The existing works now refuse to undertake the business as the demand is not sufficient for the outlay they shall have to make.

Thus the phosphates of the manure is an item which will serve to lower the price of sulphuric acid which in turn will make a host of other industries possible. Manure is the missing link in a chain of other industries. Its value as the reducer of the price of sulphuric acid is specially realised when it is considered that bones are transported from India abroad, and it will be consequently cheaper to manufacture manure than to import it, even if the conversion of bones to phosphatic manure be brought about by high priced sulphuric acid. Because if we are to import manure we shall have to pay for (at a maritime port and centre of bone collection):—

- a. Indian value of bones.
- b. Cost of transport abroad.
- c. Cost of treating with sulphuric acid.
- d. Cost of importing back of manure (bone and acid.)

If we manufacture it at the same place, we shall have to pay for :—

- a. Indian price of bone.
- c. Cost of treating with Indian sulphuric acid.

In the second case the two transport costs are eliminated, and even with the price of manufactured sulphuric acid, the phosphates of the manure will be cheaper if manufactured, than if imported. As much can not be said about other industries such as the Alum, where the foreign acid producing countries, do not depend upon the Indian supply of raw material, so that goods will cost less if imported than if manufactured with the high priced Indian acid. We have already pointed out that there is only one fact which

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can bring about the cheapness of sulphuric acid, it is by increasing its consumption, and manure is the one thing now which can, economically considered, increase the consumption.

Even apart from the sulphuric acid and the co-related industries, if consumption of bones were increased at home, there will be competition introduced in the several bone mills in India, so that these will be forced to utilise the bone-fat in making glue, which side is at present entirely ignored on account of the heavy return the bone meal alone brings, and we have to import large quantities of foreign glue, whose use as a size, in joinery, in making rollers for the printing presses, can not be overstated.

We have so long spoken only about the phosphates, the staple plant food, and the chief constituent of the manure. The remaining two are, the nitrates and potash.

Nitrate is the dominant constituent of the proteids. Plants yielding fat and oil, either in the body or in the fruits, require nitrogen more than others. The world's cheap deposit of nitrate is the Chili saltpetre, which is chemically, Sodium nitrate. This substance is still largely used, mixed with the phosphates, as a manure, making its nitrogen constituent.

Chili saltpetre though primarily sought and obtained for the acids, was found to be containing Iodine. Latterly it came to be treated chiefly for the Iodine, making the salt after the extraction of Iodine, only a by-product, long before its value as a manure was appreciated. On account of the heavy draw upon it, this substance too like the Guano, is coming near exhaustion, and it is computed that the supply may last another 40 or 50 years.

Another source of nitre is the ammonium sulphate, obtained mainly from the gas liquors and in its impure state contains a little tarry matter and is black. In all countries where gas is produced under economic conditions, this forms a very profitable by-product. In Germany and in the United Kingdom the vast application of nitrates to the soil has made the demand considerably in excess of production; therefore the Chili salt has to be imported in large quantities. The approaching exhaustion of the Chili salt has contributed to raise its price and as the manurial nitrogen substances are valued on the percentage of their Nitrogen content, the price of ammonium sulphate has quickly risen within the last few years and is continually on the rise. This and other circumstances caused very considerable anxiety about the future possible cheap supply of the nitrogen manure, specially as there is scarcely any likelihood of finding another deposit like the one at Chili.

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because the Geological and climatic conditions which combined to form the Chili deposit are hardly met with elsewhere. On this circumstance it is very easy to understand why one of our greatest authorities, Sir William Crooks, has sounded a warning note even as late as 1897, as to the danger threatening the whole human race, through want of nitrogenous matter, that indispensable agent in the fertilisation of the soil. Eminent scientists were at work in Germany and elsewhere for the production of any cheap soluble compound of nitrogen that is capable of yielding its nitrogen to the soil. The first attention was drawn to the devising of any method for fixing the nitrogen of the atmosphere, which indeed contains a very large store of it. Considerable success, it must be confessed, has up to now been attained, and a company is afloat for fixing the nitrogen of the atmosphere, and producing cheap Barium and Calcium Cyanide. This substance when heated with water under pressure, gives calcium cyanamide, a substance which can be employed as a manure. But this latter part of the work has not been commercially worked out, yet it is only a question of time when we shall have our supply of nitrogen from the atmosphere. Again this activity for a new source of nitrate leads Dr. Frank, assisted by Dr. Cargo and Dr. Mond, to investigate into the extensive deposit of Peat occurring in the enormous bog areas of Germany. A method has been perfected for distilling Peat, the hitherto insurmountable difficulty of transport and supply of power being overcome; and a successful trial was conducted at the "Deutsch Mond gas gesellschaft" working 40 tons of peat furnishing for every 2 tons of peat, 76 pounds of ammonium sulphate, and 2400 c. cms of power gas.

In India we shall have to depend for our supply of nitrogenous manure on the ammonium sulphate, either from the local gas works or from the imported article which are equal in price. The Chili salt will not pay favourably in comparison with its price, based on the nitrogen value. It will not be out of place here to mention that extensive and careful experiments made by the "Sulphate of Ammonia Committee" at the international Exhibition at Dublin last year, proved to demonstration that the yield of potato on an acre of soil, manured with other substances (phosphates etc.) and Ammonium Sulphate, yielded on the average 13.95 tons of potato, whereas in the same neighbourhood another piece of ground otherwise manured, but the Ammonium Sulphate omitted, yielded 9.45 tons of potato, thus ascribing the increase of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  tons per acre solely to the ammonium sulphate. An acre of ground requires about 2 cwt.

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of ammonium sulphate and costs about Rs. 23 as against  $4\frac{1}{2}$  tons of potato which it brings in return.

Next we come to the potassium salts in the manure. In India will be cheap for us to get the Potassium Sulphate from the Sulphuric acid factories. This being the land of Potassium Nitrate, that salt is used here for the manufacture of sulphuric acid as also the Nitric acid. There being hardly any local consumption for the potassium sulphate, the acid factories join hand with the Bone Mills in shipping off the Potassium sulphate at a cheap price, except what little they may dispose of as a manure.

It will thus be seen that while other countries are devoting their best consideration and zealous enterprise in developing new sources for the production of raw materials for the manure, in improving upon the old ones, and trying to meet such an every day necessity, as far as possible, within the lands, we in India with an abundance of raw materials are at a loss to find an use for them, although our need is keener than that of other countries dependent, as we are, almost solely on the proceeds of our agriculture, there being very few industries to keep our people alive.

Difficulty is felt at every attempt to introduce things unknown to the cultivator, in a matter in which they think they have all the necessary knowledge and one in which, in their light, no further improvement can be made. The cultivator will scarcely believe you, in your praise of the manure, thinking it very naturally an attempt to fill your pockets by playing on their ignorance. Difficult though the task be, it is not an impossibility, and by tender care and judicious demonstration, an introduction can be effected. There is another fact which can not be ignored ; however little faith a cultivator might place on the preachings of the outsider or the manufacturer, the words of the proprietor of his land are inviolable to him. It is for the Zemindars in the Lower and the Malgujars in the Upper India, to effect an introduction of manure on a scientific basis, and thereby do a lasting good to the country.

As we have already pointed out, introduction of manure in any general scale, will help to work out the industrial salvation of India to a great extent. The bulk of the chemical trade will perhaps be one of our own, and we shall have to depend less upon foreign supply of every little thing we require.

A few words need be told about the manures in use amongst the cultivators. In the neighbourhood of towns the Oil cakes that are produced in the manufacture of edible and other oils are more



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than what is required to feed the cattle and a quantity finds its way into the country and is in some instances employed as a manure. A maund of Oil cake costs about Rs. 2, whereas a maund of artificial manure will cost about Rs. 3 and in its nutritive value will be much superior to the cakes, as any analyst will say.

There is yet another substance, most plentiful and always available in all villages, it is the Cowdung. A good deal of it is consumed as a fuel, while only a part goes to manure the soil. We must be thankful to Dr. Noel of the Commercial Intelligence Department, who has carried out elaborate researches on cowdung. The conclusion he arrives at is that, in comparison with Coal, Kerosine, or Fire Wood, cow-dung is undoubtedly the cheapest fuel, its heat-efficiency, under conditions of the cooking methods of the villagers, is greater than that of the other heating materials in relation to its price. So the cultivators have a great inducement to use the cow-dung as a fuel, instead of buying the more costly fire wood etc., but if the cow-dung be employed as a manure and the more costly fire wood substituted as a fuel, there is an immediate loss, but cow-dung as a manure will bring many times its own value in the increased crops.

Satis Chandra Das Gupta

### “UMA’S WEDDING”

[BEING A METRICAL RENDERING OF THE FIRST SEVEN CANTOS OF  
KALIDASA’S *Kumara*]

Canto II

(Continued after p. 204)

This speech made *Bāsav* glad, and he look’d pleased  
To sage *Bṛihaspat* : all his eyes aglow  
With thousand glances, bright with joyous dance  
Like lotus-buds with gentle breeze astir.  
Then he the min’ster, lord of speech and wise,  
With couple of eyes, outshining far in light  
The hundred of the king’s, thus gave reply  
To *Brahma*’s words, with folded pair of hands :—  
“ ’Tis true, O Lord ! what sayest thou : for, foes  
From rule have ousted all of us, alas !  
Thou know’st each soul,—so thou must know it all.—  
Thy gracious boon hath made dread *Tārak* bold

—That *Asur* great—, and lo ! like comet, he  
 Hath raised and shown himself, to vex the world !  
 The Sun confines his rays to light *his* town,  
 And hath but little left to shed, with *us*,—  
 Just barely opening lotus-buds in lakes !  
 The moon her beams exhausts in phases all  
 To serve *that* chief ; alas ! we miss her shine  
 Save high as *Hara's* forehead's crescent-line !  
 The Wind can only move, where gardens are  
 By *Tārak* own'd : nor freely can it blow,  
 Lest, from the blossoms, perfume it might steal !  
 Outside, one hardly gets enough for fans.  
 The Seasons all have ceased appearing now  
 By turns, for, *theirs* the task of culling flowers  
 To please *him*, as would common gard'ners do !  
 For 'Lord of Seas,' it is an anxious time,  
 To watch and look for gems the deep would yield,  
 That he may find fit presents for that *King* !  
*Vāsuki* great, with Nagas pay him court,  
 Their jewelled heads emitting steady gleams  
 At night, like lamps for ever burning bright.  
 Even *Indra* from that Victor favours seeks,  
 And sends messengers oft to him, with gifts  
 Of '*Kalpa*' flowers that serve as ornaments.

Although thus worshipped full by all the gods,  
*Tārak* rules with iron rule the land—  
 —The kingdoms three : a bad man's ne'er subdued  
 By good turns done, till evil's met with ill.  
 The trees of '*Nandan*' park that erst were touched  
 By *Amara* maidens, who for ear-drops, plucked  
 Their tender leaflets with a gentle hand,  
 Now know far ruder hands,—for, *Tārak* lops  
 And fells them, caring naught !

—He makes the wives  
 Of captive gods, as handmaids stand and fan  
 Him gently to his sleep,—with breath-like breeze,  
 —That wafts, alas ! their silent tears anon !  
 Lo ! he hath levelled *Meru's* lofty peaks  
 (Impinged by hoofs of *Helios*' chariot-steeds),  
 And made them serve as pleasure-hillocks fair,  
 In all his numerous palace-grounds about.  
 The *Mandā's* waters now are bare of plants ;—

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Their golden lotuses own *other* homes  
Alas ! in *Tūrah's* lakes : the elephants' rut  
For naught now leaves a muddy flood behind !  
The way of *vimānas* ( now no longer free),  
The *devas* can't at random roam, and find  
The bliss of looking wider worlds apart,—  
Lest *Tūrah*, swift and sudden, swoops on them !  
He spreads his wiles (the fiend !), and 'fore our eyes,  
He robs the altar-fire of sacrifice  
By priests offered !—

—That pride of *Indra's* might,  
—That emblem visible of a life-time's fame—  
The '*uchchaisravāṇ*' steed, that prince of steeds—  
This usurper proud has seized for'suse !

To check his power's rise, our forces fail,  
As fails all physic strong and tried when  
Runs rough a fever first, with symptoms wild !  
Our hope in victory lay in *Vishnu's* 'disc' :  
E'en *that*, when flung, emitted sparks of flame  
From counter-strokes,—and losing force, anon  
On *Tūrah's* breast as golden locket lay!  
His elephants, that have vanquished '*airāvāt*,'  
Now lift their tusks to beat in sport the clouds  
On high, the '*pushkār*' and '*avartak*' kind !—

We need thus, Lord ! a mightier warrior-chief  
To quell his pride: as badly needs a *soul*,  
To save herself from ills of mundane life,  
*Pure piety*, that all *karma's* tangle solves.—  
We want a saviour, who, to glory will  
Lead *Dēva* armies safe ;—with whom in front,  
Can *Indra* try, and rescue back at last  
The goddess '*victory*' like a captive maid. "

When this speech ended, lo ! the Lord replied  
In words that fell in fruitful features fair,  
Rivalling rain which follows thunder's roar :—  
" Your wish will fruition gain; but, 'bide your time  
Awhile yet!—There won't be need at all  
For *me*, of self, a chieftain to create.  
That '*dāitya*' victor now, in power has waxed,  
And won't so quick decline : if grows a tree  
And bears its baleful fruits, one hardly can  
In haste e'en lay it low !—

## UMA'S WEDDING

Of yore, did he  
For this his boon pray hard : and I was forced  
To grant it, since, his austere rites alarmed  
The world,—and grew, like flames, to burn it down !

“ Ah ! *who'd* that warlike chief in battle meet  
And stand his prowess, save a son divine  
To *Siva* born, that god of 'blue-and-red' ?  
But *he* now dwells afar,—beyond the night,  
In's bright eternal self : his might is now  
By *me* or *Vishnu*, quite beyond compass !

Strive ye to win that Mind from ascetic calm  
Back to the world, by *Umd's* youthful charms,—  
Impelling him as magnet, iron draws !  
As '*Nature*' she, in primal watery form,  
Of *me*, Creation's germ inbibed ; so *she*  
Alone, of *Sambhu's* seed will fitly bear.

With *Siva's* son as warrior-chief, in time,  
In war ye'll gain a large access in strength;  
And, winning, will untie your captives' braids.”

On thus advising gods, then vanished thence  
The Lord Creator ; and the *Dévas*, too,  
Left Heav'nward, agreeing what to do.

There, Indra thought, in eager haste, of him—  
The *Love-god*,—to fulfil the mission new.  
And '*Kāma*' came : his flowery bow of grace,  
(Fine-arched as pencilled brows of th' lovely fair !)  
Flung round his neck, which traces graceful bore  
Of *Rati's* fond embrace with bracel'ted arms.  
*Love's* boon companion *Spring* came armed with him,  
With shafts of mango-blossoms young ;—and, lo !  
Love stood with folded hands before his Lord.

S. C. SARKAR

End of Canto II

# The Progress of the Indian Empire

## PROVINCE BY PROVINCE

### BENGAL

By the passing away of Mr. N. N. Ghosh Bengalis have suffered a heavy loss. The *Indian Nation* may not have been a considerable force in the formation of Indian public opinion but its clever editor was thought of very much as a careful thinker and forceful writer. Be it ever so little a thing, Mr. N. N. Ghosh never uttered a single word or wrote a single line without knowing his mind or without considering the other side of the question. As a journalist he had got into the singular habit of clothing his ideas in chaste and classical English and giving expression to his thoughts in an academic and philosophic way. He always brought to bear upon his writing a certain amount of vehemence and bitterness which, however, is not a favourite attribute of classical writers. As a controversialist he very often took the unpopular side and inveighed seriously against popular leaders and their opinions. But nevertheless he was a frank and candid critic who never shrank from expressing what came uppermost in his mind. As a politician he belonged to no party and sympathised with no particular school of opinion. As an author none of his works are likely to survive the ephemeral reputation of the day, though the style of all his books is elegant and classical. *Krishna Das Pal: A Study* is good as literature but has not much intrinsic value as a record of the life of the first editor of the *Hindu Patriot*. His *Life of Rajah Nabo Kissen* is a chronicle of a chapter of British Indian history in which much light is not thrown on the other side of the shield. It is not therefore as either an author or as a politician or as a journalist that Mr. N. N. Ghosh will be remembered for many a long day. It is in the cause of education that Mr. N. N. Ghosh's services have been most appreciated and will be long remembered. Nearly two generations of students have sat at his feet to take lessons from him in English literature and English political philosophy and in the long role of professors who contributed to the illumination of the Bengali mind Mr. N. N. Ghosh's name will long be recorded as one of the most distinguished. If in addition to the many brilliant parts with which Mr. Ghosh was endowed he had been gifted with a little bit of immagi-

## *THE PROGRESS OF INDIA (BENGAL)*

nation and sentiment he might have given a new direction to the political life of the present generation of Bengalis.

The invitation sent out to Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee by the Committee of the Imperial Press Conference of London is a notable event in the history of Indo-English journalism. If there is one single man who can represent Indian public opinion as it is reflected in the Press and Platform in this country it is certainly Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee. As a public man his personality bulks more largely before the world than that of either Sir Pheroje Shah Mehta or the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale. Sir Pheroje Shah and the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale are at best sound politicians who have made a careful study of many of the intricate problems of Indian political life and can be relied upon for their common sense and practical wisdom. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee may not be so wise or clever as the Parsi Knight or the Marhatta leader but he is much above them both in as much as he is the maker of New India. To his impassioned oratory and untiring activity we owe the awakening in India and the first throb of a patriotic national life in this country. For over thirty years he has used all his energy and ability in developing the spirit of a common nationality in this country and in bringing the public opinion of educated India into a focus. In this noble work his pen has not lagged behind his tongue, for he is not less well-known as a veteran in journalism than as a hero of hundred platforms. His achievements in the journalistic world may not be very brilliant, for he never lent himself to sensationalism ; but the steady and a faithful record of a service of thirty years has entitled him to be considered as a fitting and worthy representative of the Indian Press.

Yet one more triumph for the Bengalee. Closely following on the heels of Mr. Sinha's appointment as a Law Member of the Viceroy's Council comes the happy announcement that Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt C.I.E. has been offered and accepted the Dewanship of the State of Baroda. The Prime Minister of Baroda holds an office of great responsibility in India and for the first time in the history of that office a Bengalee gentleman has been called upon to fill it. Mr. Ramesh Chandra Dutt is a man of varied accomplishments and splendid gifts. He has distinguished himself as an administrator, scholar, a politician and an author and it can confidently be predicted that in his new role of a Prime Minister of a Native State he will also distinguish himself as a great statesman.

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Though Mr. R. C. Dutt is not the first Indian economist to occupy the position of the Dewan of Baroda—Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji having occupied that office for sometime—his economic administration of the State of Baroda has far outshone Mr. Naoroji's. If now as he is Prime Minister he can add contentment to the prosperity he has already given to the State he will soon come to be regarded as the statesman good enough to give points to many a British-Indian administrator in the art of Government.

At the Town Hall entertainment given to Mr. S. P. Sinha on his elevation to the Law Membership to the Viceroy's Council a large number of Hindu and Mahomedan and European gentleman sat down together in the dinner in which Peliti overburdened the tables with rich delicacies and richer liquors. The fact of so many well-known personages among both the sections of the Indian community, some of them belonging even to the orthodox class, sitting down to a common dinner, partaking of common delicacies and breaking bread with European guests, may not be a new thing in Bengal altogether. But its repetition clearly indicates that the laws of caste and the injunctions of the *Koran* are being broken with vengeance in the present day. The breaking of caste is good and may lead to social solidarity but the drinking of wine openly and publicly is a sort of innovation which can not be tolerated without breaking some of the best traditions of oriental life. We should be very sorry to see indulgences of all sorts being allowed in society in the name of reform.

We do not know if our friends of Behar will like the idea of our discussing their affairs under the heading of Bengal. So long as the Partition of Bengal is not reconsidered and the territorial boundaries of Bengal are not re-adjusted, Behar shall have the misfortune of submitting to the jurisdiction of Bengal. Be that as it may, a considerable section of the people of Behar have already detached themselves from the influence of Bengal and organised a public life independent of that of the neighbouring provinces. As a result of this detachment Behar has constituted itself into a separate unit in the political propaganda of the Congress. In pursuance to this spirit of separation Behar has held a separate provincial conference during the last two years. The most notable event in the last Conference held at Baghalpur was the compromise arrived at between the Hindus and Mahomedans on the subject of special communal representation. The compromise closely follows on the lines of the proposals made

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by the Government of India and accepted by the Secretary of State. As a compromise and as a lesser of two evils we are prepared to prefer it to the special communal representation from top to bottom, and if our Mahomedan fellow brethren were wise they should also gladly accept it ; but unfortunately Dacca has sounded a different note from the one raised by Mr. Ali Imam and his followers at Baghalpur. It is not for us to say who is the greater prophet—Ali Imam or Nawab Salim. We hope before these two prophets can come to a general understanding on the question of special Mahomedan representation Lord Morley's scheme will be in full force all throughout the country. In the meantime Simla correspondent of the *Statesman* states that if the special representation in East Bengal would not prove adequate to the situation the Government of India would be prepared to deal with the situation so as to satisfy the Mahomedan demands.

Convention of Religions Bengal has taken the initiative in organising a convention of Religions the first meeting of which was held in the Calcutta Town Hall during the Easter recess.

It was the first of its kind in India though the idea may have been borrowed from Rome or Chicago. Whether any practical good will be evolved out of this Convention or the advocates or followers of the various religions represented in the convention will begin to think less bitterly against each other is more than one can tell in this stage ; but there can be no doubt that a great good can be done by diffusing correct ideas about every religion which holds its sway in this vast continent. Knowledge kills all prejudices and if in this case also the prejudices that one sect bears against another will be removed even partially by the diffusion of a correct knowledge of the religions of India Mr. Saroda Charan Mitter who has organised this movement will have deserved the endless gratitude of his people.

## THE PUNJAB

From the wave of joyous fun and frolic incidental to the Hindu festival of the Holi, the province has suddenly glided into the maelstorm of party politics. But it was not of our own seeking that we found ourselves drawn into this vortex. What else could we do when Lord Morley made so sudden and short-sighted surrender to what he himself had termed " the quackery or cant of sentiment ? " We do not know how else to characterise the fantastic and aggressive



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Mahomedan demands for separate and preferential representation based on their fancied political and historical importance and their past good services to the Empire. The Hindu community in the Punjab felt that it would have been open not only to the charge of supineness but would have found wanting at a most critical occasion if it were any longer to continue in its attitude of *laissez faire*. It found that it had been carrying out its policy of self-effacement for the benefit of others too far and that it had been drifting to the verge of political *nirvana*. It shook up its lethargy, awoke from its masterly inactivity and made a signal and striking demonstration in a public meeting of unparalleled enthusiasm in the history of Lahore since the deportations of 1907. It followed up its activity further and a deputation from the Hindu Sabha waited on His Excellency the Viceroy on the occasion of his visit here with an address unfurling a long tale of deep-seated grievances. But before dealing with these important and absorbing topics, I shall just turn for a moment to indicate the notable strides we have made in social matters as witnessed in our celebration of the Holi festival.

The Holi or the spring-tide festival corresponds with what is known as the May day festival in England. But unfortunately the name of Holi had for some time been notoriously associated with much that is vulgar in taste and manners so much so that Holi came to be regarded as a bye-word for abuse and unrestrained vulgarity. In fact the Holi became nothing less than a carnival of riotous and unbecoming excesses and revelries. The seamy side of the festival loudly called for reform and more than a dozen years ago Babu Abinash Chandra Mazumdar and a few other Brahmo workers set themselves energetically to purge the festival of its impurities and unholy associations and organised the *Pavitra Holi* movement. The efforts of these Brahmo reformers were ably seconded by the Temperance workers in the province, who had been for some years holding their anniversaries and the Caine Temperance Fair inaugurated in memory of that great apostle of Temperance and true and trusted friend of India during the Holi time. The celebration of the *Pavitra Holi* and the Caine Temperance Fair proved an adequate counter-attraction to the low revelries and the vulgar carnival associated with the *Holi* and the programme of the former were both varied and interesting, diversified and interspersed as they were with songs, music, lectures and dramatic performances. All honour to those reformers who attempted to purge the festival of its coarse vulgarities and shocking revelries, and it is gratifying to note that their honest and laudable efforts

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have produced a healthy reaction against the obscenities associated with the festival in the popular mind. The reaction has indeed come from within. The Punjab Hindu Sabha supplemented the labours of the reformers and the whole educated community rallied to the cause of social progress and advancement. The Cloth Merchants Committee of Lahore also came to the help of the reformers and exercised their influence to discourage all exhibitions of vulgarities and objectionable accompaniments in the celebration of the Holi. The result of their united labours was gratifying to every lover of social reform and progress and the last Holy was shorn of most of its objectionable associations. Indeed Lahore furnished an important object-lesson in the cause of social reform by the rehabilitation of this beautiful and ancient festival into the minds of the educated public.

But let me hark back to matters political, into which we were straightway plunged from the festivities of the Holi. On the 21st March last, there was a great Hindu demonstration to protest against the modifications made in the Indian Reforms Bill and the chair was taken by Rai Bahadur Lala Lal Chand, formerly additional Judge of the Punjab Chief Court. The President's speech was a masterly vindication of the Hindu feeling in the province. "If there were any two matters," he said, "of which the future historian would take special notice in forming his opinion regarding the morality of the British administration in this country it would be the fusion of communities and the elimination of matters of creed in carrying out the administration. Unluckily, however, both these matters are now threatened to be thrown to the winds. Partition of communities is now about to be enacted as a settled fact and undue preference given to creed and religion has for sometime formed, and is about to form, the basis of distribution not only in public offices but also in settling the method of representation to the Councils." "We desire for union," he further said, "because we believe that on the whole common weal will be better served by union. But if our motives are not properly appreciated then *we say we are equally ready to separate* but we say let the separation be on the basis of justice and truth and due regard to numerical strength and no preference or importance be given to a particular faith or creed. The sentiment conveyed in the underlying words may sound somewhat unfamiliar and in fact is not quite in keeping with the ideal and the traditions of the Congress in which we have been bred up, but it none the less reflects the views of an important section of public opinion in the country. In fact, Rai Bahadur Lal Chand went further than

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this in course of his speech and gave expression to his opinions which may be taken as sounding a jarring note to the unifying ideal preached by the Indian National Congress. "I personally believe," he said, "that Hindu interests unfettered by the weakening desire for union would grow stronger and progress better." Now, this is the opinion of an eminent leader of the province, one who in the past has adorned the chair of the first Punjab Provincial Conference and been foremost in educational and other activities. And when a person of such eminence and attainments and with such a public record speaks in this strain, it is certainly worth while to go down deep into the roots of the state of things, which has been responsible for the fostering of such views in not a few of the responsible and accredited quarters of public opinion of the province.

The Hindus in the province have been for some years past labouring under a variety of disabilities and disadvantages. The grievances relating to appointments in the public service, viz., the preferment shown in favour of Mahomedans in supersession of the superior claims of the Hindus, of which the recent appointment of the Hon'ble Mr. Shah Din to the Chief Court Bench was one glaring instance, did but constitute one of their manifold grievances. The cry over the loaves and fishes of office might not be a dignified affair but the grievance on this score, when it is general and widespread, is none the less felt. But in this case the grievance, acute though it would have been had it rested here, extends to a much wider circle. Not the least of them has been the Punjab Land Alienation and Pre-emption Acts. The Land Alienation Act is a unique piece of legislation and was expressly undertaken for the benefit and the interests of the Mahomedans of the western parts of the province. It was represented that their lands were passing into the hands of the Hindu money-lenders and this was held to be a political evil. In short, this special enactment was taken up as a class legislation and merely for the benefit and the interests of a particular religious community. It is true that no such distinction was made in the provisions of the Act. The Act does not and could not provide expressly for the protection of the interests of the Mahomedan community solely. That would have been too palpable a defect but, as it is, the dark features of the Bill are ill-concealed beneath a specious legislative white-wash. The most essential and the important feature of the measure is made to depend upon notifications to be issued by the local Government declaring which classes are to be reckoned as agricultural tribes. The whole scope and the working

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of the Act hinges upon the definition of agricultural tribes and this definition is left to the sweet will and the pleasure of the Executive. By section 3 of the Act, a permanent alienation of land by a member of the agricultural tribe must be made in favour of the same tribe or of a tribe in the same group and by section 4, the Local Government is empowered to determine what bodies of persons in any district or groups of districts are to be deemed agricultural tribes or groups of agricultural tribes. The whole fabric and the frame-work of this legislation therefore rests on the determination of an agricultural tribe by the local Government and here it is that the rub comes in. The higher castes among the Mahomedans, Syeds, Pathans and Moghals, with whom personal cultivation of land is a rare circumstance, are classed among agricultural tribes, but even rural Brahmans, Khatris, Aroras, who live on agriculture and do not carry on money-lending, are debarred from acquiring any land in his ancestral village. To add to the troubles of the Hindu agriculturists the term "agriculturist," which previously included a number of bonafide Hindoo agricultural families, has now been struck off from the Statute by the amending Act of 1907 in the teeth of universal Hindoo protests, and every thing is now left to the Notification, which as often as not includes the real agricultural classes. It is now almost well-nigh impossible for even a rural Hindoo, whose caste does not happen to be notified as an agricultural tribe to acquire land for any purpose whatever—for trade, factory, temple, school, college or for any purpose, however laudable. There is a proviso in the Act in favour of acquisition of land for religious and charitable projects but that is somewhat narrowly and rigidly construed. The Pre-emption Act has further added to his troubles. A Hindu, qualified to acquire land under the proviso spoken of for religious and charitable projects, is liable to be pre-empted by any agricultural tribe and hence defeated in the carrying out of his laudable projects. Thus fresh and fresh injuries have been heaped upon the Hindu, and the latter finds his very existence threatened and handicapped in all directions.

Such was the melancholy tale which the Hindu Sabha Deputation in their address unfolded before His Excellency the Viceroy and were unfortunate enough to receive a mild reproof. But the Hindu Sabha broached no new grievance. They only voiced the grievances with which the whispering galleries in the province were resonant for some time past. Their address was not the vapourings "of the heat of political warfare" as His Excellency supposed, but was wrung out from minds oppressed with deep-seated grie-

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vances. Taking their stand "as the representatives of a race which in this land of five Rivers first sowed the seeds of a civilisation whose humanising influences have radiated and created an abiding impression on the character of the entire Indian population" (to quote the language of the Address,) they found themselves as aliens and undesirables in their own land. They were asked to patiently abide their time for the grist that the mills of Lords Morley and Minto were slowly and steadily grinding, but they saw only a further dismal and more gloomy prospect in the accentuation and perpetuation of the superior and preferential claims of Mahomedans in the new Reform measures. The question whether the Mahomedans will enjoy additional representation in the Punjab, where they are in a numerical preponderance, has not been yet answered by Government and in absence of any official assurance in favour of additional representation being accorded to non-Muslim minorities in the province, the Hindus felt that they would be put to more desperate straits to keep their footing in his country. It was this sense of desperation, this brooding melancholy, that cast its pallor upon this address of the Hindu Sabha Deputation and explained its note of anguish and tone of pessimism. The Sabha had unbosomed their grievances to three successive Lieutenant-Governors but to no effect and so they felt it their duty to acquaint the august representative of His Majesty with the throbbings of the heart of the great Hindu community of the province. The Sabha, however, intends to approach His Excellency again and it is hoped, as indeed His Excellency has promised, they will receive a more considerate and sympathetic treatment.

The finest part of the functions at the University Hall, where the degree of Doctor of Literature was conferred *honoris causa* on the Viceroy and the address from the Deputations was received, was the speech of the Lieutenant-Governor. "We have our enthusiasms," said Sir Louis Dane, "and we have felt the East a calling. It is true we have all felt the sun of India but that sun has not withered our sympathies or blighted our aspirations. It has only warmed into love for India and its peoples the kindly affection which all true men must feel for the land of their adoption." "I can assure you," continued His Honour, "that nothing will be wanting on our side to vivify and promote the reforms consistently with the good of India and the stability of His Majesty's dominions." Would that the officialdom in the province take to heart the aforesaid sage and sympathetic counsel of His Honour and try to act and live up to it. It is not given to them, as the *Tribune* points out, to initiate

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large and liberal measures of reform and progress, but they can at any rate help to swell the tide of onward progress, on the force and set of whose current depends, to slightly vary a phrase used by Lord Morley, the prosperous voyaging of the Indian people. The Punjab officialdom in the past, with some honourable exceptions, have sworn rather too hard by the old archaic and patriarchal types of government. Will they now take their cue from His Honour and turn over a new leaf?

Lala Lajpat Rai recently spoke on the occasion of the anniversary of the D. A. V. College. His theme was the uplifting of the depressed and the submerged classes. The speaker was in his usual fine form and he made a powerful plea in support of his subject. Hindu social organisation, he said, will become weak and disjointed so long as these lower classes are not raised and elevated.

We are just in the midst of a great educational upheaval among the Sikh Community. The President of the Sikh educational conference, Sardar Jogendra Singh, however, sounded a manly and true note when he said in his presidential address that the Sikhs in spite of their splendid and meritorious record did not want any special favour but they stood by their right of being the equal subjects of His Majesty. I shall deal more fully on this subject on a subsequent occasion, but this at any rate is clear from the unique character of the gathering, viz., from the strong muster of war-scarred veterans and scions of high Sardar families and of ruling chiefs on the same platform with the flower of the intellect of the community, and the signal enthusiasm displayed in the proceedings by all sections of the Khalsa community, including their womenfolk, some of whom participated in the function, that the great heart of the Sikh community has begun to stir along not the less glorious sphere of intellectual and educational progress. The Khalsa body have indeed made up their mind to contribute their rightful share in the creation of the new forces that are steadily making for the evolution of an Indian nation.

*N. B.*—Two ugly misprints disfigured the Punjab Notes of the last month. In Page 214, line 16, there should be "mingle than sunlight" for "mingle as sunlight" and "as" in that line should be omitted. In line 30, there should be "fabric of Indian unity" for "failure of Indian unity." [*Ed. J. W.*]

## REVIEW OF LEADING INDIAN REVIEWS

### *The Modern Review*

The April number of *The Modern Review* opens with a remarkable article from Prof. D. J. Fleming, late of the Forman Christian College, Lahore. It urges the necessity of imparting to students *Education Through Social Helpfulness* as being best calculated to develop a sense of civic responsibility in their minds. The professor speaks highly of the valuable services rendered by the students in connection with the Kangra Earthquake relief and widespread malaria in the Punjab and eulogises the efforts of the Poona Plague Relief Committee in alleviating the sufferings of the victims of that fell disease. The learned writer advocates similar social helpfulness in the direction of education to elevate the condition of the masses. The article headed *How Jai Singh defeated Sivaji* is a translation by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar of a portion of a Persian Manuscript forming a complete collection of the letters and despatches of Jai Sing, discovered, of late, by Mr. Sarkar at Baneres. It is an interesting revelation of the intricacies of the Moghul diplomacy and war as unfolded by the veteran Rajput General who, in one of his despatches to the Emperor Arangzib, apologises to his master for not having treacherously imprisoned Sivaji, who had come to see him on a solemn promise. Then follows Chapter XXVI of the long continued story of "The yellow God" which is concluded in this number. Saint Nihal Sing discusses the status of working men in India and America and deplores the low rate of wages and the backwardness of the education of the labourers of India compared with those of America as well as the low estimate of the dignity of labour by the Indians.

Mr. N. Ganguli's paper on *A Problem in agriculture* is of considerable importance to an agricultural country like India. It exhaustively treats of the very injurious effects of alkali upon crops and soil. The accumulations of alkali in the soil, the writer suggests, can best be checked by "(1) economy of irrigation water" and "(2) counteracting evaporation by the maintenance of loose tilth in the surface soil throughout in the dry season. The improvements of the land already containing alkalis can best be effected by (1) using chemical antidotes such as gypsum and (2) growing alkali-resistant crops. The alkalis can also be totally

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eradicated by (1) scraping off the surface and (2) flushing the surface with water and of irrigation and drainage."

In a life-sketch of "Raj Narain Bosu" Mr. Jadunath Sarkar gives an interesting account of the history of Bengal during his time. The various aspects of this great man's life—an ideal teacher and reformer, a preacher of nationalism at a time when the English-educated Bengal was steeped up in English manners and customs and a builder of the Brahmo Samaj—all these aspects have been most clearly presented to the readers. In the third instalment of the *Employment of Indians in the Public Service* consisting only of several extracts from the despatches of the Government of India and the Board of Directors with only a few lines of prefatory remarks, an attempt has been made to prove that Clause 87 of the Charter Act of 1833 was not intended for the benefit of the pure natives of India.

In a thoughtful paper on *Race Development—Dangers ahead* Mr. N. W. Setalvad warns the danger of the growth of cities at the expense of villages as one of the most alarming features of the present situation. "The use of steam or electricity as the motive force," seems to the writer, "to entail the erection of large factories involving in the process concentration of large bodies of men over a small area and the growth of our modern industrial towns like Bombay, Calcutta and Ahmedabad." To combat those evils the writer suggests (1) the formation of "a Co-operative Society for a convenient area of villages which should buy raw materials for the hand-loom weavers who are its members on wholesale principles, and retail them to the members at reasonable wholesale prices," and (2) the encouragement of the "Garden City" movement, which is an endeavour to break up huge cities, and to distribute the industrial masses in smaller settlements over the open country. "An Indian Sojourner in England" gives an expression of his views on the communal representation of the Mahomedans, as announced by Lord Morley in course of *The Indian Debate in the House of Lords*, which do not differ in any particular from those expressed in the Hindu Press and Platform of this country. Short sketches, with illustrations, of several Indian friends in Parliament have been given in the form of another article. Besides, there are two stories—*Fulfilment of a Vow* and *The fatal garland*. Dr. Indu Madhab Mallick highly appreciates the work of the *Bengal National College*, and its successful association of literary with practical training. There are five other articles, which, scholarly and informing as they are, do not at all, or little, pertain to Indian matters and hence fall outside the pale of the



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*Indian World.* The last few pages, as usual, are taken up with *Notes, Reviews of Books and Comments and Criticisms.*

### *The Hindustan Review*

The April number of our Allahabad contemporary opens with a remarkable article by Mr. E. B. Havell on *Indian Administration and Arts and Crafts in India* which we have reviewed at length in another section of this number of the *Indian World*. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani follows with an examination of *The Muslim League's Demands from a National Standpoint* in which he demonstrates the mischievous character of the Muslim proposals and quotes the opinion of Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan, the scion of a noble family of Oudh, who regards "The principle of class representation as a most mischievous feature of the scheme" and several other Mahomedans of weight and influence. Mr. Chintamani warns the Government that "if they sow the wind now they assuredly have to reap the whirlwind in future, that the difficulties they will create for their successors will not exactly induce the latter to bless their short sightedness." *Modern organisation of industry* is the third lecture of Mr. Monoharlal, the Minto Professor of Economics, which has been allowed to appear as an article until the reader goes through its contents. This is followed by *The Basis of British Rule in India* in which Mr. C. V. Swaminath Aiyar refutes the arguments advanced by Mr. Justice Beamen of the Bombay High Court in an article on *The Situation in India* contributed to the *Empire Review* and which was similarly criticised at length by us in our last number. An "Indian Mussulman" continues with the third instalment of his interesting paper on the "Indian Mussalmans and Indian Politics" in which he holds that there is no essential differences between Muslim League and Indian National Congress, and if there is any, "it is only of degree and partly of methods." This difference the writer attributes to the anxiety of the League natural to an institution of the kind in its "embryonic stage" to "bask in the warmth of Government favour" which the writer hopes will disappear with the gradual evolution of the League. On Mussulman demand for separate representation the writer observes :

"The attempt on the part of my co-religionists 'to create an irreconcilable Ulster in India' is not very laudable..... If class representation is granted to one community, it can not be withheld from the others. This will veritably be the opening of Pandora's box and India will then be confronted with a grave situation

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of the first magnitude. British statesmen, we suppose, will never commit themselves to such a myopic policy." This is followed by the sixth instalment of Saint Nihal Singh's "As an Indian sees America." *Thomas Farrar : the father of Bengal Barristers* by Mr. S. C. Dey and Mr. Anant Prosad's *Last of the great Moghuls* are not of much importance to deserve any special notice. Mr. F. S. Doctor's "The Prisoner of Lust" is a scene translated from a composite drama in Hindustani, based partly on Richard III and King John, which complete the list of articles in this number. The last portion of the work, comprising as many as sixty seven pages, is taken up with Reviews and Notices, Criticisms and Discussions etc.

## REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

Since we last wrote on the subject of special Mahometan representation, the question has assumed a complicated shape. While the Mussulmans of India do not seem to be of the same mind in all the provinces of the Empire, the non-Muslim population of India all over the country have justly condemned and resented any idea of special concession to any particular community in India. The Mussalman of Eastern Bengal under the leadership of the redoubtable Nawab of Dacca and the small following of Rafiduddin Ahmed in the Western Presidency will not be consoled till they have got the whole hog. The president of the Indian Moslem League, Mr. Ali Imam, is prepared to yield and come to terms. On the other hand, Lahore and Aligarh do not seem likely to be appeased so long as Mr. Ameer Ali is not satisfied. Truly does the *Indian Daily News* observe :

“ There is a bewildering series of seemingly inconsistent resolutions passed *nemine contradicente* at public meetings, in which undue emphasis is laid on separate representation, full and adequate representation, special electorates from top to bottom, and so forth. We find Bhagalpur thinking one way, Aligarh another way, and Dacca yet another way. This is surely to make nonsense of Moslem opinion. It all leaves the impression on one's mind that the Moslem leaders are the victims of wire-pullers pulling in contrary directions.”

The educated Mussulmans of India can conveniently be divided into three classes for the purpose of the present agitation,—one class asking for special Mahometan electorate for the purpose of special Mahometan representation, another class demanding representation from selected associations, and the third nothing more than nomination. These three different classes of Moslem agitators represent three different stages of evolution of Moslem opinion. Nomination is wanted by that class who are politically the least advanced and who are afraid to seek admission into the Councils by means of open competition. Those who seek admission through competition but only through a restricted and narrow electorate demand representation through associations and form a class intermediary between the less advanced class described before and

the more advanced class who would like to open the field of competition as wide as possible. The Government of India and Lord Morley have accepted all these propositions and have announced their intentions to apply each of the above wherever feasible. In their despatch dated 1st October, 1908, the Government of India say : " our view is that in Provinces where election by a regular Mahomedan electorate is feasible that method should be adopted ; that Mahomedan Associations should be made use of where electorates can not be formed ; and that nomination by Government should be resorted to where neither of the first two methods is practicable. It will be for the Local Government to determine, in consultation with the leaders of the Mahomedan community, which plan should be adopted." This is very well so far as the form of special Mahomedan representation is concerned, assuming of course that the Secretary of State for India acts up to the spirit of this despatch.

We shall now revert back to the proposition whether the concession of special representation is good to the Mussulmans or fair to the Hindus. In the last number of the *Indian World* we tried to show, as Mr. Lajpat Rai has shown in the columns of the *Times*, that the Mussulmans of India can not claim to be considered as a political asset of *special* value. And even if they were, the backwardness of education in that community and the partial absence of the realization of civic responsibility among the bulk of its members would militate against such a claim as well as against the spirit of the pledge of equality given in Queen Victoria's Proclamation. But be that as it may, it is almost certain that such a concession as has been proposed to be granted to the Indian Muslims will indirectly paralyse their public activity and sense of justice and fairness. The Mussulmans of India may not at the present moment care for such a paralysis but a generation or two hence it will be evident to all that the so-called boon has worked to the great injury of that community. But with that we are not concerned very much to-day, for, if Indian Mussulmans will not understand their best interests, no body belonging to a different community is likely to convince them of the error of their ways. So apart from the consideration of that question, there is another side of it which deserves careful examination. Evidently this concession will affect the interests of the other leading communities in India as well, and in this connection there are two important points to be considered. First, whether it is fair to concede to Mussulmans the right to special representation even in provinces where they constitute an overwhelming majority of

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the population ; secondly, if the Government is so anxious to protect the interests of the minorities, is it also prepared to allow special representation to communities who form important minorities in one or the other of the Provinces of the Empire ? It appears from the statements already made in the House of Commons by Mr. Hobhouse and by Sir Harvey Adamson in the Imperial Council that the special representation of the Mahomedan interests will be granted to all the provinces, no matter what fraction of the population the Mahometans may form in each. It is impossible to accept the justice of such a concession unless it is openly acknowledged and freely admitted that the Mussulmans of India have *superior* claims upon the consideration of the Government of India.

We have controverted that proposition in our last number and are therefore not prepared to go over the same ground again. It seems to us to be an absurd position for either the Mahomedans of India to advance and the Government of India to accept. Not only absurd, but that indirectly casts a slur upon the loyalty and public spirit of the other sections of the Indian population. Regarding the second point to be considered, all that we know is that the Government is not prepared to grant to any other important minority in this country, however important or historical great the minority may be, the concessions it has thought wise to grant to the Mussulmans.

The injustice involved in the concession under discussion will, no doubt, be very keenly felt by the Hindus in such provinces as the Punjab and the Eastern Bengal and Assam where the Hindu population is in decided and hopeless minority. Not only in these provinces will the Hindu representation be very inadequate, but their vote will always be swamped by that of the Moslem community. And as ill luck would have it, these are just the two provinces in India where the relation between the Hindus and the Moslems has reached a stage of acute tension. The result therefore of special Mahometan representation in these provinces would be to increase the racial bitterness already existing and to drive the Hindu interest always to the wall. On the one side, therefore, there would be political inactivity on account of the absence of any incentive or competition ; on the other, political despair on account of the hopelessness of Mussulman opposition against Hindu interests.

This is bad enough in all conscience as a question of equity but worse from the standpoint of a Christian Government which has declared, off and on, its freedom from partiality to any particular

class or community in India. We must say that between exclusive representation and partly territorial election and partly communal representation one must prefer the latter, though even the latter involves a great injustice where a concession of this kind is granted to one community in India to the exclusion of others. We do not find even in the history of the Great Mogul, not even during the time of Aurangzeb, that Mahomedans had any exclusive privilege to advise the Emperor or to be enrolled as Durbaris. In a later age, in the provincial courts of smaller satraps, the Hindus had as much the ear of the Nawab or the Vizier as the most respected Muslim Omrahs of the State. Tennyson in his Akbar's Dream says :

" I cull from every faith and race the best  
And bravest soul for counsellor and friend."

Will the British Government cast to the wind the principle on which the great Akbar acted and which has been the foundation not only of political equity but of administrative justice under all governments since the time of the great Moghul ?

After all, the Mussulmans of India are wise in their generation for having raised a cry for 'the moon,' for Lord Morley has for once given them the 'moon.'

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The time has undoubtedly arrived when a vigorous agitation ought to be got up to bring to an end the annual  
**THE EXODUS TO THE HILLS** migration to the hills of all the principal officers of the State and their departments in every part of the country. The Imperial Government moves to Simla every year with its huge Secretariat ; the Bengal Government to Darjeeling with nearly fifty officers and hundred clerks ; the Eastern Bengal and Assam Government to Shillong with an ever increasing staff ; the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces and of the Punjab as well as the Governors of Bombay and Madras move every year on the approach of the summer to Naini-Tal or Mussori, Simla, Mahableshwar and Ooty respectively. Even the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces is not content to work in the plains and moves to Panchmari with his staff and office as soon as the official year closes at Nagpore. We don't know if any member of the Viceroy's Council or of the House of Commons has ever called for a return of the huge expenditure involved in this almost universal exodus to the hills, but, if any such return were available, the public would be shocked at the figures. The exodus involves in the first instance the reduplication and maintenance in two centres of the Secretariat buildings and offices of the principal

departments in every individual province ; in the second place, it means a heavy railway bill for the passage-fare of all the staff required to keep up a hill establishment for the Viceroy, for the Army Head-quarters and for each and all of the provincial satraps ; and thirdly, though not the least important item in the bill, is the allowance granted to all officers and clerks who are wanted to keep the official machinery going. We wonder, with a falling exchequer and an increasing expenditure, how long can such an exodus be maintained without an addition to the existing taxation of the country. That is a danger ahead against which any cautious Secretary of State for India ought to provide in time, and the only provision that is feasible under the circumstances is to revise the whole policy in connection with the exodus and bring down the bill as low as possible. Even if this migration to the hills did not involve the risk of a fresh burden in the future, the question deserves to be carefully examined from the standpoint of retrenchment and efficiency. If the shears could be used liberally, a large sum of money might be available in every province of the Empire for the improvement of the administration and to meet the more crying needs of the people. When the Government cannot afford to educate the people under its charge and attend to the urgent sanitary demands of the urban and rural population, does it stand to reason that it should lavishly spend its revenue in sending its officers to the hills and maintaining their establishments in a right royal style ? The evil has spread so wide that in these days even Directors of Public Instructions, Inspectors-General of Police, heads of surveys and settlements and Civil Hospitals, and a host of lesser fries, fly to the hills at the end of March every year,—not to add to administrative efficiency but to the expenditure side of the budget of every Government. We really cannot understand that while the Judges of the High Courts work down in the plains throughout the year, these smaller officers of the State should move to the hills to carry on their less onerous work and add to the burden of the State. There is another side of this question to consider. When the hills were first selected for the summer residence of important officers of the State, no body could guess that in so short a time the exodus would assume such colossal proportions. In the second place, a life in the plains during the nineteenth century was a weariness to the flesh to most high-placed officers, while to-day, under the electric fan and with improved sanitation and means of communication, any Anglo-Indian member of the Government can really enjoy life in the

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plains as pleasantly as up in the hills. From a Secretary of State for India who has always stood against extravagance and been a consistent advocate of retrenchment, India expects a careful revision of the entire policy underlying this annual exodus.

But it is not from the standpoint of retrenchment only that the policy needs to be revised. There is a much greater principle involved in the question than that of mere money or one that meets on the surface. Things are moving fast, rather very fast, in India and it is essential that the Government, both imperial and provincial, should during all time of the year, be in close touch with the people and watch their movements, not from the empyrean heights of the Indian hills, but at close quarters. India can no longer be governed by the cold reports of an absentee bureaucracy, for an absentee bureaucracy is as bad, if not worse, than absentee landlordism against which it has itself cried hoarse in the past in season and out of season. An absentee bureaucracy is now an anachronous institution and is as much out of date as the cold steel of the soldier and works more mischief than can be easily conceived. Not through the cold reports of such a bureaucracy can the India of the future be rightly governed, but through a closer association with the leaders of the people can the Government get at the correct facts of every question and the suggestion for the true remedies of all troubles. It is from this broader standpoint of political expediency that we should urge Lord Morley to study the question and apply a remedy. In the meantime, our leading Associations and conferences should take the matter up in right earnest and press the matter home to the attention of the authorities.







Portrait of Kuma Kuma



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## DIARY FOR APRIL, 1909

### Date

1. The Indian Councils Bill is read a second time in the House of Commons, Mr. Balfour disclaiming all responsibility for its consequences on behalf of his party.

The Viceroy reaches Lahore and has a public reception.

2. The Viceroy rides through Lahore at the head of an elephant procession and receives an address at the Shalimar Gardens from the Punjab Chiefs' Association.

Pandit Mokshada Charan Samadhyia, acquitted by the special Tribunal of the Calcutta High Court as one of the accused in the Bighati Dacoity Case, is re-arrested for harbouring the dacoits and abetting the crime.

General Sir O'Moore Creagh's appointment as Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Forces is announced.

3. The Viceroy receives addresses from the Punjab Branch of the Moslem League, the Hindu Sabha and the Sikh Community at the University Hall of Lahore.

The Budget of the United Provinces is discussed at a meeting of the Council in Lucknow, Mr. Gillan making a violent attack upon Pandit Madanmohan Malaviya and the *Indian People*.

5. The Budgets of Bengal and Madras are discussed in their respective Legislative Councils.

Mr. N. N. Ghose, editor of the *Indian Nation*, dies at Calcutta of heart failure at the age of 55, due to an attack of beri-beri.

Another bomb is thrown at a train at Agarpara Station on the E. B. S. Railway, injuring four Bengalee passengers, two of whom are severely hurt.

6. The Eastern Bengal Budget is discussed at a meeting of the provincial Legislative Council at Dacca.

In reply to a question in the House of Commons, Mr. Buchanan states that all deportations under the Regulation of 1818 will not be prescribed as a definite and permanent disqualification for a seat on any Legislative Council in India.

The great Kumbha Fair begins at Ujjain in Central India.

7. At the Madras High Court to-day, Mr. Justice Wallis, agreeing with Mr. Justice Benson and disagreeing from Mr. Justice Sankaran Nair, confirms the conviction in the Karur sedition case and reduces the sentence from 5 years' transportation to 3 years' rigorous imprisonment.

At the annual meeting of the Bombay Mill-Owners' Association held to-day, the Chairman, Mr. F. C. Ibrahim, attributes the present depression in the cotton piece-goods trade to the absence of marriages among Hindus, failure of crops in several districts, prevalence of malaria, high prices of food-stuffs and increased production.

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9. The Convention of Religions in India commences its sitting to-day at the Calcutta Town Hall under the presidency of the Hon. Maharaja Rameswar Singh Bahadur of Darbhanga.

The U. P. Provincial Conference is held at Agra to-day under the presidency of Mr. Gangaprasad Varma of Lucknow.

The second Behar Provincial Conference meets at Bhagalpur under the presidency of Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha of Bankipore.

10. On the Khassadars' seizing a number of mules belonging to some Zakha Khels of the British Territory, the Khaiber Pass is closed for *Kafilas* traffic both ways.

The 2nd Sind Provincial Conference meets at Hyderabad under the Presidency of Mr. Himathsing Gassing.

A Convention of the Indian Christians of the United Provinces and Rajputana is held at Lucknow and decides to establish an exclusively Christian College.

11. The annual meeting of the Kayasth Conference is held at Allahabad under the presidency of Munshi Nursing Prosad. Chowdhury Mahdeo Prasad promises one lakh of rupees in aid of the proposed Kayasth College at Allahabad.

It is announced that the Government of India will develop a scheme during this session for making all currency notes universal, up to and including, the 50 rupee-notes and to reduce the minimum amount for treasury and currency transfers between important centres from 50 to 25 thousands.

The U. P. Provincial Social Conference is held at Agra under the presidency of Pandit Matilal Nehru of Allahabad.

The Sikh Educational Conference is held to-day at Amritsar under the presidency of Sardar Jogindra Singh. A Resolution urging the substitution of the Punjabee language in place of Urdu in the Primary schools is passed.

12. The All-Indian Moslem League at a meeting held at Aligarh under the presidency of Mr. Ali Imam urges exclusive Mahomedan representation and congratulates Mr. Sinha on his elevation to the Executive Council of the Viceroy.

In the anniversary meeting of the D. A. V. College, Lahore, Lala Lajpat Rai asserts that, unless the depressed classes are raised and educated, the Hindu social organisation will remain weakened and impaired and will fail to resist the aggressive machinations of other communities.

The Bengal Chamber of Commerce protests against the proposed scheme of transferring the E. B. S. Ry. to the management of the B. N. W. Ry. Company.

13. Six persons are arrested in connection with the Tenali bomb case in Madras.

Two Students are arrested at Poona under orders from the Gwalior State for their alleged complicity in a Sedition case.

Large pieces of stones are thrown at the mail-train from Ooty to Madras carrying several Europeans returning after the Easter holidays.

The U. P. and Behar Provincial Industrial Conferences are held at Agra and Bhagalpur under the presidency of Mr. A. B. Usuf Ali, I.C.S., and Mr. Tilak Dhari Lal, respectively.

14. In the *Bestwanda Swaraj* Sedition case the Madras High Court enhances the sentences passed by the lower court upon the Editor by converting the unexpired portion of six months' simple to rigorous imprisonment and that upon Mr. Harisanothawa Rao, the proprietor, from 9 months' simple to 3 years' rigorous imprisonment.

In the Alipur Bomb case the Assessors unanimously find only seven of the accused guilty. The rest including Mr. Arobindo Ghosh are declared not guilty.

15. The prohibition to hold public meetings in Calcutta squares within half an hour of sunset is extended for another year.

16. The Anjumani Islam of Lahore starts a Minto Memorial Fund for raising a building to be called Minto Munzil which will consist of a Gymnasium pavilion, a council room and book depot.

Mr. S. P. Sinha is publicly entertained at a congratulatory dinner at the Calcutta Town Hall by the Hindus and Mahomedans.

17. Another bomb is found near the Agarpura Station on E. B. S. Ry.

18. The Herbert Spencer Lectureship endowed in 1904 in the Oxford University by Mr. S. Krishnavarma is abolished and the amount of the endowment (£1000) is returned to the donor.

19. On a reference made to Mr. Justice Munro owing to difference of opinion between Mr. Justice Benson and Mr. Justice Sankaran Nair in the appeal of the Tinnevely riots case, the conviction and sentence of Mr. Loganatha Iyer and Mr. Kanak Sabapathy Pillay is upheld by Mr. Justice Munro. Sangara Neragana Pillay and Ramalinga Pillay are acquitted.

The Hon'ble Mr. S. P. Sinha takes over the portfolio of the Legislative Department at Simla under the usual salute.

Sir Lawrence Jenkins, the new Chief Justice of Bengal, assumes the charge of his office to-day.

20. The Indian Councils Bill with a Clause virtually replacing Clause III passed through the Committee Stage in the House of Commons by 118 to 22 votes. *Re* the Mahomedan representation, Mr. Hobbhouse states that besides common electorates for all sects and classes a certain number of places would be reserved for the Mahomedans.

23. Maharaja Kishen Pershad, the Nizam's Prime Minister, refuses permission to the Mahomedans to hold the Prophet's Death Anniversary in the Durbar Hall as it is apprehended to develop into a political gathering.

24. At a General Meeting of the Madras Muslim League under the Presidency of the Prince of Arcot, and at a Conference at Murshidabad, the Mussulmans of Madras and of both Bengals respectively protest against the proposed scheme of Mahomedan representation by nomination and urge separate electorates at all stages.

26. The Indian Councils Bill is read a third time and is finally passed by the House of Commons almost in its original form.

27. The Bengal Chamber of Commerce in a letter to the Bengal Government urges more representation for European commercial interests than what has been proposed in the Reform Scheme.

29. The Secretary of State sanctions the constitution of separate cadres for the Provincial Judicial Service of Bengal and of E. B. and Assam, creating a new grade of Rs. 500 for the latter.

30. At meetings held at Fatehpur and Meerut the Mahomedans express disappointment at the Government receding from the promise made regarding a separate electorate at all stages.

# NOTES & NEWS

## GENERAL

### **The Royal Indian Marine**

Consequent on the abolition of the Military Supply Department, the Royal Indian Marine has passed under the Government of India in the Army Department.

### **Traces of a new movement in the Congress**

There are some traces of a new movement among supporters of the Hindu National Congress, thinks Mr. Lovat Fraser, which may have significant results. Hitherto the Congress has been nominally all-embracing, though really a Hindu organization. Some of its members now maintain that the time has come when it should be frankly Hindu in its ideals. They say:—"The Moslem League boldly advocates the claims of Mahomedans alone, and gains strength and solidarity by its unity of aim. Why should we continue to profess to represent all creeds? Why not look to ourselves, and plead the cause of the Hindus?" From what one hears one is apt to think that this movement is likely to spread.

### **A University for Colombo**

We are glad to notice that there is a movement on foot for the foundation of a University in Ceylon. The island is wealthy enough and contains a sufficiently large population of educated men to support a university worthily, and it will certainly do much to enervise the enthusiasm for learning if students are not compelled to go as far afield as Madras or Calcutta to obtain their degrees. The question of funds should not prove much of a handicap. With Government aid and gifts from the European, Burgher, Moor and Sinhalase communities it should be possible to start a centre of higher education worthy of the island and of the position it occupies on the trades routes of the eastern hemisphere.

### **Indian Students and the London School of Economics**

It is proposed by the London School of Economics to institute a special course for Indians who desire to study problems of Indian administration. An experimental course of ten lectures, sketching "The Social Structure of India" will inaugurate this important innovation. The first four lectures will be given by Lieutenant-Colonel Ernest Roberts, I.M.S., and will take the form of a preliminary sociological survey. The next three lectures will be by Mr. James Kennedy, upon "The History of the British Administration of Northern India and its Relation to Indian Ideas." The last three lectures of the series will describe "The Economic Structure of India," and will be given by Mr. Theodore Morison, of the India Council.

### **The Indian Reforms**

The Indian Councils Bill is, after all, says the *London Daily News*, but an episode in the immense transformation which is

sweeping over the face of the once changeless East. In countries ruled by native despotisms these changes must need come suddenly and completely at the bidding of a violent revolution. It was so in Japan, in Persia, and Turkey. No other method could there be considered. Shogun or Shah or Sultan, none of them was ready even to discuss the possibility of gradual reform. They had all to be overawed or conquered, for the simple reason that until they were over-awed no native Liberal's life was worth a moment's purchase. The situation in India differs from that of Turkey and Persia mainly in this—that its despotism, if alien, is beneficent, that it seeks to rule in the interests of the governed, and that it is accessible to Liberal ideals. In these conditions, evolution is possible, and revolution unnecessary.

### **The Pasteur Treatment**

The Pasteur Institute of Southern India is making steady progress. The second annual report shows that 340 cases were treated in the year 1908-09 as against 180 in the eleven months preceding. In these 340 cases there were only two failures, though two cases which developed hydrophobia during treatment are not included in the statistics. Of the total number of patients 51 were Europeans, 39 Eurasians, and 253 Asiatics. The report on the Pasteur Institute at Kasauli for 1907 shows that during that year the institute grew in favour with Indians. The number of patients treated was larger than in any preceding year and the percentage of failures, 0'44, was considerably smaller. Four hundred and thirty three European patients were treated and 916 natives of India. A table classifying the native patients shows that natives of all castes availed themselves of the treatment. The value of the work being done cannot be doubted ; the majority of the cases which ended fatally arrived too late.

### **The Vagaries of the Indus**

With the Indus, says the *Pioneer*, it is not merely a question of land or water. There is always a gamble as to the kind of land which the river will recede from. In one place it will leave magnificent soil ready at once to take a splendid crop of wheat even if the winter rains, as is too often the case, amount to nothing. In another the greater moisture will only allow leguminous plants of country peas and pulses. In the damper ooze of depressions a plant called shamuka is produced, of little value save as fodder, but beautiful with its bright green colour and excellent to the sportsman as an attraction to flocks of grey and bare-headed geese. Other lands again will grow nothing but long reeds and low tamarisk scrub. These, if properly placed in the neighbourhood of fields, have their value as preserves for black partridges and hare, but for utilitarian purposes can only provide materials for building huts, or at best give employment to the makers of fan-handles. But, alas ! there is the possibility that in the place of soil, good, bad, or indifferent, sand only may be thrown up, and the Indus has a bad reputation for the amount of sand that it carries. Native lore gives the river the title of " fille de joie."

### **Sat-chasi Caste Reform**

A strong social movement has been set on foot to raise the status of the Sat-chasi caste and to do away with the much-abused



nick-name "Chasadhopa." Already they have applied to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal to order the change of name "Chasadhopa Para" into "Satchasi Para" in the streets and lanes in Calcutta and its suburbs. The complaint of the caste people is that though in the Court and Registration and University records they are mentioned as "Satchasis" yet they are classed as Chasadhopas in the Census Report as was intimated to them by the Superintendent of Census Operations, Mr. S. O'Malley that the Satchasis were not enumerated as a separate caste at the census of 1901 and that the number of Chasadhopas in the Province of Bengal as then constituted was 29,506. Now in order to alter the name they have set aside all social differences and members on either sides of the river recently joined in a social union at which delegates from Belgachi, Kidderpore, Chetla, Serampore, Konnagar, Howrah, Hughly, and 24 Parganas sent their respective delegates which consisted of some fairly educated members of the community.

### **Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan on Mohamedan Representation**

Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan, B.A., Barrister-at-Law and a representative of the Ex-Royal family, speaking with regard to the demand of the Mahomedans for separate representation, said:—It is my firm conviction that although these separate electorates, on the basis of class, castes and religion, might seem to give one community some slight immediate advantage, yet in the long run, the disadvantage would far outweigh any little nominal advantage. If it has not been necessary to create electorates for Christians or non-Christians or for Catholics and Protestants, for insuring the representation of minorities in the British House of Commons, if even in the Mahomedan State of Hyderabad we have managed to get on without any such device, why should it be necessary to have it in British India? The policy of proud isolation resting upon faded traditions of an unreturning past, can never be to our advantage as a community. I appeal to my Mahomedan brethren to see that by dividing ourselves into hostile camps we shall only strengthen the hands of those who oppose our progress. The need of the hour requires us to close up our ranks and sink our sectarian differences.

### **A New University**

The project of a new University for India originated by Mrs. Besant, in her capacity as the President of the Board of Trustees of the Central Hindu College at Benares, has apparently made some progress since it was noticed about a year ago. In the interviews Mrs. Besant had with Lord Morley and Lord Minto regarding her schemes she met with a good deal of encouragement. A lengthy petition has since been drawn up to be submitted through the Government of India to his Majesty the King-Emperor. "It is stated that the proposed University will have a field of activity distinct from that of existing universities. First and foremost it will affiliate no college in which religion and morality do not form an integral part of the education given; it will make no distinctions between religions, accepting equally Hindu, Buddhist, Parsi, Christian and Mahomedan, but it will not affiliate any purely secular institution. It is claimed on behalf of the proposed institution that it will supply a gap in the educational

system of India, and will draw together all the elements which regard the training of youth in honour and virtue as the most essential part of education. It will be a nursery of good citizens, instead of a mint for hall-marking a certain standard of knowledge."

### **A Sign of the Times**

The large and steady increase in the number of restaurants of all kinds in Bombay is one of the most significant features of the time. During the last five years, unlicensed refreshment and eating houses have increased from 1,600 to 3,600. The figures for the different classes of houses, are as follow :—eating-houses from 1,223 to 2,784, coffee houses from 331 to 688, cold drink shops from 56 to 107, boarding houses 21 to 49, boarding and lodging houses from 7 to 21. The increase is not confined to any one district of the city. Almost all parts of Bombay are affected by it. What is even more remarkable is the fact that many of these restaurants and boarding houses occupy some of the most conspicuous buildings in a street or road, which shows that the business is a flourishing one. The conductors of these institutions evidently think it profitable to pay the high rents which they have to pay. This very large increase in the number of these places of refreshment, amounting to 125 per cent. in five years, can not of course be explained by the growth of population ; it represents to our mind the progress of what is nothing less than a revolution in the social life and ideas of the people. One of the causes of the growing resort to restaurants is probably to be found in the fact that the population is steadily moving away from the centres of business in search of healthy residential quarters.

### **Military Opinion about the Reforms**

In the course of one of his letters from the Punjab, Mr. Lovat Fraser says : In view of the accepted traditions of the Punjab civilians, who in the past have been accustomed to personal control of affairs to a degree unknown in other provinces, one might have expected to find among them considerable disapproval of the impending innovations. That is by no means the case. There is a widespread feeling in the Punjab Civil Service that the time has arrived when generous concessions must be made to Indian opinion. The feeling, moreover, is not confined to civilians. Military opinion counts for a great deal in the Punjab, where so large a proportion of the Indian Army is stationed, where preparedness for war is a primary consideration, and where the voice of the soldier is to an extent dominant. Possibly it would astonish arm-chair politicians who rail against militarism in India to discover how many senior officers favour the policy of giving the people of India a larger share in the control of their own affairs. The liberal views of some of the generals would have been a revelation to those who suppose that every soldier thinks India can only be governed in jack-boots. A fairly wide acquaintance among officers of the Indian Army will convince one that in these matters they are very much misjudged at home. They may know little about the details of civil administration, but as a class they are perhaps broader-minded than civilians. The older officers often possess great Indian experience, and in their frequent changes of station, their incessant manœuvres and camps of exercise, and their shooting expeditions they have gained a

varied knowledge of the people, particularly in the rural districts. They generally know one or more of the vernaculars, and they have the advantage of a detached point of view. Though their opinions may not carry much weight in political matters, they certainly do not as a rule lean towards reaction.

### **COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL**

#### **Excise License Revenue in Burma**

The total revenue on sales of various excise licenses for the year 1909-10 is Rs. 9,06,300 against Rs. 9,33,190 last year, that is a decrease of Rs. 26,890.

#### **Sugar-making in Rampur State**

A series of experiments in sugar-making is being carried out at present in the Rampur State. A complete boiling and centrifugal plant has been laid down to deal with the cane juice, which is purchased direct from the cultivators at favourable rates. It has been demonstrated that the new industry can be made a profitable one—given a fair sugar cane season, and a favourable market for the sale of the manufactured sugar and molasses.

#### **Trade of Burma**

Hitherto the trade of Burma greatly flourished but a widespread depression is reflected in the figures for the year ending 31st March. These taken as a whole, show a considerable set back to the progress of the province. The aggregate sea-borne trade of Burma imports and exports was Rs. 5763 lakhs and 93014 against 6355 lakhs and 60869 in the preceding year. The decrease in Government transactions in the preceding year was Rs. 36025296 and in private trade, 23142539.

#### **Irrigation**

Extensive irrigation works are now in progress in different parts of India and some will take several years to complete. The Nagavalli River project and the Divi Island project will not be open for irrigation before 1911-12. The Mon Canal will be ready in 1912 and the Upper Swat River project in 1912 and 1913. The Punjab triple project, Upper Chenab, Upper Jhelum and the Lower Braraidoab will not be ready before 1914-15 and the Ye-u Canal not before 1915-16.

#### **Earnings of Indian Railways**

The gross earnings of Indian railways for the year which ended on the 31st March were Rs. 4,40,12,000 or Rs. 23,82,700 less than in 1907-8. The lines which showed a decrease included: The North-Western, Rs. 1,38,66,000 worse; Rajputana-Malwa, 41 lakhs; G. I. P., 26 lakhs; Indian Midland, 21 lakhs; Southern Punjab, 13½ lakhs; Oudh and Rohilkhand, 23½ lakhs; and the Bengal-Nagpur, 10 lakhs. The South Indian Railway showed an improvement of nearly 43 lakhs, the Eastern Bengal, one of about 15 lakhs, and the Burma Railways, one of 6½ lakhs.

**U. P. Irrigation Schemes**

One of the most interesting irrigation schemes now under the investigation of Government is known as the Sadar-Ganges feeder project. The possibility of such a project was discerned by the Irrigation Commission in their report of 1903. Mr. Anthony has been appointed Superintending Engineer for preparing the project estimate which is one of some difficulty. The most expensive part of it is the feeder channel from the Sarda to the Ganges as the alignment necessarily crosses so many important drainages and more than one river.

**Official Monographs**

The industry selected by the Government of India for a monograph for the year 1908-09 is the "Wine and Tinsel Industry." These reports which are determined annually in connection with a scheme for an industrial survey of India initiated by Sir Edward Buck several years ago, are prepared by officers specially selected by the Local Governments for the work. A large number of these monographs have been published since their institution, and furnish a valuable record of the indigenous industries of the country. Last year's monograph dealt with Indian iron and steel industries.

**Indian Farming**

What a great land India is for farming, and what great improvements might be made to the long-neglected and over-worked soil. People will naturally ask, "Why, then, are there no such improvements?" This can be very easily explained. The first reason is that the farmer is quite content to make sufficient income to last him through the year with his own method, and never troubling to gather his second and third crops. The second reason is that the majority of Indian farmers are old, narrow-minded men. The plan the farmer adopts is most simple; he merely ploughs up his land with an instrument consisting of an iron spike, bound tightly to a strong solid piece of wood, which is balanced by a man while it is being drawn by an ox. Then he sows his seed and waits for the rains. Naturally, when the rains come half the seed is swept away, and what is left grows into a strong but very thin crop. If only the seed were sown a little earlier and the soil manured, the seed would be shooting before the rains commence, and little waste would occur. The crop would be double in thickness, while the farmer's income would be doubled and possibly trebled.

**Inventions in India**

During the last year, says the Secretary under the Indian Inventions and Designs Act in his Report for 1908, 551 applications were made for leave to file specifications and 471 specifications were filed. The total number of applications under the present Act has been 9,510 and of specifications 7,837. Compared with the previous year there has been a somewhat heavy decrease of 64 in the number of applications and of 37 in the number of specifications filed. On the other hand, the amount received as continuance fees, by payment of which existing exclusive privileges are kept in force, has shown a slight increase and the total income of the office has only fallen by Rs. 956. Although the number of applications is so much smaller than last year, it is worthy of

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note that residents in India are not accountable for the reduction, which is solely due to the decrease in the number of foreign applicants. As usual, the railway and the textile industries take the lead, though to a somewhat less extent than previously, amongst the wide range of inventions for which protection is sought. One of the features of interest of the year is to be found in the inventions for safe-guarding railway passengers, which arose from some recent notorious incidents. Of the applications that originated in this way two refer to alarm systems, two to modified footboards, two connect the doors with the brake system, and two others lock the doors by the motion of the train. Some six inventions for locking railway wagon doors have also been put forward for the protection of goods against train thieves. Amongst the textile inventions are to be found four handlooms. Applications of interest in the printing trades show an increase from 9 to 21, largely due to a number of type-setting machines.

## SELECTIONS

### INDIAN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

In the Madras Revenue Secretary's D. O. letter No. 1859A, dated May 21, 1908, I have been asked for suggestions in advance as to the practical measures which may be taken for the promotion of (1) industrial development, or (2) of technical education.

I have broad general ideas of my own, and have nursed them for many years without much chance of giving public expression to them, and the present seems a good opportunity for doing so, even though I am perfectly well aware that they run a great risk of being characterized as of too vague and general a nature for practical action to be taken on them. However, that is nothing to me. I shall be content if I set people thinking, and if, ten or twenty years hence, the general character of the education which we offer to the people shall have developed somewhat in the direction in which, in my judgment, it ought to have developed ten or twenty years ago.

I do not say that the educational system now practically universally in use—*i.e.*, a purely literary system of education—was not all right enough when it was first introduced, half a century ago ; for the Administration need large numbers of employes with a fair knowledge of English, and there were not nearly enough of such men to supply the demand. I do not know how it is now a days, but I remember quite well in the Punjab thirty-eight years ago how the Irrigation Engineer, or, indeed, the Deputy Commissioner of the district, used to sit surrounded by his five to twenty *munshis* squatting on the ground, speaking nothing but Urdu, and all documents read out were in Urdu or Punjabi, and had orders passed on them in the vernacular. Indeed, when a *tahsildar* came to pay a visit of ceremony, he usually knew no other language than his own. I am far from insisting that this was a bad state of things, but whether good or bad it had to go, and it has gone ; and in order to replace it by our modern system it became necessary to give a fairly good education in the English language to as large a number of young Indians as practicable, in order that they might not only fill posts in the public service worthily, but might be fit to practise in one or other of the so-called learned professions—law and medicine.

But from my point of view—and I wish it to be understood clearly that I am far from insisting that my point of view is the only one, or the only right one—the educational authorities made a great error in their failure to recognize several years ago—that the time had already arrived when the supply of fairly well educated young Indians for the needs of the public service was safely assured, and might be left to take care of itself ; and that to go on turning out far more of them, equipped in the sealed-pattern manner, than could possibly find any sort of employment, instead of devising an alternative system of education better adapted to

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the altered conditions of the country, was a bad mistake *under the circumstances*. The circumstances I refer to are that India by that time had arrived at the stage of needing industrial development at the hands of her own sons—true *Swadeshi* development—but was no more able to find from amongst the high-school and University students the better kind of employe needed by every successful industry than, twenty or thirty years before, the Government had been able to lay its hands on men equipped suitably for the ordinary civil and judicial administration of the country.

I suppose that, outside and beyond the idea of providing a large number of young men from whom candidates for the public service and for the learned professions might be drawn, there was the idea that by diffusing a wide knowledge of English the valuable information on all conceivable subjects that lies open to those who can read the English language would be made widely available to young Indians. But have we not here an instance of lack of imagination? For the youth who has failed to secure employment is *not* the one who is likely to read and study English books on industrial subjects in order that, with luck and opportunity, he may perchance better his position. For, first of all, such books usually be far beyond his means; secondly, he will find it difficult, if not impossible, to learn even the names of them; and thirdly, he will scarcely know English well enough to profit by the study of such books if lighted on. Practically, there is no vernacular literature concerning itself with industrialism, as far as I know, worth the paper it is written on, and there has been no organized attempt on anything like a large scale to provide vernacular translations of English scientific books. Indeed, I suppose the most enlightened votaries of *Swadeshi* will agree at once, on a little consideration, that, in view of the scores of different vernaculars and the infinite difficulties connected with translation of technical terms and nomenclature, there is no alternative to English if a new educational policy is to arm young men with the knowledge of underlying scientific principles on a scale adequate to insure their commanding the trust and respect of capitalists desirous of opening new industries.

I have an utter disbelief, *at this stage*, in our pushing on with the technical education of mere artisans. That will come later. What we want now is that the education of the better classes, conducted in English, shall be on such lines as, first, shall not absolutely cut off a youth who follows those lines from all hope of employment in the public service, if he should see fit to prefer this to a career of industrialism; and second, shall at least give him a chance, if there are any industrial instincts in him, of finding out that he possesses them.

If I hand, say, a Kodak camera—the illustration is on my table as I write, and so I use it—to an average Englishman educated on the regulation classical and English lines, he will probably think vaguely that such things are made somewhere perhaps by machinery, but for him they are merely things to be bought in shops. I can only suppose that if I lay the same thing before the average B. A. of Madras University, he will think very much on the same lines, only adding mentally that low-caste working people have to do with these practical matters but educated men have to

## INDIAN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

do with the results on paper, and in general with paper and ink and with words, whether in print or vocal. I want that our average B. A., on seeing, say, a camera, shall, like the average Englishman or American of the practical, industrial sort, say within himself: "This is a thing that is made in hundreds and in thousands, and the making of it, and of, say, Singer's sewing-machines and Yost's type-writers, gives employment to thousands of hard-working artisans; and why shouldn't I superintend the organization and direction of such labour, and so keep the reward of their and my industry in my own *desk*, instead of leaving it to the foreigner? and why shouldn't I be so educated—or, at least, insist on my son being so educated—that not only shall I or he be qualified for the guidance of the industrial development contemplated, but shall also attract the confidence of our friend the goldsmith and banker over the way, so that he may feel safe in financing our enterprise?" But the goldsmith and banker is a very shrewd old gentleman, and he knows perfectly well that Mr. Ramalinga Aiyar or Mr. Coop-pusamy Chetty, as now educated, would in a very short time "make ducks and drakes," as we say, of his hard-earned money.

Long before they learn to make type writers, Kodaks, and sewing-machines, our disciples of *Swadeshi* might at least make umbrellas, paper, matches, buttons, sugar, glass, and a thousand other things which they now pay foreigners to make for them, to the tune of crores of rupees annually—and this *not* because the people of India *cannot* make such things, but because the so-called educated class, all through their years of development in boyhood, have sedulously had their attention turned away from everything of a practical, industrial nature by us, their guides, who ought to have known better.

I want the Government of the country and the Educational Department to rise to the occasion, and after first finding out, as they can easily do, how the difficulty is met in Europe and America, to launch out on a very extensive development of the new education in India *at any cost in reason*. For it will pay in the long run, in the development of the wealth of the country in a thousand ways, and in its better capacity for sparing more taxation for the needs of the new policy. There is no use telling me that the people have not got it in them. They have it in them right enough, but latent for lack of education—in the true philosophical sense of that much-abused word.

I insist that the time has now come—indeed, arrived many years, ago—for a wise Government, possessing with God's help a little imagination, to recognize the compelling urgency of the need for an indigenous industrial development, and in hundreds of high schools to afford to the better classes at least the chance of discovering any latent taste that may lie in them, undeveloped only for lack of opportunity, in the direction of industrial production. As well expect the present sort of schools and colleges to furnish the necessary raw human material as to have expected the schools and colleges of monastic origin and tradition of the England of the eighteenth century to afford leaders in the textile, transportation, and numerous other gigantic industries which, on the initiative of a few untutored geniuses of the Watt, Stephenson, Arkwright, and Hargraves type, have utterly transformed the conditions of life



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in the civilized world in the last hundred years, and thereby have enormously increased the sum of human comfort.

In an early stage of his evolution man shares with the lower animals the disability of being unable to contribute in any other way than through the labour of his muscles to the well-being of himself and of those dependent on him for their support. In a later stage of development certain masterful men are found to force other and less masterful men to support them by the labour of the latter's muscles—that is, slaves labour, while masters live and look on in a state of comparative rest and freedom from sweat. Later again—and this undoubtedly is a higher stage of evolution than the slave stage—men are found to have trained a few of the lower animals to exert their muscles on their behalf, while they themselves rest and look on, or at least confine their exertions to the animal's guidance. Later again—indeed, very late in the history of his development—man learns how to cause inanimate things, instead of animals or men, to do his work for him. Needless to say, this last method of working—viz., the direction and guidance into the service of men of the great inanimate forces of Nature—connotes a far higher state of civilization and of development than that attained in any of the earlier stages. For if that part of man which already, in the course of his evolution, has risen superior to the corresponding part of his living fellows, the beasts, birds, fishes, insects, etc.—viz., if his thinking apparatus is to develop for the better on evolutionary lines—it is as well that he should not be hampered by having to wear out not only his body, but also the thinking part of his ego, in muscular exertion, for the mere sake of keeping himself alive. To keep himself alive and to make life worth while man has certain elementary needs, amongst which may be reckoned a modicum of food, of warmth, of shelter, and of enjoyment, and in order to secure these for himself and for his dependents, and of the best quality obtainable, so that his and their happiness may approach the attainable maximum, it is necessary—apart from high-handed ruffianism—that he should either exert himself, or get other men to exert themselves for him, or train beasts to exert themselves for him, or, best of all, that he should so dispose of inanimate things that they may exert themselves on his behalf. He cannot well lie under a tree and expect the fruit to drop into his mouth, or the ravens of heaven to feed him. Speaking generally, the more exertion he succeeds in exercising, or in causing to be exercised on his behalf, provided he has the intelligence to guide it in right directions, the greater will be the degree of comfort and happiness that he will succeed in securing for himself and his dependents.

It was not many centuries ago that Europe, in the course of her development, reached the stage of compelling some few of the inanimate forces of Nature to work for her. Indeed, it is almost within the memory of men still living that, except for a few water-wheels and a few windmills—and in another direction, except for ships driven by the wind—there was but little to be seen even in Europe of the utilization by men of the forces of Nature. But nowadays the function of the average working man of Europe and America is to stand by and direct the great natural forces, so that they may work for him, while he acts as their brain; and in this way each man is able to guide the turning out of tens or hundreds of times more work than was possible in the old days, and yet with

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no more fatigue of his own muscles than he endured when his out-turn was far smaller.

This not being a politico-economical essay, I need not stay to point out how wealth follows increased production—wealth being understood as meaning, not the multiplication of money in the narrow sense, but of those things that conduce to greater comfort, convenience, and happiness. At present India, amongst countries, is very low down in the scale of wealth, and this, by those of her sons who are articulate, is ascribed to many causes. I have said that this is not a politico-economical essay, and I may say also that it is not a political essay. We have had a surfeit of politics and our fill of political economy, and by this time the body politic might have been in better health had we devoted more of our attention to industrial instead of to political development—that is, to the development of our ability to substitute the agency of the great forces of Nature for mere human and animal muscular agency in the production of wealth, and of those things which conduce to human comfort.

But it is no use to hope for any such development in the present educational condition of the country. For what do we see? We see a vast mass of intelligent but illiterate, hard-working folks, chiefly engaged in agriculture, but as years go on in larger and larger numbers devoting themselves to other industries under the guidance of a limited number of practical foreigners. Alongside of them, but looking down on them for the most part with contempt, we see a smaller mass—perhaps 1 or 2 per cent. of the whole—who have availed themselves of such benefits as are ascribable to an English education. But the education in question has omitted to lay sufficient stress upon the fact—and we Westerners know it to be a fact—that the weal of a nation lies in her industrialism. Our educationalists have taught history—or tries to teach it—literature, mathematics, and philosophy to masses of men whose forebears, when we others were dressed in woad, had already clothed themselves in philosophy and mysticism, and who since then have thought and dreamt of little else—with the result that, taken in the mass, they are a poverty-stricken, short-lived, and from our vigorous Western point of view an uncomfortable and suffering, though patient, race of men.

During countless ages the Western world, as still does the Eastern to a great extent, jogged along quite content that production should be carried on by the labour of men and of animals. For hundreds of years the education of Europe was of a literary, two-dimensional character, in the hands of clerics and scholiasts unacquainted to an almost incredible degree with the real practical needs of the world. All this time Europe remained poor; there was no production of goods on anything that would now be considered a commercial scale; it took hard labour to earn a new blanket or a pair of shoes. But somewhere more or less a hundred years ago a number of strenuous, three-dimensional, practical men sprang up, and from then until now the practical man has been brushing the unpractical schoolmaster aside and taking the direction of the country's industrialism and education more and more into his own hands, with the result that we now see teeming Western populations of working folks enjoying comforts and conveniences

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that their fathers never dreamt of, and a splendid distribution of comparative well-being in Europe and America to which the masses in the East are still utter strangers. It must be a revelation to those who have not studied the subject to find how England, Germany, America, and other up-to-date countries, have supplied themselves with schools and colleges magnificently equipped, so that men of the wealthy and educated class may learn such practical science as, later, may help them to control factories, transportation, and industries generally. We can scarcely say that in India we have even the germs of any such thing, and it is a fact that what little we have of it is not, to any adequate extent, availed of by the classes whom we might expect to see interested in the direction and guidance of masses of skilled but uneducated working folks. Indeed, we may well ask : What measurable influence can Sibpur, Rurki, Madras, and Poona colleges, and a few more minor places of practical education, have on the industrial development of a population ten times that of England ?

I have already said that the new education, if adopted, will demand a heavy burden of taxation. But we are incapable of drawing wise conclusions from reliable premises if we fail to see that any such outlay cannot but be repaid in the few years which are spanned by the life of a generation of men. However, we few Europeans can do little more than throw out hints. The thing will fail of accomplishment unless it be taken up in real earnest by the leaders of public opinion amongst the Indian themselves of all classes, as the true road of real *swadeshi* and self-accomplishment. A great deal of rubbish is talked about the burden and hardship of taxation. Taxation involves no loss to a country as a whole, so long as either the money does not leave the country or else leaves it in exchange for full value. Taxation expended on school houses, the paying of masters, prizes, books, and apparatus made in India is no more money lost to the country than his 2-foot rule is lost to a carpenter when he takes it out of one pocket to measure his work and puts it back in another. Our *swadeshi* industrialists—when they find time to turn from politics to industrialism—will, I hope, come to the conclusion that the new education, even if more costly than the old, cannot but bear fruit an hundredfold in the regeneration and the greater happiness of their race.

My contention—and I speak after some twenty years of study and consideration of this subject, and thirty-eight years' intimate knowledge of Indians of the working as well as of the educated classes—is that for people like the natives of India, whose thoughts have run for thousands of years on two-dimensional lines, a two-dimensional education is an education which fails in one of the elements most vital to the needs of the country, and that it is necessary that the minds of a far larger proportion of students than have that advantage at present should be educated on three-dimensional lines. Under the present educational system, in use practically universally throughout India, ideas are conveyed to the brain of the student through the medium of his eyes and ears. But my view is that the only suitable education for a race that has got into the mental condition of the literate masses of India is a three-dimensional education which shall avail itself also of the sense of touch, and shall aim at conveying ideas of length, breadth, and

height, as well as of weight, strength, and chemical qualities, and so shall offer to the youth who has it in him to develop industrially at least a chance of *recognizing that he has it in him*. We Western industrialists all know how a love of handicraft and of practical machinery came to us, not out of books, but through the chance of using tools and of watching machinery at work. The average young Indian of the literate class—say the son of a vakil, tahsildar, or office-writer—has a vague idea that all that sort of thing is the business of persons in a lower walk of life, illiterate, half-naked, and despised by him and his kind. Such being the case, how are we to expect the wealthy men of a community to combine and put their money into industrial enterprise, other than agriculture, when they are perfectly well aware that the young men of their own class are in a state of abject ignorance of anything of the sort, and that how easy soever it may be to get together a score or a hundred or many hundreds of clever artisans, it is practically impossible to find young men, of their own race and of the educated class, fit to handle and to supervise such labour when collected.

I have seen fit to use the unusual terms "two-dimensional" and "three-dimensional" education, and it may be considered necessary that I should define them. By the term "two-dimensional education" I mean education as ordinarily conducted in this country, with the aid of the eye and of the ear, whether by the aid of black marks in the plane of the paper, or by the voice of the teacher who conveys to his pupils what he hopes will be correct ideas. By "three-dimensional education" I mean the above, aided by the sense of touch added to those of seeing and hearing, ideas being conveyed to the mind of the learner by the practical handling, shaping, breaking, analyzing, and measuring of materials. The man educated on three-dimensional principles thinks in the solid and in the concrete. He thinks of actual things and of their qualities, instead of merely of words, whether voiced, printed, or written.

And yet, in common estimation, the man who has had a two-dimensional training is considered—and I fear even by the officials of Government is usually considered—to be the more useful man of the two, and a native candidate for a tahsildarship who can explain a reference to the Constitutions of Clarendon and follow a line of argument from Herbert Spencer's philosophy is more likely to obtain employment in the public service than his brother, a student of the Madras College of Engineering, who has been taught the principles of the flow of water, and in a scientific way has had practical demonstration of the strength of materials. I may say here that I honestly fear that, to the average educationalist of the English public schoolmaster type, as well as to the average civil official, these sayings may seem meaningless, and to savour of insane ravings. But I know what I mean, and if anyone fails to understand my meaning, may I be permitted to suggest that his lack of comprehension may perhaps be ascribable to the two-dimensional character of his upbringing.

In the adequate extension of indigenous industrialism by the aid of indigenous capital and under indigenous control and management lies the only hope of an appreciable enhancement of India's wealth and of an improvement in the material comfort and prosperity of the mass of her people. But there can be no extension

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of industrialism on modern lines—that is, on lines where the muscular labour of men or of animals is replaced by the great forces of inanimate nature controlled by men's brains—until the upper classes, and more particularly those of them who have had an English education, begin to apply themselves to the practical handling of practical things. For the uneducated masses, however well skilled manually, are incompetent, in the absence of educated guidance, to organize industries on a scale adequate to enable them to undersell the products of Western countries. However, we have yet to see what the Tata Institute at Bangalore is going to do. I am told that the Tata iron-works near Sini, in Bengal, are to engage about a hundred technically skilled Americans in order to make a start.

Nobody can be more conscious than I am that the treatment which I am offering to our patient is not a treatment which is going to make any appreciable change for the better in his condition in a year or two, or perhaps even in ten years. But I refuse altogether to accept it as believable that a patch of sticking-plaster is going to cure a long-standing case of diabetes. The underlying causes of the evil must be sought for diligently, and the remedy applied in good time. In my belief, the proximate cause of India's present failure to adopt industrialism on a scale anything like adequate to alleviate the poverty of her population is that her upper classes stand coldly apart from all interest in such development, partly or chiefly because of their pathetic belief that we are even now offering them the kind of education that has made us Western nations great and wealthy. There was a time a few decades ago when Indian students would almost certainly have availed themselves gladly of any kind of education that we might have offered to them. But our educational department has preferred to press on their notice the works of Shakespeare and of Mill instead of those of our modern scientists, as if India hadn't for long and dreary ages had a surfeit of poetry and philosophy. Education in India must change its character radically if ever it is going to help the educated classes to guide, direct, and govern the labour of future mills and factories, as in the Western world they are directed by the better educated.

I do not hesitate to say—and I say it straight in the faces of the limited number of Indians who have been educated in all our engineering colleges—that if we Europeans, to a man, were to leave India to-morrow, and even if—an unthinkable contingency—the entire country were not immediately plunged into “anarchy and bloody chaos,” there would not be a single line of railway in running order or a single mill working fifteen years after the date of our departure. I mean, of course, if in the meanwhile neither any other Europeans nor the Japanese nor even the Chinese had stepped in. I am absolutely convinced in my own mind, from extensive practical experience, that every engine, every signal, and every piece of apparatus on every railway would gradually, one by one, cease to functionize through sheer slovenliness, disorderliness, and want of the “stitch in time,” and for lack of general *bundobust*. Here and there a good, clear-headed man might hold out for a bit longer and keep things going for a while; but at what we Europeans consider an early age, forty or fifty, he would break down physically or mentally, and the country at his back would have omitted to

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train anyone to fill his place. And yet, scattered everywhere all over the country, there might be found thousands of excellent workmen—excellent, that is to say, under good and orderly management. But good and orderly management of workmen is impossible unless the manager is himself an educated and orderly man, with an adequate knowledge of underlying principles, and ability at least to read and study the best and latest practice. Up to the present, with comparatively few exceptions, the classes in India who are prepared to avail themselves of English education stand apart from everything savouring of industrial education—not that we have offered them very much of it, or encouraged them to avail themselves of what there is of it—preferring to run after the will-o'-the-wisp of literary, so-called, education, and the many thousands of petty, and the few hundreds of well-paid, Government appointments to which, in their wisdom, our rulers have practically closed all educational doors except the literary door.

In dealing broadly with a large subject, I have endeavoured to steer clear of making suggestions in regard to minor points; but I here break through the rule I have laid down for myself just to say that Government would be wise to offer a larger proportion of its ordinary civil appointments to men who have passed through well-equipped technical colleges, like the Madras College of Engineering, provided always, of course, that the candidate for employment had an adequate knowledge of English and of so much law as is necessary to begin with. At present such colleges cannot turn out more than enough men for the requirements of the Public Works Department.

But instead of a dozen of such colleges all over India, there ought to be a hundred, and there ought to be not less than a thousand High Schools so equipped that a boy with manual industrial instincts shall have at least a chance of ascertaining that he has such instincts, and that it is his ardent desire to pass on to one of the higher technical colleges, as the average European or American boy finds it so easy to do if he feels that way.

I have referred to the very reasonable disinclination of Indian capitalists to put money into industrial enterprises in view of their recognition of the fact that there is at present no adequate supply of skilled, orderly, and educated Indian control for such enterprises—control which just makes all the difference whether the crowd of skilled working men shall be a disorderly mob or an industrial army marching to success. The subject of the necessary association of the capitalist and banker with the industrialist has been handled most ably and illuminatively by His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda in a speech made on July 12 on the occasion of the inauguration of the new Bank of Baroda at Baroda. I may be permitted to quote from His Highness's interesting speech as published in the *Madras Mail* of July 25, 1908, and to say: Happy is the people who have the good fortune to live under so enlightened a ruler. His Highness said:

"If industrialism is ever to obtain a strong footing in this country—and after all the first object for which every enlightened patriot of India is striving to-day is for the development of indigenous industries on a scale commensurate with the enormous demand of the country, and on a scientific basis sufficiently effective to ward off foreign competition—if ever the languishing industries

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of India are to be revived, I say, a preliminary step, or at least a concomitant step, must be the reorganization of our methods of finance, so as to centralize the countless dribblets of capital into powerful reservoirs, where their outlet can be controlled and directed into productive channels. The genius of the Indian people is not primarily scientific or industrial, and the competition of the West, with its scientific and highly-centralized organization of capital and machinery, has long since driven from the field the ancient crude methods of our forefathers, never to revive to any appreciable degree or for any great length of time. The obvious moral is that India, following the noble example of Japan, must set herself diligently to the mastery of Western science and Western methods in matters of finance and industries.

"I am perfectly aware that this is not a new gospel ; and yet as it forms, in my opinion, the keynote of future progress, its constant reiteration must go on until even the man of the street comprehends. No reactionary sentiment of mere reverence for the past will save India from the unrelenting pressure of foreign competition ; no account of emotional patriotism can drag us out of the slough of economic dependence. We must set our faces as a nation grimly and patiently to master the methods and the implements that have mastered us. It is science against faith, and science will win. I reiterate, therefore, gentlemen, that the organization of such institutions as the Bank of Baroda has a deep significance beyond mere considerations of present expediency. The business aspect of the project has been eloquently presented by Dewan Bahadur Ambalal and Hon'ble Sir Vithaldas, and it is not my purpose to trench upon the ground which they have covered so well. But I desire to call your attention to certain larger aspects of the general movement, of which this bank is but one of the manifestations. I refer to the economic movement known as Swadeshism.

"Swadeshism covers, to be sure, a great variety of activities, and is capable of a great variety of definitions, but, to my mind, it is essentially a recognition of our national weakness in matters scientific and industrial, and a determined effort to mend. To acquire economic freedom is the end and aim of Swadeshism. And this can only be done by mastering the technique of Western industrialism. Industrialism, broadly speaking, is the application of scientific invention to the production and distribution of all the articles required by society to satisfy its wants. Inherent in the system, and inextricably bound up with it, are the scientific methods of finance to which I have already alluded. Industrialism needs for its purpose the joint-stock bank and the exchange no less imperatively than the machine and the waterfall. So that in my use of the word 'industrialism,' I shall be understood to mean not only machinery, the product of scientific invention, but also banking and the other agencies of credit, the product of scientific organization.

"What, then, is the significance of industrialism in modern society ? and what results would flow from its widespread introduction into India ? This is, no doubt, a large subject, and one that is fraught with many difficulties in its elucidation. But as it is possible that some of us have not realized why and how industrialism is justified in the social economy, and what are its bearings, economic, political, and cultural, I shall attempt, without going into a lengthy dissertation on the subject, to make a brief analysis of its

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effects on Western society. Commerce in the olden days—until a century and a half ago, in fact—was limited to the products of agriculture, the hunt, and the handicrafts. Merchants there were who understood the value of organization and the reproductive functions of capital. But it was not until the introduction of machinery in the processes of production, and the widespread application of credit in the organization of industries, that rapid progress became possible. The ownership of the implements of production—factories and machinery—passed inevitably, it is true, from the handicraftsman to the capitalist. And it is sometimes questioned whether the process has been accomplished with any lasting good to the working masses. Certainly in many individual cases it could be shown that the workman has suffered in the loss of that independence from overlordship which is sometimes extolled as the blessing of the humble cottager who labours at his own hand-loom. But I am convinced that it is easy to exaggerate the so-called independence which the workman enjoys under a handicraft organization of manufactures. Assuredly the mere fact that the handicraftsman performs his daily task with his wife and children to assist him is no proof of real independence. As a matter of fact, the workman's hours of labour are generally longer, and his liberty of movement much less than under industrialism. The test comes when we inquire which system leads, on the whole, to the higher standard of living, the larger opportunity for the education of children, and the slow but steady development of the individual personality of the workman.

"I think that no one who has critically compared the condition of our handicraftsman of India, working from day to day and from century to century for the minimum of subsistence, with the condition of the factory labourer of the West, begrimed it may be with soot, but nevertheless on the whole well-fed and well-housed, can fail to realize the economic and social advantages of industrialism. Industrial organization brings to help of the labourer not alone the machine. This might not in itself be an unmixed good, for too often the workman tends to become the mere mechanician, the slave of his iron implement. But the overwhelming advantage to the workman and to all society of industrialism becomes at once apparent when we consider the diversity of pursuits which it brings, and the tremendous accumulation of wealth. We hear much in the West of the injustice of large private fortunes, and certainly there is much truth in these allegations against capitalism. Nevertheless, the substantial truth is, as anyone may discover who carefully studies the subject, that under industrialism private fortunes are growing ever larger, a larger proportion of the population is acquiring wealth, and the whole mass of people is lifted up to a higher standard of living. Private accumulations of wealth are justified, as also the competitive basis on which they exist, if it can be shown that the general welfare is enhanced thereby. Great fortunes under the industrial system consist not in treasure privately hoarded, but in stocks, bonds, and securities, and these are merely representatives of factories, railroads, mines, and other agencies of production and distribution, through which the labourer of all grades obtains his employment and his wages. The private fortune of modern times is therefore only nominally private, and all the wealth of an industrial society belongs in a very real sense to the whole people.



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"What interest, what dividends, it may be asked, does society draw from these possessions? In the first place, as I have already pointed out, society at large, including the humblest labourer, draws a larger wage and lives on a better plane than would be possible under the old handicrafts organization of manufactures. In the second place, the accumulation of wealth makes possible the shifting of foodstuffs in tremendous volume from place to place and continent to continent, so that famine and starvation are comparatively unknown. In the third place, the agencies of culture, such as schools and colleges, libraries, museums, hospitals, galleries etc., are increased *ad infinitum*, until they are brought within the reach of every class of society, even the lowest. The door of opportunity opens for the individual member as wealth is increased and disseminated throughout the community. The gist of the whole matter is this, that, with the development of the industrial system, mankind has learned to throw a large part of his burden on the machine. During working hours the productivity of the whole mass is increased a hundred fold; during sleep the interest on capital goes on piling up. So wealth is produced automatically. Society at large reaps the benefit, notwithstanding the apparent injustice of so much luxury for the rich, while the masses are forced to work for daily bread. The masses will always work. The problem of every society is how to make the conditions of work as wholesome as possible, and to enlarge the field for individual development.

"It will thus be seen that the industrial problem has many bearings other than those which are economic in the narrow sense of that word. With the growth of industrialism in India is sure to come an enlarged outlook and an increased capacity of the whole social organism for things political, educational, and ethical.

"With the growth of industrialism craftiness and chicanery are bound to give way to an increasing straightforwardness of dealing between man and man. Numerous writers have borne testimony to the fact that the influence of science and industrialism in the Western world has lifted the people to a higher standard of commercial morality than formerly existed. No more convincing evidence of this fact could be adduced than the respect in which British integrity in commercial relations is held in this country. Furthermore, with the increase of private wealth which industrialism brings is sure to come increased facilities for the spread of education and culture among the masses. With wealth and education comes increasing capacity for political affairs. It is an ancient truism that the good administrator must be a sound business man.

"It is my profound conviction, therefore, that the line of least resistance in the progress of India at this time lies in the hard study and consistent application of the paraphernalia of industrialism to Indian conditions. Only in this manner can we fit ourselves for the larger demands of statesmanship. And only in this way can we, as a people, expect ever to enter the haven of economic independence. As the West owes its progress of the last couple of centuries to the application of scientific invention to all phases of life so, India must look to the same formula. I do not in the least minimize the necessity of reform in the political administration; but change in these directions is apt to be slow, unless forced from beneath by an ever-increasing sense of industrial independence

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and economic self-respect, if I may be allowed to use such an expression. It is my duty to impress upon my people again and again that the development of industries and commerce rests primarily upon them. Without individual pluck, perseverance, energy, and foresight we are powerless to effect any solid and lasting improvement in the economic condition of the country."

I now arrive at the point of putting forward my propositions broadly for acceptance. What I claim is that—

(a) Indian industrialism can never develop on a scale adequate for the needs of the country unless and until it can develop under the superintendence of qualified Indians.

(b) How excellent soever may be the common workmen, they can never work successfully in large numbers unless guided and organized by suitably educated leaders.

(c) These leaders must be Indians, if industrialism is to extend on a scale adequate for the needs of India—that is, on a scale adequate appreciably to raise the wealth of the individuals composing the Indian population; for it would practically be impossible to employ Europeans, Americans, or Japanese in anything like sufficient numbers.

(d) But the Indian Educational Department is making no effort, on anything like an adequate scale, to give an education, suitable to the end in view, to young Indians of the better class, or to place it in their way.

(e) Educated Indians as a class despise and avoid education on industrial lines, preferring the literary education which leads to Government employment.

(f) But in the hope of removing this prejudice, Government ought to recognize a three-dimensional education as being at least quite as good as—I claim greatly better than—a two-dimensional education for equipping a man for its employment in almost any capacity.

(g) It cannot be expected that the few young Indians who possess a latent talent for industrialism will ever find themselves, unless a very large number of them pass through a three-dimensional education.

(h) The average English educationalist can scarcely be expected to know, without special study of an unfamiliar subject, how to set about devising an educational course, on three-dimensional lines, suitable for the present needs of the country. But there are men who do know, and they can be found by going the right way about it.

(i) The wealthy native of India, who now either hoards his money, or lends it on usury, or invests it in Government paper, or employs it in the mere merchandize of articles produced in Europe, will not invest in indigenous industrial enterprise until he feels pretty sure that he can engage men, in considerable numbers, who not only know more than he does about the underlying principles of the intended industry, but have acquainted themselves with its practical operations, and give evidence of the possession of qualities necessary for the guidance of large masses of inferior labour.

(j) But at present he knows that such men are practically not obtainable, or at least that if he gets one and loses him his enterprise may fail before he gets another, whereas in Europe they are obtainable in thousands.

(A) Finally, if a man is to be a trusted captain of industry, he absolutely *must* be straight, and must subordinate all other interests to those of his employer. Here, again, is a problem for the educationalist, but of a different character.

I think that this about finishes what I have to say. I cannot go into details; that is for the specialists, among whom I do not pretend to class myself. The above notes are of the roughest, scribbled down in the intervals of very heavy business.

The comments I desire to make on what, I hope all will agree, is a most original and interesting paper, relate to the cause and the effect of the overwhelmingly literary and legal stamp and complexion which has characterized our Indian system of education. To do this, may I be permitted to quote from facts and figures which I collected more than a year ago when writing on this subject? \* Passing by Macaulay's famous minute of 1835, which settled finally the question whether the system of education should be in the Oriental languages and literature or in English, we come to Sir Charles Wood's pronouncement in his despatch of 1854. He and the Directors of the East India Company declared that the education they desired to see extended in India was that which has for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy, and literature of Europe. Law and civil engineering, medical colleges and schools of industry and design are specially referred to, and the problem of "how useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station in life, may best be conveyed to the great mass of the people." "School," they said, "whose object should be, not to train highly a few youths, but to provide more opportunities than now exist for the acquisition of such an improved education as will make those who possess it more useful members of society in every condition of life, should exist in every district of India."

But the practical of these wise and enlightened principles became altogether lop-sided as the years passed by. The Englishman, with his natural bent towards the practical and material, remembering the gigantic progress made by his own country in the industrial and mechanical arts, in medical and chemical science and similar branches of knowledge, supposed that the natives of India would follow his example if opportunity were afforded them. But the natural bent of acute and subtle intellects of the higher castes is towards literary, legal, and philosophical study, and is indifferent or antagonistic to scientific, medical, industrial, and mechanical investigation. It loves to deal with ideas as expressed by the written word, not with the nature of actual things that we touch and handle. To use Mr. Spring's metaphor, it prefers the study of existence in two dimensions, and not in three. Hence the demand of the Indian student has been for greater and greater facilities for literary and legal study, until comparatively recent times, almost the whole educational momentum of Government has been devoted to meeting this demand, instead of guiding the intellectual energies of students by professorships, scholarships, appointments, and every other suitable method towards those branches of knowledge in which India is most deficient.

An examination of the calendars of the different Universities

\* *Vide* "Signs of the Times in India," in the *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1907.

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in 1907 revealed the following facts : The arts and legal graduates and licentiates whose names appeared on the books of the Universities numbered approximately about 41,000 ; the medical, engineering, and scientific were only about 3,000. There were barely 350 doctors and bachelors of medicine, less than 250 doctors and bachelors of science, and not 200 bachelors of engineering. One University had issued 36 diplomas in agriculture, and there was one solitary licentiate in sanitary science. A more recent examination of the calendars show Calcutta in 1907 passing 847 literary and legal graduates, and 147 in science. But many of 370 B.A.'s may have graduated in science. Madras passed about 1,700 literary and legal graduates, and 600 in science and medicine, including 568 B.A.'s in science. Bombay was ahead with 269 literary and legal graduates, and 200 scientific, medical and engineering.

Until about the middle of last century England itself was backward enough on the scientific side of education, and many thoughtful men lament that so much encouragement by examinations and fellowships is still given in our public schools and in the older Universities to the study of the language and the literature of Greece and Rome. But in spite of the importance given to classical studies, which absorb so many of the finest intellects of the country, the claims of science have been represented by such distinguished names as Nasmyth, Clerk Maxwell, Sir George Stokes, Lord Kelvin, Lord Rayleigh, Sir J. J. Thomson, Sir William Ramsay, and Sir Oliver Lodge. Cambridge is ahead of Oxford as far as the scientific side is concerned. In 1907 (omitting M.A.'s) there were apparently 219 literary graduates and 273 in mathematics, science and medicine. In Oxford there were (so the Registrar informs me) 454 literary graduates and 95 scientific among the honours men. In the London University there were 295 literary and legal graduates, and 517 scientific and medical. In Manchester University there were 106 literary and legal, and 216 scientific and medical graduates.

That India possesses, though dormant and undeveloped, intellectual capacities suited to scientific study and discovery cannot be doubted. Over 2,000 years ago, Indian thinkers had framed out the atomic theory, and had, it is said, found the proof of the theorem that the square of the hypotenuse is equal to the squares of the other two sides of a right-angled triangle. In much later times the decimal system was perfected by some genius in India through the introduction of the special symbol or figure for nought or zero, and by attaching a value of position to each unit. One prominent scientific man at least is a native of India. I allude to Professor Bose, whose researches into the fatigue of metals under strain have obtained the widest recognition. May he be the forerunner of a phalanx of trained and educated Indians upon whom must eventually rest the burden of raising the standard of living among the peoples of India, by harnessing the powers of nature for the service of man. But to effect this a change must be made by Government, so as to enhance, in the eyes of the rising generation of students, the value of scientific as compared with the literary and legal and the educated classes themselves must follow suit. (Mr. F. J. E. Spring in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*.)

## LEADING THOUGHTS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS

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### RACE, CREED AND POLITICS IN INDIA

Mr. A. E. Duchesne, the late redoubtable editor of our contemporary of the *Englishman*, has spared no pains to air his views on Indian affairs to his countrymen during his present stay in England. The April number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* contains a paper on the above subject which Mr. Duchesne read before the East India Association for the edification of its members. Like an astute partisan, clever at marshalling all the available facts against his opponents and unlike an impartial judge eager to administer justice by carefully weighing all the facts for and against the parties concerned, he expains away the demands of that great representative body of public opinion which find expression in what he chooses to characterise as the falsely styled "National Congress." He begins by drawing a line of distinction between politics as understood in England and India and opines that politics as understood in England "represent the conflict between two opposed schools of thought as to the precise way in which the national affairs shall be conducted," while politics in India denote "the relation between the will and operations of the Sirkar and the needs and wishes of the people." Now this we can not help regarding as a distinction without any essential difference. We admit that the Indian Sirkar, as at present constituted, is but an extraneous arrangement neither naturally evolved from within, nor organically related to, the people, and determines the needs, and tries to meet the wishes, of the people entirely by itself without that healthy co-operation and participation of their representatives which have been the only determining factors in the government of England and most other Western countries. But this conversion of Autocracy into Democracy has nowhere—in England, France or America—been a perfectly smooth sailing; and coming closer to our own days, no sane politician can shut his eyes to the contemporaneous events in Persia, Turkey and even in India. We sincerely hope and pray that both the rulers and the ruled in India will take time by the forelock, avail themselves of the lessons with which history is replete, and settle the conflict that has already begun more peacefully, amicably and humanely. The constitutional conflict between the two parties now existing in India—the rulers and the

ruled—is bound, in the fitness of things and in the fulness of time, to develop into a conflict in principle among the people of this land, free to assert their own voice in the administration of their affairs. There is thus even at present no essential differences between politics in India and in England—the one being only the logical sequence of, and a necessary corollary to, the other.

As to the writer's disapproval of taking Indian affairs into the arena of English Party Politics we would be altogether indifferent unless the plea of settled fact advanced by the Liberals in dealing even with measures passed with wanton carelessness become a standing and disquieting feature of the situation.

The writer, however, waxes eloquent over the impossibility of India's ever attaining to a nationhood for want of homogeneity of race, religion and language. Says Mr. Duchesne :

" The huge subcontinent with its population of some 300,000,000 of the human race still bears the marks of those successive waves of Dravidian, of Aryan, of Zoroastrian, of Persian, of Pathan, of Mongol, of Briton from over the *Kala Pani*. We still have the aboriginal, with his swarthy skin, his Animist faith, and his simple habits. We still have the Dravidian, with his worship of the local deity, and the Aryan, with his philosophic pantheism, his Gita, and his *Maya*. We still have the Parsi with his Zend-Av-esta, the Sikhs with his Grunth—Sahib, and the Buddhist with his phounghi and his doctrine of merit. We still have the Mahomedans with his Koran, his magnificent devotion to God and His prophet, and his " stirring memories of a thousand years " of empire. We still have the fiery genius of the Maratha."

The writer then points to the existence of as many as 147 vernacular languages spoken in India and as many as eight principal religions obtaining in this country as being a most serious obstacle in the way of a common nationality. True to the traditions of the *Englishman* with which Mr. Duchesne has so long been associated, he can not do without having a fling at the English educated class and the National Congress. He is extremely mortified at heart to see the " tremendous and undue prominence into which this class has recently forced itself " and he regards it most " important to note how very small a class it is " and calls the annual Congress, the organ of this small class, as the " falsely styled 'National.' "

These racial, linguistic and religious differences, the writer apprehends, " when not leading actually to violence, are continually producing complicated situations which require for their adjust-

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ment the utmost honesty, tact, and dexterity of the administrator." Now we confess to very many difficulties arising from these differences, but at the same time there is no good denying the truth that unless the Anglo-Indian extremists would have roused their jealousies by an insolent and stupid discrimination between what have come to be looked upon as the "pet and the neglected wives" things would not have come to such a bad plight as at present. Referring to the relation that subsisted between the two principal communities in India prior to that unlucky measure of the Bengal Partition we can not do better than quote the remarks made by the late Sir Charles Cecil Stevens in the course of the debate that followed the reading of this paper. He observes :

"The one great lesson which, I think, no one who has been in India can fail to learn is that of toleration. When one has been accustomed to see Hindus, Mohamedans, Buddhists, and Christians and all the rest of them living together (and I have seen them all in one place) peaceably and harmoniously, one sees that no one class of people, ourselves specially, is entitled to complain if others differ in social habits, in religion or even, perhaps, in morals."

Mr. L. W. Ritch, the great liberal friend of India, observed in course of his reply to the lecturer :

"It should not be forgotten that the English nation had itself passed through just such a phase in its history. The English nation was not homogenous, but had been compounded of just such ingredients as go to make a hotch-potch. Celt, Latin, Saxon, and Norman had all contributed their quota, and the resultant was not a bad specimen of nationhood."

Referring to the racial animosities in the matter of public appointments our writer exults over the abolition of what he is pleased to call a "fetish of competitive examination" which "had the inevitable result of exposing the unhappy Behari to the domination of a race whom he detested."

We do not know whether the Beharis will take these observations of their worthy advocate as a compliment or insult to their intelligence or whether they have any substantial reason to "detest" their Bengalee neighbours, but we find far weightier words of wisdom in the observations of Sir Cecil Stevens, who holds :

"that the interests of the Beharees, and perhaps of the Bengalis, would have been better served in the recent Partition if the partition had divided off Behar, Bhagalpur and Chutia Nagpur, and thus constituted a separate administration."

Mr. Duchesne then gloats over what he strangely believes to be

the effects of the administrative division of Bengal *vis.* (1) 'the gradual increase of the Mahomedan population in Eastern Bengal (2) the gradual increase of Mahomedan pupils in public institutions (3) improvement of the lot of the low-class Mahomedans who had hitherto been the victim of Hindu oppression. Now, while it is difficult to see the connection between the partition and an increase of the Moslem population of East Bengal (there is unhappily no Malthus in our generation to inquire into the truth of such a scientific theory), the second could very easily be brought about without incurring the cost of the partition.

As regards Mr. Duchesne's third statement, let Sir Charles Stevens reply :—

"Unhappily the strong are too often apt to be what we call in India "zabardast." I think that has more to do with the matter than any difficulties between Hindus, as such, and Mahomedans, as such."

All the above 'facts' the writer marshalls in proving what he regards to be the hollow pretention of the educated community to present "an Indian *nationality*." "Indeed," goes on the writer, "the factors in the racial hotch-potch which tend towards national unity are, so far as they are discernible at all, entirely due to British influence. These possible factors are : The common use of the English language, common employment in service under British Government, and common inclusion in the British Empire.....Essentially India is still a land of divisions, of conflicting interest." Against these wails of despair, we present our readers with the following broad-minded and farsighted observations of Mr. L. W. Ritch : "It should be borne in mind that evolution in growth was as much a fact in the East as in the West, and it ought not to be taken for granted that India is inherently incapable of becoming a nation.....Apparently there were more ways than one of making a nation. Injustice and oppression, such as the Indians of the Transvaal were suffering, might produce that result, or it might be brought about by affectionate care and helpfulness, such, as I trust, inspires the Government of India."

Mr. Duchesne then proceeds to offer rather a belated warning against the introduction of the proposed "Reforms" which, according to him, are fraught with serious perils to the stability of the British Empire. Observes he : "India is like gunpowder—a mechanical mixture inert in itself, but capable of producing a tremendous explosion if favourable circumstances present them-



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selves. The mechanical mixture is prevented from becoming a dangerous compound by the presence of the British administration. If that is weak or lacking, then the explosion ensues.....The problem of Indian administration is how to ensure an equal justice to all sections of the population, while at the same time allowing a natural growth, an expansion of desire and ambition to have its just fruition among such classes as are conscious of such expansion. ....The danger of the Reform has its twofold aspects. On the one side the machinery which Reform shall introduce may be so operated as to place all legislative, and hence all other power in the hands of the one section of the populace. On the other side any tampering with the existing arrangements is extremely likely to produce the idea that the British *Raj* is losing either its power or its impartiality. In the former case tribal dispute must lead to an increase in factions, quarrels, and open breaches of the peace. In the latter we must face the possibility of having some sections of people in a chronic state of discontent, while they watch in moody aversion the aggrandisement of the favoured class." "To have anything like an electorate in India would simply mean turning the existing caste organisations into huge caucus-groups moving in obedience to wires pulled by demagogic upstarts. Votes would be given to order or not given at all, according as the leaders of the caste determine. The recalcitrant voter would be ostracized. The tremendous machine which exhibited its power in the quasi-religious sanction given to boycott would be employed to prevent such a one from eating, drinking, marrying or amusing himself among his fellows." The writer, like many Anglo-Indian officials, dreads the monopoly of the council seats by the Indian lawyers, regardless of the fact that the present cabinet of the British Parliament is composed mostly and mainly by recruits from that profession. With regard to communal representation, the writer considers that though any electoral representation would be doomed to failure unless important minorities are not adequately represented, at the same time it would be an exceedingly difficult situation to meet if racial or religious factors are to be introduced into the the problem. Regarding the appointment of an Indian in the Viceroy's Executive Council, Mr. Duchesne observes "that legally the Government of India is the Governor-General in Council, and that this expression implies an entity, no part of which is separable from the rest. It must follow that whoever is selected for the Council the selection must involve in popular es mation the abandonment of British sovereignty in India." The

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writer deeply deplores the action taken and declares that on the appointment of an Indian in the Viceroy's Executive Council "the austere impartiality, the imperial aloofness from sectarian or racial strife, hitherto characteristic of that legal entity, the Governor-General-in-Council, has departed." The writer further confidently asserts that "it will be impossible to preserve the secrecy of debate."

Alas ! for Mr. Duchesne.

### A MILITARY ASPECT OF THE UNREST IN INDIA

Col. St. John Fancourt, C.B., contributes an article on the above subject to the April number of *The Empire Review*, pressing upon the attention of the Government of India the history of the rebellions and mutinies that have swept over British India in the past and advising it to take lessons from the same in regulating the wave of unrest that has at present flooded the continent of India. As a bigotted upholder of the cause of the white Brueaucracy of India, the writer urges the rulers to keep a tight grip over the Indian people under a network of efficient military organization. The writer alludes to the rising of the Indian troops at Vellore in 1806 and the events of 1857 to warn the rulers of India against putting any trust upon the Native army and observes:—"There have always been turbulent spirits in the ranks of the Indian Army who would be only too glad to become active assistants in any organised rebellion, and many men who have been discharged for misconduct, or as useless soldiers, would welcome an opportunity to join in any social upheaval. Nor could we rely on the loyalty of the tens of thousands who have left the army without pensions or gratuities, because they considered they had some grievance against the authorities, or on those who, having spent their gratuities, are out of employment. Thousands of men who have served in native State armies and military police forces and levies would certainly be engulfed in any popular rising. On the whole, these classes may be reckoned to number 200,000. The reserve and native State armies are not under such discipline as to be able to escape the general contamination of a civil seditious movement. Even if all the 150,000 troops with the colours remained loyal, some 400,000 militarily trained fighting men would probably be at the service of the leaders of a rebellion. They would in the first instance be without adequate arms, ammunition or organisation, but, acting in guerilla bands, they could disarm the country police while the townsmen

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gave employment to the garrison troops in suppressing rioting, burning and looting. To guard the railway lines, bridges and isolated stations at such times would require a large army."

This unpleasant military and political situation would mean the absorption of the whole of the 150,000 expeditionary force from England into the garrison of India, and the permanent mobilisation of the Territorials—it would also involve vast loss of property and considerable loss of life.

Mr. Fancourt, however, warns the Government of India against offending in any way the religious prejudices of the Indian people—a fact which, according to the writer, was chiefly responsible for the calamities above referred to. He observes: "Even in the present enlightened era, the mistakes made in 1806 and 1857 have been repeated. By forcing Western sanitary precautions on an unwilling people, the Government of India produced a most dangerous situation in 1899, north, south, east and west, and all castes and all religions were united in a passionate resistance to the plague measures of the Government. The British soldier, never a popular character in the East, had to incur the odium of carrying out the detested plague orders, as the police failed to do so. Cities and towns, such as Bombay, were picketed like besieged cities. Even the Sepoys employed incurred the intense animosity of the civil population. After the usual interval devoted to rioting and burning, that measure was abandoned. The Government of India, in the casuse of philanthropic administration against the will of the people, had thus encountered political and military dangers of the gravest kind, which might easily have cost us the loss of tens of thousands of our own race." The writer holds that, as a result of this, people have imbibed a spirit of lawlessness and "have found that rioting is a pleasant and easy way of resisting unpopular measures of government, and practise it on every available opportunity." The writer then by way of a contrast between the present and past condition of Bengal observes: "About twenty years ago when Bengal included all the great cities, from Dinapore to Dacca, from Assam and Chittagong to Orissa, such was its law-abiding character, that both the military and civil authorities were content to entrust the peace of this vast population and the central seat of government to a few thousand practically unarmed civil police, while only a garrison of volunteers was provided for the defences of the Hughli against some possible foreign aggressive action. But "the prodigious change that has taken place in the political and military situation in Bengal" the writer cunningly attributes to

what he describes as "the mistaken civil administration of a party of remarkably earnest and able representatives of the Indian Civil Service whose views are described in our vestry elections under the cant term of progressives." "They have worked out," goes on the writer, "their ideas on education and local self-government with enthusiasm in Bengal. Their work has resulted in the fact that among the men thus educated at the expense of the long suffering agriculturists and traders, the most active seditionists in India are to be found. The Colleges and Universities are hot-beds of anarchist propaganda and the municipal bodies are thoroughly corrupt."

To guard against these phantoms of dangers our writer proposes to chalk out the following path for the Government of India to pursue :

"To be afraid, or to seem afraid, is as fatal in Eastern Politics as it is in Eastern War.....Any concession, preceded and demanded by unlawful agitation and violence, leads the natives of India to imagine it has been wrung from the Government by fear of the consequences of their refusal.....There must be no parleying with Eastern soldiers who demand concessions with arms in their hands." On the questions of the recent Reforms the writer seriously takes to task the Government of India and the Secretary of State who, according to him, have certainly parleyed with the seditionists though their aggressive plan of campaign is in full swing." "They announce," says Mr. Fancourt, "their intention of placing native gentlemen in such high positions in the government that it will be impossible to conceal from them the secret military measures essential to the safety of every white man, woman and child." But to crown Anglo-Indian bigotry, the writer most impudently calls to arms to keep peace in India and observes that "the recent concessions to popular agitation in India mean a great increase to European garrison there and the increased vigilance on the part of those who have to hold India. There is no ruler of India who has not recognised the fact that with the departure of the last British soldier the whole fabric of the Indian Empire will break into pieces. The soldier is, and always has been, the bed-rock of political situation.....It is certain that the advanced measures of western politicians applied to the East will make it impossible for Englishmen and women to live in India except at the daily risk of their lives and property. Mr. Fancourt concludes his rich imagery of India's perils with the following solemn warning: "As representative institutions are extended the security for life and property dimini-

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shes. Thus without any active rising in rebellion the military garrison must automatically increase until recruits cannot be found for it and compulsory service will have to be faced in England ; for the British public has more regard for the lives of one English family than for the political education of the whole Bengali race."

### WAS LORD CURZON'S INDIAN POLICY A SUCCESS?

Mr. F. Abraham discusses Lord Curzon's Indian policy in the April number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. Deep personal veneration of the writer for that great Indian administrator seems to have so completely blinded and blurred his vision that we fear he has totally failed to accurately judge the issues raised in the spirit of an impartial historian. Mr. Abraham begins by describing the Congress attitude as "the Socialist Opposition to Lord Curzon" and falls foul of the "short-sighted Bengalis and Mahrattas of Radical tendencies." "It is the Babu of Bengal," says Mr. Abraham, "who writes the seditious nonsense and whose socialistic valour shows itself in murdering Englishmen in railway trains, or throwing bombs at Englishwomen in the street." Plunging into the subject-matter of his paper, Mr. Abraham begins by applauding Lord Curzon's famine and plague measures for his feeding "in nearly twelve months six millions of starvelings, without adding a rupee to the permanent debt of the country and for his changing the campaign of compulsion against Plague into one of moral suasion." The writer quotes with approval Lord Curzon's defence of the increase of military expenditure : "If two small Republics (the Boers) could stand up for four months," said his Lordship, "against the main strength of the British Army, and could put the British nation to the expence of one hundred millions sterling, are *we* to stint the annual expenditure that may be required to protect the vast Empire of India against the infinitely more formidable dangers by which she may one day be threatened?" Referring to the differences that arose between his Lordship and Lord Kitchener, Mr. Abraham remarks : "Lord Curzon was not only helping to further Lord Kitchener's aims to the best of his power but was also giving him a very free hand. . . . It was surprising that Lord Kitchener should have chosen to assume entire control of the army, without reference to the Governor-General, who had previously been taken into all Army Councils through his Military Adviser."

## **LORD CURZON'S INDIAN POLICY**

In answer to the accusation that Lord Curzon always discounted the idea of any reduction of taxation and that "Mr. Donald Smeaton was jockeyed out of his chance of succeeding Sir Fred. Fryer, Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, as a 'reward' for his plain-speaking about taxation," the writer observes that "the taxation was never at any time during his rule worse than he found it, and in 1903, he reduced the salt-tax, and raised the limit of exemption from income-tax. The effect of this was a sacrifice to the revenue of £2,500,000 per annum. In 1905, the salt-tax was reduced still further." The charge that "Sir Henry Cotton lost the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal through bringing to the Viceroy's notice the underpayment of coolies on the Assam tea-plantations" is put down by Mr. Abraham, without assigning any reason for this assumption, as "merely an expression of personal spite and jealousy." Mr. Abraham attributes the causes of poverty among the ryots to two things : (1) They are by nature thriftless (2) The native population in Bengal has increased threefold in 100 years, while the entire population of India increases at the rate of a million a year."

Regarding the Partition of Bengal the writer merely repeats the oft-cited cant "that one man cannot efficiently administrate eighty millions of persons" without trying to meet the many serious objections that have been raised against this measure.

The writer then proceeds to enumerate the well-known twelve labours of the political Hercules whom England sent over at the beginning of this century to administrate India on Imperialist lines :

(1) The Frontier Troops were withdrawn from perilous mountain fastnesses among troublesome tribesmen to positions in better communication with their base.

(2) The system of frequent official transfers, thus discouraging the officials to make a comprehensive study of the special requirements of any particular office, were suppressed.

(3) A superior and more business-like procedure was introduced in official despatches.

(4) The preservation of Ancient Monuments in India.

(5) A stable exchange was introduced which did away with the elastic currency which Lord Curzon considered to be "fatal to the accuracy of financial forecastings, and in the highest degree prejudicial to trade." A gold standard, with one pound sterling at the fixed value of fifteen rupees, and the Indian rupee at the fixed value of 16d, both being legal tenders, was established.

(6) The sixth reform related to the extension of Railways.

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Lord Curzon opposed the view held by Sir G. Campbell and others that exports of food-stuff should be restricted in times of famine and held that the lack of railway extension prevented the adequate export of rice from Burmah and wheat from the Punjab.

(7) The seventh reform related to the extension of irrigation. One million acres of jungle were brought under cultivation during Lord Curzon's time.

(8) Lord Curzon reduced the salt-tax to relieve to some extent the agricultural population of its ever increasing indebtedness.

(9) The reduction of the telegraphic rates between India and England had the effect of greatly facilitating the trade between the two countries.

(10) The relation between British soldiers and Indian villagers was sought to be improved by meting out condign punishment to the offenders.

(11) The eleventh was the educational reform sought to be effected by the Universities Act which officialized the governing bodies of the Universities and raised the cost of education in India.

(12) The twelfth related to the Police Reform which aimed at exposing and uprooting the system of bribery. "It must be largely due to this that it has been possible to weed out the sedition mongers" jubilantly exclaims Mr. Abraham, apparently innocent of the achievements of the "reformed Police" in the two divisions of Bengal.

Mr. Abraham then winds up his long paper with the following glorious vindication of Lord Curzon's Administration in India :

"Great Viceroys have gone before him, but all have not had the same courage to break through the bondage of the Indian Bureaucracy in the search for honest rule, and by so doing to court unpopularity. His policy was staunchly Imperialist, and his conviction that India holds a very great position in the Empire, if not the key to it, is as strong as ever it was."

## SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT IN ANCIENT INDIA

Mr. Gurudatta Sing contributes a very learned paper on the above subject to the joint Baishak and Jaistha number of the *Vedic Magazine*. The paper is the more interesting as the writer has all his statements borne out by copious extracts from the lore of

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ancient Sanskrit Literature. It is, moreover, an exceedingly opportune contribution, in as much as it is a cogent and closely-reasoned rejoinder to those who, on the eve of turning a new leaf in the history of the government of this country, most unscrupulously have tried to wreck the scheme by proclaiming that representative institutions are totally foreign to the soil of India.

"The Ideal of Government as of individuals," Mr. Singh observes with quotations from Manu, "was the attainment of Swarajya, Vairajy, Samrajya, Parmeshtirajya and Adhipatyarajya i.e. perfect peace and harmonious development of the self and the society." Referring to the divorce of religion from politics as it obtains in the present-day world the writer proves by citing Sanskrit texts from the Chandogya Upanishad that "unlike the present day constitutions which consider the separation of religion from law and polity as the panacea for all ills and the height of civilization, the old Hindu polity did never brook any such idea.....The Kshatriyas depend upon the Brahmans, and the Brahmans upon the Kshatriyas; it is only by their mutual co-operation that the business of state and progress of the society is possible."

"The church and the state in ancient India were interdependent, that Government was as much a part of religion as were other various functions" and hence the ideal of the Government in ancient India was "the harmonious development of society—moral as well as spiritual."

The writer by citations from the Vedas shows that "the Church, the State, and the University formed the three great centres of opinion in the Vedic polity. At the head of these assemblies was the King who was their president." In the *Shatpath Brahman* of the Vedas "the king as the only master of the lands of the people is denounced in very strong terms. He was merely to be the leader of the people and not their sole master. He was bound to abide by the decisions of these assemblies. Real power lay in the people as represented by these assemblies; and nothing was to be done by the king alone." Manu too lays down that "the king should form an assembly of seven, eight, or of more ministers as the case may be..... In no case was he allowed to go against the declared will of the people's ministers."

The office of the king, according to the Vedas, was also elective. Mr. Gurudatta cites the 4th Mantra, Chapter 2, of the Atharva Veda which says: "The nation shall elect thee to Kingship,..... take thy seat on the summit of kingly power, thence as a mighty monarch bestow blessings upon us." The 22nd Mantra, adhya 9,



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of the *Yajurveda* supports the assertion that "the flame of patriotism was ever kept ablaze among the masses by inculcating a religious worship of the "Matri Bhumi." In this Mantra "the mother country is invoked for wealth, strength, learning and sovereignty as in the modern song of "Bande Mataram."

The assemblies as described above were typical, and on the model of these a network of such assemblies was scattered all over the country down to the villages. According to Manu "the village was at the base of state administration. There were also constituted lords of one, ten, twenty, hundred, and thousand villages. All these had councils of their own, which conducted and managed local affairs. Such Lords of 100 and 1000 villages in conjunction with their ministers were enjoined to look after the welfare and peace of the people in their charge by means of periodical circuits and with the help of honest and well meaning informers. A similar machinery was employed for the governance of the cities."

From the evidence afforded by the Muntras quoted above," the writer rightly thinks, "it may be asserted with a fair amount of positivity, that, according to the vedic injunctions the sanctioned form of Government was republican, though in actual practice it dwindled down to a limited monarchy." The king no doubt appointed his ministers constituting the assembly, but the fact must not be forgotten that "in England also the King in a manner appoints peers and Lords. It is he who chooses his prime minister who in his turn select cabinet ministers. In theory, therefore, the old vedic polity nearly comes up to the present English polity." "There were as potent limitations," goes on the writer, "imposed by the Law of the Vedas and the Brahmans, the guardians of the people, in the one case as there are imposed on the English Kings by the two English constitutional houses. Judging from the law-abiding and righteous nature of the society at large in those times, the said limitations were more than sufficient, and the fear of incurring divine displeasure in the event of any unlawful transgression was a sufficient discouragement for the King and his ministers to indulge in any uncalled for or unrighteous procedure."

The writer, however, quotes with approval the opinion of Swami Dyanand who held that this democratic system of Government "survived up to the time of the Mahabharata, and then on account of anarchy, unrest, and general bloodshed that followed, it began to get deteriorated." In the Buddhistic period, Mr. Singh collects from Megasthenes's account, the king's will was absolute. The Royal will was communicated to the provinces by the agency

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of a bureaucracy at the head of which stood the Viceroy, generally sons or other relatives of the Sovereign." Referring to the form of Government that prevailed in the Buddhistic period the writer culls from the same account that "next to the Viceroys were the Rajukas *i. e.* the Commissioners, below whom were the Maha Matras *i. e.* the district officers. Besides, there were the magistrates of Dharma or the censors of the law of piety to look to the advance of religion." About the high sense of duty of the Buddhist Kings towards their people Magasthenes gives the translation of an Edict of His Majesty King Priyadarshin (Asoka) which is as follows :

"I have arranged that at all hours and in all places, whether I am dining or in the ladies' apartments, in my bed room or in my carriage—the official reporters should keep me constantly informed of the people's business which I am ready to dispose of at any place."

Referring to the military administration, the writer informs us from the same account that "the affairs of the war-office were directed by a commission of thirty members divided into six boards each containing 5 members with departments specially assigned."

"The civil administration," the account says, "was of considerable complexity. It was carried on through various departments *viz*—(1) Irrigation Department which regulated rivers and controlled the sluices so as to distribute canal water fairly among the farmers and the Revenue Departments."

The writer sums up the article with the following words :

"The underlying principle of the Government in this period as in all other periods was Dharma.....In fact it was the thing for the achievement of which all Governments were constituted, and when we imagine the force of this Dharma, we may realize that the power of the King though absolute, was limited to a great measure by this all important principle of Dharma.....The fear and the dread of losing this world as well as the next was the greatest safeguard for the liberties of the subject ; and this was the reason why such a wonderful civilization was developed. There was perfect peace and freedom from anxiety."

## LIST OF RECENT BOOKS ON INDIA

- ABU TURAB VATI, MIR**—A History of Gujrat (Edited by E. Denison Ross, and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1909).
- DIRECTORY OF INDIAN GOODS AND INDUSTRIES**—(Published by the Indian Industrial Conference, Amraoti, New Edition : 1/8).
- DAVIES, MAJOR H. R.**—Yun-nan, the Link between India and the Yangtze (Cambridge University Press).
- HASTINGS, G. W.**—A Vindication of Warren Hastings (Henry Frowde.)
- HODSON, T. C.**—The Meitheis (Illustrated, with an Introduction by Sir Charles Lyall. Published by the Eastern Rengal and Assam Government. 6/9.)
- JONES, JOHN P.**—Iadia : Its Life and thoughts (Illustrated, 8vo. Macmillan & Co., 10/6d.)
- KEANE, A. H., LL.D., F.R.G.S.**—Asia, Vol. II, Southern and Western Asia [Edward Stanford, London].
- LAW, JOHN.**—Glimpses of Hidden India (Crown 8vo. 2/.)
- LYALL, SIR CHARLES.**—The Mikris (Illustrated.) Published by the Eastern Bengal and Assam Government. 6/9)
- Mc NAIR, MAJOR J.F.A., R.A., C.M.G., and BARLOW, T. L.** Oral Tradition from the Indus : [Cranbourne Press, Brighton].
- MODY, H. P.**—The Political Future of India (Being a Prize Essay on the Aspirations of educated Indians (Hodder and Stoughton.)
- OATEN, E. F.**—European Travellers in India during the XVth, XVIth and the XVIIth centuries (Being a Record of the Evidence afforded by them with respect to Indian Social Institutions and the Nature and Influence of Indian Governments. 3/2.)
- RAMACHARAKA, YOGI.**—The Inner Teachings of the Philosophies and Religions of India. (4/8.)
- STRACHEY, SIR JOHN.**—India : Its Administration and Progress (Third Edition. Revised, 8vo. Macmillan & Co., 10/6d.)
- SEDGUICK, F. R.**—The Indian Mutiny of 1857 (Being a sketch of the Principal Military Events. 4/6.)
- VISWEVARANAND AND NITYANANDA, SWAMIS.**—Complete Alphabetical Indexes of all the words in the Rigveda, Samaveda, Jayurveda, and Atharvaveda (4 Vols. Bombay.)

## REVIEWS & NOTICES OF BOOKS

### THE DOCTRINE OF VISISTADVAITISM

[*Sri Ramanuja Charya : A Sketch of his Life and Times and also his Philosophy.* Published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Esplanade, Madras.]

This book begins with a short account of the contribution which Southern India has made to the religious development of India. In fact, all the three great Acharyas, Sankara, Ramanuja and Madhvacharya, the exponents of the three great branches of Hindu Philosophy—monism, qualified non-dualism and dualism—hail from the south of the Vindhya hills. We are told that Ramanuja did not really propound any new doctrine but only elucidated and systematised the teachings of the Tamil Saints who had gone before him, thus practically refuting the theory advanced by European scholars that Ramanuja borrowed his cardinal doctrines from Christianity. The writer gives us the names of the twelve Alvars and the Acharyas who preceded Ramanuja and were the fountain source of the doctrine formulated by that great saint. Ramanuja was descended even from one of those great Acharyas, Alavandar, and was his great grandson through one of his grand-daughters. The writer proceeds to draw a very succinct account of Ramanuja's early life, his discipleship under Yadavaprakasa, his advaitic teacher of the Vedanta, and the rupture between the teacher and the pupil on the refusal of the latter to accept the interpretation of the upanishadic texts as offered by the former and the unsuccessful attempt on Ramanuja's life by his fellow-students as he differed from them in his interpretation of the vedic texts. When Ramanuja went to visit his grand-father, Alavandar, at Srirangam, the old man had just expired and his disciples were preparing to take his corpse to the bank of the Kqbroon river for cremation. Ramanuja went close to the corpse to have a final look of the great master, when, to his surprise, he found three out of the five fingers of the right hand of his grand-father folded. He asked the disciples whether the defect was physical. On enquiry he was told that it was not a natural defect but an indication of the fact that the master had three of his most cherished objects unfulfilled, one of them being a clear and lucid commentary of the Brahma Sutra.

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On Ramanuja promising to see these objects fulfilled, the fingers became straight. The writer then follows with an account of Ramanuja's initiation under Periyānambi, the disclosure of the mysteries of the Vedānta by the teacher to the pupil at the importunate entreaty of the latter and the circumstances leading to Ramanuja's renunciation of the world in which his wife acted as a potent factor.

Ramanuja utilised his retirement in preparing his promised commentary on the *Brahma Sūtra* and spared no pains in making it the most interesting and scholarly aid to a proper study of the Vedānta. He went round all India with it and received the the widest appreciation of the learned world of his day from Kashmir to Travancore. Since his time, Ramanuja's commentary has been not only a recognised text-book for all students of Vedāntic literature but has been looked upon as perhaps the most illuminating treatise on perhaps the most abstruse doctrine of philosophy ever discussed by the human mind.

The second part of the book is taken up with a short but clear exposition of the Viśiṣṭādvaita doctrine of Ramanuja. Here the writer begins with an explanation of the term Viśiṣṭādvaita. He says that the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* is so called because it inculcates the *advāita* or oneness of God with *Viśeṣha* or attributes. It is called "qualified non-dualism." God alone exists; the manifested universe is His *śakti* or attribute. The universe consists of two kinds of attribute of the Supreme Being, *chit* or the individual soul and *achit*, matter. The Advaitin also regards the universe as the manifestation of Brahman, but he regards the manifestation as unreal and temporary whereas Ramanuja used to regard the attributes as real but subject to the control of the one Brahman in all their modifications and evolutions. These attributes cannot exist apart from Brahman. The word Brahman, thus, means either the central unity when the souls and matter are spoken of as its attributes or the combined trinity when the whole universe is described as consisting of Brahman and Brahman alone. Unlike the dualist, the Ramanuja school refuses to believe that the souls are independent of and apart from Brahman. The writer discusses the fundamental attribute of the Brahman according to Ramanuja and says that it is Intelligence. It is something more—it is the knower. Brahman is also Bliss. The anthropomorphic idea of pain cannot be conceived of in the case of Brahman. Again Brahman is real, *Satya*. He is not Subject to any modification of any kind. The soul and matter are unreal. They are subject to modifications and thus necessarily there

## THE DOCTRINE OF VISISTADWAITISM

is an element of impurity and imperfection in them. The modification of souls means that there is an expansion and contraction of Intelligence in them. There takes place no change in their essence. But matter is essentially changed in its modification. The Vishistadwaitin would call it *parinama* or evolution as contrasted with the Adwaitin who would call it *nivarta* or apparent variation. The Vishistadwaitin would contend that such changes in the case of souls and matter do not affect the essence of Brahman just as the Adwaitin would argue that the operations of *Avidya* do not affect the Absolute. Both of them would agree as to the unreality of the cosmos, but their conceptions of unreality are widely different.

Our author thereupon proceeds to explain at some length the two states of Brahman. One is the state of absolute quiescence or *pralaya*. In this stage Brahman alone exists. The souls and matter remain immersed in Him in deep sleep as it were. There can be no differentiation between the souls and matter in this state. Then begins creation. To the Visistadwaitin this is a volitional act of the Brahman. *Sa aikshata bahu syam praja yeya iti*. 'He thought may I become many, may I grow forth'. But to the Adwaitin creation is an unreal act. It is the influence of *Avidya* on the pure Intelligence of Brahman. Thus the writer elucidates the Vishistadwaita doctrine by indicating its relation with the Adwaitic doctrine of Sankara. He then describes the purpose of creation and also the method of reconciliation adopted by Ramanuja for the explanation of the apparently contradictory slokas in the Upanishada. This is followed by a discussion of the theory of causation and our author closes his work by stating Ramanuja's contentions against Sankara's doctrine of Nescience or *Avidya*.

Ramanuja says that if *Avidya* be something different from Brahman then Sankara's doctrine of the oneness of Brahman can not be maintained, and the other theory that it is one with Brahman is equally untenable. Sankara says that *Avidya* or *Maya* is indescribable as either existing or non-existing. We give here from the book under notice some of Ramanuja's objections : the *Avidya* cannot operate on the Brahman, directly, for His nature is Intelligence and this would repel Nescience by its intrinsic merit. Nor can it operate on the individual souls, for these are the outcome of the action of *Avidya*, and can not, therefore, be acted upon in anticipation. Ramanuja also says that if there should exist an *Avidya* it is irremovable. The ignorance, being the result of Karma, can be removed only by enjoined action and meditation. Mere knowledge of Brahman can not remove it. For all these reasons,

pamphlet on Population. They won their case, but as a result of it she was deprived of the guardianship of her child by a harsh judgment of Sir George Tessel, the Hebrew Master of the Rolls. She felt the separation very keenly and was laid up with fever. Shortly after this, the Malthusian League was formed of which Mrs. Besant became Secretary. Here we see an instance of her love for and adherence to truth. We have seen that she was the Secretary of the Malthusian League and was a stern advocate of its principles ; but when, in 1891, she came to know that its principles were not correct she at once gave up her connection with it. Her views on this subject came to be generally accepted by all people and she and Mr. Bradlaugh had promulgated them at the cost of a considerable degree of social odium. A few years later, about the year 1882, she came into contact with H. P. Blavatsky, broke away from Mr. Bradlaugh and embraced the Theosophical Society which was very unpopular at that time in England.

Our author also furnishes us with an account of Mrs. Besant's fierce attack on the Government of Lord Lytton in India, of her labours as a strenuous advocate of Home Rule for Ireland, of her magnetic influence over her audience when she stood for Mr. Bradlaugh as a candidate for Parliament and of her general erudition and scientific attainments.

With the Indian career of Mrs. Besant, our readers must be all very familiar. And it is her Indian career which will be long remembered as one of the most brilliant records of womanly activity. When the history of our generation comes to be written, her educational enterprise and moral enthusiasm and her anxiety and efforts to serve India in all possible ways, including the establishment of the Central Hindu College and the Orders of the Sons and Daughters of India, will receive due recognition and draw unstinted admiration.

We shall now concern ourselves with some of her opinions on the more important questions of the day. On vivisection, she says :

"There is no such thing as the right of the strong over the weak. Strength does not give right ; it gives duty. The stronger you are, the greater is your responsibility ; the stronger you are, the greater your duty of service, you are strong in body that you may defend the weak, when they are suffering, not that you may trample upon them. . . . Whether your power be of your body or brain, that power is yours to help and not to harm.... We look to those higher than we are, to the divine intelligences

## *AN EVANGELIST OF HOPE*

above us ; we look to those for help, for strength, for assistance, when our own strength breaks down. But how should we dare to appeal to the divine strength to help our weakness, if we use our strength to injure those feebler than ourselves ?”

On socialism she says : “Be it ours to maintain that the greatness of a nation depends not on the number of its great proprietors, on the wealth of its great capitalists, or the splendour of its great nobles, but on the absence of poverty among its people, on the education and refinement of its masses, on the universality of enjoyment in life.”

Ever since she became a warm Theosophist, she has never changed her faith and line of activity. She has published Theosophical works by the score, along with a translation into simple English of the Bhagavat Gita and many other books on Hindu Religion. The author treats us with copious extracts from her views on the means of India's Regeneration, Nation-Building and many other subjects regarding India's welfare. On the connection between books and patriotism, Mrs. Besant thus delivers herself :

“Supposing, then, that this sanskrit revival takes place, and there are signs of it already, then you must remember that you need to do something for the younger boys who are entering the gates of learning, to prepare them for this higher education. Now the great thing to do with boys in primary schools is to inspire them with enthusiasm for the mother land by choosing carefully the kind of books which are placed in their hands for study. . . . Hindi is becoming full of foreign terms, to the diminution of words taken from the sanskrit. So that it is becoming less and less a Hindu language, and more and more a foreign tongue, associated with meanings and words drawn from Arabic and Persian sources. More and more the vernacular which is based upon the sanskrit is being pushed aside and forgotten by them, thus denationalising them still further and separating them from their most cherished and ancient traditions.”

We hope these few lines will attract the notice of the educationists of this country.

Mrs. Besant has been a strenuous advocate of female education all along the line. She says :—

“ You can not keep the daughters out of our consideration. Until the girls also are educated, until they are taught and trained, until they know the glory of the past and teach it to the children on their knees, what India was, and what India may be, until



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Indian mothers are also worthy of the Indian women of the past, until they become patriot as well as the men, and love the land as well as their husband, until the course of early marriage is removed which makes the girl a child-wife and a mother while she should be playing with her dolls and learning in the school, until you restore that ancient institution of Brahmacharya which forbade students to enter into the married life until the student life was over—until these things are done in India, India must remain weak as she is to-day."

On Nation-Building she says :

"The next point is the building up of the entire Indian nation, by the encouragement of national feeling, by maintaining the national dress, ways of living and so on, by promoting Indian arts and manufactures, by giving preference to Indian products over foreign. Now this is a point which really goes to the very root of Indian revival." This is just what our leaders have been doing for the last twenty-three years.

This pamphlet is likely to prove of considerable interest to those who are interested in the Renaissance of Modern India.

N. R.

### III

#### THE BARISAL DEPORTEE

[Aswini Kumar Dutt : A Vindication of his Life and Conduct—By *Indicus*—The Cherry Press : Calcutta.]

I use the head-line advisedly, for, though a professor of Mr. Aswini Kumar Dutt's college was also deported along with him, and Mr. Chatterjee is one of the most estimable men it has been my lot to know, I feel in my heart of hearts that Barisal means Aswini Kumar Dutt and Aswini Kumar is Barisal and without him the most patriotic district in the united Bengal will dwindle into nothingness in no time.

*Indicus* has done a public service by bringing out the work under notice. It is a decent book of 68 pages (royal 8 vo.) and contains as frontispiece an excellent half-tone likeness of Barisal's greatest man. It will do one's heart good to have a glance at that beautiful, intense face—that saintly serene countenance—beaming with radiant lustre and expressing an ardent desire to mitigate the miseries of suffering humanity. The writer chooses to remain incognito, but his palpable disguise only serves to display the potent pen of a powerful pamphleteer. His vindication of the life and conduct

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of Mr. Aswini Kumar Dutt is nothing if not immensely impressive and supremely sound. *Indicus* has said nothing which cannot be corroborated by means of undeniable facts and uncontradictory figures.

As the writer has said in his interesting introduction to the book, the story of the Bengal deportations is still fresh in the public mind. Indeed it is a touching tale, to say the least of it. The tragic suddenness with which Mr. Dutt was literally snatched away from the bosom of Barisal on the memorable morning of the 13th December cannot be forgotten by the educated Bengalee. The stars of Bengal are on the descent; else how could a 'lawless law' be brought into play for the deportation of a lawful *litterateur*—a declining diabetic to boot—whose only crime consists in conferring moral and spiritual benefits upon his countrymen? However that may be, I admire the writer's robust optimism when he says that 'the clouds are fast lifting up and the atmosphere is clearing' and hopes 'that the powers that be can now well afford to release Mr. Aswini Kumar Dutt.' I am almost tempted to cherish this pious hope, but alas! the stubborn obduracy of Lord Morley breaks the stoutest of hearts.

The work under review has been split up into four chapters the first of which convincingly proves that the illustrious founder of the famous Broja Mohan College has been 'an advocate of law and order.' We are told by the writer that Aswini Kumar passed the Entrance Examination when he was a boy of fourteen summers. But the then University regulations prescribed the minimum age limit for Entrance candidates as 16. 'Thus a difficulty arose and it was obviated by some one manipulating the figures for him.' This trick came to his notice after he had passed the F. A. Examination and the young ascetic—for, an ascetic he has been all through life—was fired with indignation. In the words of the writer 'he was consumed with repentance.' 'How many youngmen,' the writer pertinently exclaims, 'falsify their age at University Examinations to-day in the prospect of Government Service and how few come to repentance even in mature age!' But Aswini Kumar thought of atoning for the past and forthwith saw the Registrar who could give him no redress. Thereupon he stayed away for two years before taking up his B. A. studies and spent this period of atonement in travelling and visiting different classes of saints and savants. It is a most queer irony of fate that such a deeply religious man should have fallen a victim to the grossest misrepresentations of unscrupulous informers.

In the second chapter Mr. Dutt is depicted as 'a quiet and peaceful worker.' Here the writer cites many leading facts of Mr. Dutt's political life and asserts (1) that he was never a 'professional agitator,' (2) that his relations with sympathetic Government officials have been generally friendly, (3) that he has *always* hated sedition and tried to keep clear of the slightest imputation of it, and (4) that the secret of his influence has been nothing illegitimate.

The wanton way in which Mr. Dutt was insulted by Sir B. Fuller on the 15th November, 1905, during the latter's visit to Barisal, is now a matter of history. Even this incarnation of Shaista Khan wrote a very flattering and apologetic letter to Mr. Dutt from Shillong on the 14th August, 1906, on the eve of his dramatic departure from India. *Indicus* reproduces the letter *in extenso* in his second chapter and the following lines taken from the same will speak for themselves: "For you are, I am aware, not one of those who render to their country lip service only. To the cause of education you have devoted practical and successful efforts, remembering that philanthropy is shown by deeds."

In the third chapter the writer proves beyond a shadow of doubt that Mr. Dutt is 'a sane and sober politician.' It is shown (1) that Mr. Dutt never held or advocated any political views which may be called anti-Government or extreme, and his political activities were by no means directed against the constituted authorities, (2) that some of his public acts which seemed to superficial observers to belie his character were not inconsistent with his views and principles, (3) that he has always conducted the *Swadeshi* movement in Barisal in a spirit which cannot certainly be called unfriendly to Government or law and order, (4) that the Barisal *Swadesh Bundhab Samiti* of which he was the president did not bear the remotest resemblance to a revolutionary society, (5) that Mr. Dutt's political ideal has been the accepted ideal of the reform party in India—that of self-government under British paramountcy, (6) that he never advocated and *could not* advocate a policy of passive resistance to the Government and (7) that he never tried to embarrass the authorities by a political boycott of the type of the Irish Sien Fenn.

The last chapter shows Mr. Aswini Kumar Dutt at his best, *viz.* 'as a moral and social force.' Aswini Kumar would not have been what he is, had he not been an active moral power of a very superior order. I *admire* him for his unalloyed patriotism and unostentatious philanthropy, but I *worship* him for his unparalleled moral and spiritual fervour. To know him is to love him and to

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revere him and I am sure I indulge in no exaggeration when I observe that it is almost impossible to come in contact with him without feeling a thrill of unspeakable emotion caused by the magical charm of his high character. I crave the reader's pardon to say that I speak this from personal experience.

Before I conclude this short notice of the life and life-work of one whom I know not how to honour in a befitting way I make no apology for quoting a single stanza from the anthem of the Barisal B. M. College which has been his special teaching :

‘अभिदाहे केह सर्वेस खीवाय,  
दाकाये ना रन पुतुलेर प्राय ;  
रिगीर भियरे कलुर शय्याय  
अन्न नान्न ताहारि नाम ।’

P. M. N.

## ARTICLES

### THE HIGHLANDS OF ORISSA

**Orissa Tributary  
Mehals** I made an official tour in the Garhjats, or the Highlands of Orissa, in the cold weather of 1895-96. But the reader of these pages will not find herein the diary of an official, but merely the notes of a traveller,—an account of hills, jungles and streets of fields and villages and the local customs of these tracts. The Garhjats form the hilly background of Orissa, and are watered by those mighty rivers which descend from this undulating country to the plains, and flow into the sea. The Baitarini river in the Garhjats, and the Brahmani and the Mahanadi flow through them for many miles, until they all descend into the Eastern plains. And all the Garhjat States, except one which is British, are still ruled by Indian Chiefs under the control and supervision of the British Government.

**Northern, Middle  
and Southern  
States** Four of the states including that of the princely house of Mourbhanj lie to the north of the Brahmani river and may be called the Northern States. The British State of Angul and eight tributary states, including the prosperous and advanced state of Denkanal, lie between the Brahmani and the Mahanadi rivers, and may be called the middle states. And the remaining five states including Boad, the home of the wild Khonds, lie to the south of the Mahanadi and may be called the Southern States. These are the eighteen states commonly called the Garh-Jat States.

**Atgar State** On the 3rd December 1895, I left Cuttack for a tour in the Garhjats. After crossing the Mahanadi, I came on an elephant as far as Daisara where I halted for the night. Raja Raghunath Bebarta of Atgarh, into whose state I was proceeding, met me at the frontiers of his state and accompanied me as far as Daisara, and accompanied me to his capital Atgarh on the next morning. Atgar is one of the middle states, and stretches along the northern bank of the Mahanadi river, having an area of 168 square miles, and a population of over thirty six thousand souls. The capital is a village, mainly consisting of one long street with huts on both sides and terminating in the Rajbari, a two-storeyed masonry house. There is a jail as well as a school; a part of the school house is used as the Post Office, and another

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part of it is proposed to be converted into a dispensary. A temple built of stone is the finest structure in this village.

But if the capital of the state did not make a good show, the

The Paeks and  
their mock-fight

Raja made up for it by his kindness and courtesy.

In the afternoon he paid me a formal visit accompanied by a large number of his retainers, and what interested me most was the troop of Paeks he brought with him. They appeared before me, as their forefathers had done in mediæval times, partly in the guise of tigers or monkeys or other wild animals. Their heads were covered with long manes, and many of them had tigers' tails stuck up behind them! They were armed with double-edged swords locally made from iron obtained in these hills, and with shields made of wood and covered with sambur skins. With wild shrieks and wilder gesticulations they fought their mock fights in my presence, rushing about each other, giving stalwart blows with their swords which were parried by their opponents, and moving with a speed and agility which can only be acquired by hereditary usage. One can quite conceive, a thousand or two of them charging with their wild shrieks, their strange dresses, and their lightning agility, would be formidable to all but disciplined foes.

I returned the Raja's visit the same evening. The whole street

Evening Enter-  
tainments

was illuminated, and fire-works on either side, or just in front of me, stopped my elephant at every step, but did not seem to frighten him; these

elephants are accustomed to such displays! The Paeks continued their running warfare all along the route, and the sound of trumpet now and then drowned all other noise. On reaching the Raja's house, I was led to the second storey, *Atar* and *Pan* were duly passed, and a short *nauch* closed the entertainment of the evening.

The next morning, the 5th December, I repaired to the

Tigiria State

neighbouring State of Tigiria, a very petty State of 46 square miles and a population of twenty

thousand souls. With his accustomed courtesy the Raja, Banamali Khetriya Birbar by name, came out some miles to receive me and accompanied me to his capital, a poor village close to hills and jungles. The jail and school buildings are mud huts, there is no masonry house in the village, but the Raja proposes to build a fine stone temple which will be the pride of his capital. In all these States the chiefs live in very simple style; and their magnificence and wealth are displayed in religious structures,—imperishable monuments of their piety and their fame.

## THE INDIAN WORLD

Evening Enter-  
tainments

In the evening the Raja called on me, and I was led to the Rajbari with the inevitable illumination and fireworks and performing Paks. A Pandit of great learning uttered some Sanscrit verses which he had composed for the occasion, and presented me with a little work on Krishna, in prose and verse, which he had composed in Sanscrit. I received the gift with thanks and gratified him by speaking a few words with him in my imperfect Sanscrit.

Denkenal State

Leaving Atgarh and Tigiria behind, I turned northwards on the morning of the 7th December and drove from Sankarpur to the capital of the large and prosperous state of Denkenal with an area of 1463 square miles and a population of two hundred and thirty eight thousand souls. It is the largest of what I have called the Middle States. The Raja is a minor and attends the Cuttack School, and the Raja's mother lives with the boy at Cuttack. The administration of the state therefore is in our hands, and with the handsome income of the state it is possible to lay out roads, develop the resources, and improve the country in a variety of ways.

Scenery at  
Denkenal

Few visitors come to Denkenal without being struck with the beauty of this spot embosomed in the midst of wooded hills. I stayed for three days in what is called the circuit house, built on the top of a low hill, surrounded by an ampitheatre of hills all round. Luxuriant woods covered their slopes, and yellow patches of paddy fields in the valleys checkered the wild scene. To the south of me rose the towering Garh-Parbat, so called because the castle or palace is built on a spur of this mighty hill. The castle is half fort, half villa and its white walls stand boldly on the dark background of the densely-wooded lofty hill. To my east rose the Tigiria or Tri-giri, with its triple peaks, as well as the more august Megha or cloud hill, concealing behind it the far famed Kapilas Hill, 2098 feet high. A temple is built on Kapilas Hill, and is visited in the month of February by ten thousand pilgrims. To the west were various peaks among which the conical shape of Kutuma and the ampler form of Korea strike the eye. Northwards the hills are fewer and less conspicuous; the double peak of Bar-kanya or Bride and Bridegroom Hill and the loftier double peak of Derasinga please the eye; while patches of green valleys and yellow corn stretch as far as the Brahmani river, some seven miles off.

On the following day I paid a visit to the Palace. A new gate

## THE HIGHLANDS OF ORISSA

**Palace** has recently been built, as well as stables outside the gate. Passing by the office rooms I came to an inclined plane which leads up to a second gate, and then another inclined plane leading up to a third gate and the main palace. The reception hall is furnished in European style, but what interested me more was the armoury containing guns and

**Armoury** swords and battle-axes of native manufacture and of various patterns. The native-made guns are brass-bound fire locks, the brass rings being close to each other and adding to the strength of the iron. Some of these guns are ornamented with gold and ivory work which does credit to the goldsmiths of these wild tracts. The guns are muzzle loaders of course, and the powder is ignited by a lighted match which is stuck in the hammer and falls on the powder hole when the trigger is pulled. Some of the guns which I handled were enormously heavy; one was fired and seemed to kick a good deal. The swords and battle-axes were also of native manufacture, wrought of iron obtained from ores found in this and neighbouring states.

From the armoury I went to the roof of the building, and

**Watch-tower** obtained a fine view of the hills all round. This building however is comparatively new, being constructed by Maharaja Bhagirath Mahendra, the grand-father of the present minor. I then went to the older part of the castle, and to the old watch-tower constructed of huge pieces of stone. The approach of friend or enemy could be observed from this lofty tower in the old stirring times of border-feuds, and unending wars.

In the afternoon I visited the educational institutions of the

**Schools and Dispensary** place,—one middle-class English school, one Girls' school and one Sanscrit *Tol*,—all of which owe their existence to the late Maharaja Bhagiratha Mahendra.

A charitable dispensary, the most successful of its kind in the Tributary Mehals, also owes its existence to that enlightened ruler.

On the 10th December, I left Denkenal and drove 17 miles to a place called Bangursinga where the Bangursinga stream falls into the Brahmani river. My road wound round the Korea hill and other high hills, and passed through *sal* forests, and occasionally by cultivated fields. I passed a village which rejoices in the classical name of Panchabati, and a more populous village called Simnayi and went at the course of the Brahmani river, which flowed a mile or two to the north. At last I reached Bangursinga, situated at the confluence of the two streams named above, and not far from a range of lofty and imposing hills.



## THE INDIAN WORLD

**Iron Smelting** I had desired to see how iron was extracted from ores by the natives of Denkenal, and preparations had been made. The iron ore is much the same kind that is found in Barrakar, but the method of extracting the iron is wonderfully simple here. The ore is broken into small bits and placed on a charcoal fire which is kept in a line by a pair of bellows for two or three hours. The ore melts then,—the dross leaks out by a passage made for it and the iron is found below when the charcoal is removed. The use of iron, *Agas*, was known in India in the early vedic times, and it is generally supposed that the Aryan Hindus brought with them the use of iron. But judging from this simple process of extracting iron from ores, I should imagine the aboriginal tribes of India must have known the use of the metal in places where the ores are plentiful or near the surface of the ground. And would it be a wild conjecture that in the art of extracting iron from ores, the aborigines may have given a lesson to the Aryans,—and not received one?

**Gold Washing** I had also wished to see gold-washing as practised by the natives of these states, and preparations had been made. The process is simplicity itself. In some of the tributaries which follow into the Brahmani river the sand is found to contain particles of gold in infinitely small quantities. Some of this sand which would fill three or four soup-plates, had been brought, and the people began to wash it in a stream on a wooden plate. The earth and sand were gradually washed or shaken off, and a minute black dust remained below. This was again shaken and washed away, until a few minutes later glistening particles appeared, and this was pure gold! Surely, the aboriginal barbarians of India knew how to wash out the glistening particles from the sands of certain rivers in India long before the Aryans colonized this land!

**The Nigra and the Brahmani** On the next morning I followed further up the course of the Brahmani river, and halted at Motonga, where the Nigra stream flows into the Brahmani. I passed by the foot of the lofty Nimda hill, and tasted some of the oranges which grow on its slopes. The oranges are sweet and luscious,—more luscious and juicy than those which arrive at Calcutta from Sylhet after weeks taken in the transport.

**Hindol State** In the afternoon I crossed the Nigra stream and went a few miles into the Hindol State to see some villages of that State. The crops have been luxuriant

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this year, the pasture lands are ample in each village, and the villagers are busy getting in their rice, and are happy. The state has an area of 310 square miles and a population of nearly thirty eight thousand, a great portion of the state being hilly. The Raja Janardhan Murdharaj was inspired with a laudable desire to see different parts of India, and made a tour *via* Calcutta and Benares to Delhi and Rajputana, and came back by way of Bombay and Madras.

On the morning of the 12th December, I came from Motonga to the capital of Talcher State, doing the journey partly in a dog-cart and partly on an elephant. The country through which I passed, as I went up the course of the Brahmani river, was mostly bare with low scrub jungle. The high hills of Hindol were far to my south, and the hills of Angul State were to the south west, while to the north of me, at some distance, flowed the limpid Brahmani. Occasionally I passed through a *Sal* forest, and one or two villages. Crossing the Nandra Jhor or stream I came to Talcher State, and soon arrived at the capital of Talcher, beautifully situated on the Brahmani river.

Talcher State has an area of 399 square miles and a population of over fifty-two thousand souls. The capital town is beautified by straight, well-metalled roads, neatly painted huts, and by some well built masonry buildings which do credit to the taste of the late Raja. He insisted on neatness and cleanliness, made his capital into a municipality, laid out an excellent garden, and added to and beautified his palace. He is dead now; an adopted boy, Kisor Chandra Birhar, is still a minor, and is prosecuting his studies in Cuttack, and the administration of the State is in our hands.

I paid a visit to the Palace in the evening. Entering through the outer gate, I came to an inclined plane, paved with stones, which led up to the inner and more imposing gate with a lofty masonry arch high in the air and very ornamental. Passing through this gate I came to the court yard, and then up a fine flight of steps into the Palace. The outer building is a large hall with side rooms and stairs leading to the roof, and the inner apartments are partly masonry rooms and partly thatched sheds. Going up to the roof of the house I admired the beautiful prospect before me. To the east of me was the beautiful Brahmani river which sweeps by the palace with a graceful curve; and beyond the river lay the woods and far-off hills of the Denkenal State. In the inner apartments the Dowager

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Rani occupies a masonry building with a spacious compound, but some of the elder ladies of the household still occupy thatched huts. I had an interview with the Rani, and she expressed a reasonable wish to come and see her adopted son in Cuttack from time to time. Close to the palace is the well built masonry jail building ; and at some distance is the charitable dispensary, also a masonry building. There are also a middle vernacular school for boys, a school for girls, and a school for students who learn Sanscrit, and who recited passages from the *Kumara Sambhava* and *Bhati Kavyam* to me.

On the following day I saw more gold-washing and iron-smelting.

The iron smelting of the 10th December had not been very successful, and so some smelters came here to show me the process. It was the same as I had seen before, except that a clay chimney about 3 feet high was constructed over the oven, I suppose to create a blast. A large quantity of iron was extracted, it was cut into pieces, and one of the pieces was converted into a small paper-weight for me !

On the 14th December I came from Talcher State to the British District of Angul. The head-quarters have lately been removed to an open and healthy site, new office buildings are being constructed, and a Bazar is growing up. The country is bare, and covered only with scrub jungle, and coming from the east one gradually ascends to the ridge on which the station is located. Beyond the ridge is a dip through which runs the Nigra stream, and beyond the Nigra, the country swells into high hills which stand out like a mighty wall.

The Angul State has an area of 881 square miles and a population of nearly eighty thousand. It was one of the Tributary States of Orissa in the early part of the century ; but the Raja became refractory and attempted to wage a war against the British Government, in consequence of which the state was confiscated in 1847, and has been British since. The state was almost inaccessible in the olden days, but a driveable road has within recent years been completed connecting it with Cuttack.

I halted four days at Angul with the Deputy Commissioner and did the usual District inspections. On the morning of the 18th I bade good-bye to my hospitable host and hostess, and set out again on my tour. Crossing the Nigra river I travelled westwards some fifteen miles along the south of the stream, while the wooded hills of Angul stood like a mighty and unending rampart to my south. At the

## THE STORY OF PLASSEY

close of my journey I crossed the Nigra once more, and encamped on its northern bank, in the mango tope of Takra, a large and flourishing village.

The next morning I made a short march of some seven or eight miles. I was now proceeding by the Cuttack 'Old Woman Hill' —Sambalpur road which winds here through a cultivated valley with the high rampart of the Durgapur range to its south and a range of lower hills to its north. A remarkable conical hill called the Buri or the 'Old Woman' juts out of the Durgapur range, and lifts her bare rocky sides close to the road. The 'old lady' has taken her position just about half way between Cuttack and Sambalpur,—being about eight miles from either place.

The care with which the cultivators raise their paddy and other crops in these undulating valleys is remarkable. Cultivated Valleys and jungles. Wherever it is possible to dam the water from the hills or the rain water, bunds have been made, and every village in these valleys has thus its large sheet of water for irrigation and other purposes. Long channels have been cut by the cultivators to lead the water into their fields, and patches of winter crop or of rice near the road side are carefully fenced by bamboo fences. The hill bamboo grows plentifully all over the Garhjats, and covers the slopes of hills for miles together. The Amlaki, the Catechu, and many other trees useful to man, grow in these jungles, while the *sal* and other valuable timbers are found among the hills and in dense jungles. My short march closed at Kotora, the last important place in the western frontier of the British District of Angul.

*(To be continued)*

RAMES C. DUTT

## THE STORY OF PLASSEY

The few hours that remained of the night, after his arrival at Plassey, Clive remained wide awake, for the terrible responsibility that rested on his shoulders on the one hand and for the barbarous dissonance on the other of the drums and cymbals of the enemy's camp. Surajuddowla also arrived at Plassey on the evening of the 22nd(a) "with a heart big with grief and despondence." Since his arrival there he was overpowered with vague fears and gloomy apprehensions. "The despondency of the Nabob increased as

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<sup>a)</sup> *Seir*, vol. I., p. 765.

the hour of danger approached. Sitting in his tent in the evening of his arrival at the camp, it chanced that his attendants quitted him one after another in order to say their usual prayers at sunset, until they left him quite alone, when a common fellow, either through ignorance or with an intention to steal, entered the tent unperceived, until he was discovered by the Nabob, who, starting from the gloomy reflections in which he was absorbed, hastily recalled his attendants with this emphatic exclamation, "sure they see me dead." The eve of that great battle the unfortunate and distracted Nabob passed as a restless and sleepless night, though he had been surrounded in his camp by the galaxy of female beauty and accomplishments."<sup>(a)</sup>

On the morning of the following Thursday, the 23rd, the immense army of the Nabob marched out in a long line with elephants, all covered over with gold and scarlet embroidery, and horse men, armed cap-a-pie, whose shining and polished steels flashed in the morning rays and presented a formidable battle-array. Between the elephants and horses were being drawn by teams of bullocks huge artillery at regular intervals. The position taken up by this huge army was a vast semi-circle which almost enveloped the position of the English. "In fact they were almost surrounded, and, unless treason had played her part, they had been doomed."<sup>(b)</sup> "But what avails from paid parade when the heart is not fired by loyalty to its prince or love for its country ?" <sup>(c)</sup>

The battle which soon raged "was nothing but a distant cannonade." "Of hard fighting there was but little ; treachery supplied its place."<sup>(d)</sup> The main army under the Commander-in-Chief, Mir Jaffer, and two other generals, Raja Dullav Ram and Yar Latty, moved not an inch from its position but remained a silent spectator of the scene.<sup>(e)</sup> Among the faithless, the few who remained faithful still, were Mir Madan, Mohan Lal and the Frenchman St. Fraia. Mir Madan supported on the wings by Mohan Lal and St. Fraia, with 40 Frenchmen, began cannonading the English position. At this, Col. Clive marched out of the enclosure with his men to attack the advancing enemy. The English, however, were met with such a galling fire from Mir Madan's artillery, that they had hastily to retire under the cover of the banks leaving two

(a) Orme, II, p. 172.

(b) Malleison's *Decisive Battles of India*, p. 63.

(c) Parker's *Evidence*, p. 65.

(d) Mill, III, p. 133. Martin's *Indian Empire*, vol. I, p. 278.

(e) *Seir*, vol. I, p. 766.

## THE STORY OF PLASSEY

field-pieces outside.(a) But the well-directed fire of the small body of Frenchmen who had overpowered a salient position, 300 yards in front of the English enclosure, greatly annoyed them. Clive did not dare to come out and attack this position.

This resistance of a small fractional part of the enemy quite surprised and distressed the English General. He had expected rather at the very outset Mir Jaffer's desertion from the Nabob's camp to his aid. It was impossible for him to meet the Nabob's forces single-handed. Clive therefore severely reprimanded Amir Beg, an agent of the conspirator who had been near the camp, and said "that his master had promised and pledged himself that the troops as well as the commanders were totally alienated from Surajdoulah, and that as soon as some engagement should take place, they would do his business effectually. As much as I can see, added the Colonel, the very reverse of all that is taking place." The agent soon satisfied him on that score, by pointing out to him that the main army under Mir Jaffer had been from the very beginning standing still. The cannonading was simply the effort of a few faithful soldiers of the Nabob.(b) At this awful junction, at about 11 A.M., Clive, in consultation with his officers, "resolved to maintain the cannonade during the day, but at midnight to attack the Nabob's camp. About noon a very heavy shower covered the plain, and very soon damaged the enemy's powder so much, that their fire slackened continually ; but the English ammunition served on."(c) "The English had their tarpaulins ready to cover their ammunition, which in consequence sustained but little injury from the rain. The enemy took no such precautions, and their powder suffered accordingly. The result was soon shown by a general slackening of their powder."(d) "The English on the other side," remarks Gollam Hossain, "who have no equals in the art of firing their artillery and musketry with both order and rapidity skilfully directed their fire.(e) About this time Mir Madan was mortally wounded by a cannon-ball while endeavouring to carry the grove by storm.(f) He was immediately carried to the Nabob's tent, where he expired in the presence of his lord. The Nabob had passed the morning and the preceding night in despondency and perturbation, and this sight quite upset him. He was troubled and confounded and seemed to

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(a) *Foss*, p. 151 ; *Scrutton's Reflections*, p. 93 ; *Parker's Evidence*, p. 66.

(b) *Seir*, vol. 2, p. 766-67.

(c) Orme, II, p. 175.

(d) Malleeson's *Decisive Battles of India*, p. 66.

(e) *Seir* p. 766 ; c. L. also *Tarikh-i ul-Hisab*.

(f) *The Calcutta Review*, April, 1892, p. 343.

have lost his presence of mind. He sent for Mir Jaffer, who came reluctantly but well-armed and strongly guarded, and accompanied by his son Meeran. Suraj spoke to him in the humblest strain and, taking his turban off his head and placing it before Mir Jaffer, said : " I now repent of what I have done, and availing myself of those ties of consanguinity which subsist between us as well as of those rights which my grand-father, Aliverdi Khan, had doubtless acquired upon your gratitude, I look up to you as the only representative of that venerable personage, and hope therefore that, forgetting my past trespass, you shall henceforward behave as becomes a Sayad, a man united in blood and a man of sentiments, who conserves a grateful remembrance of all the benefits he has received from my family. I recommend myself to you : take care of the preservation of my honor and hope." To this Mir Jaffer equivocally replied with his hands on his breast that the day was drawing to its close and that there remained no time now for another attack. He advised the Nabob to call back his troops from the field that day. And "tomorrow by the blessing of god I will join all the troops together and provide for the engagement." (a) After this treacherous advice given, Mir Jaffer returned to his troops and "immediately despatched a letter to Col. Clive of what had passed and advising him either to push forward in the instant or at all events to attack the Nabob's camp at 3 the next morning, but the messenger was afraid to proceed whilst the firing continued. (b) In the meantime, the Nabob proved an easy dupe and sent word round his troops to refrain from advancing any further on that fateful day.

Against the order of retreat the Bengali hero Mohan Lal, "who was fighting manfully," strongly remonstrated. (c) He had advanced before the enemy's enclosure, his cannon was served with effect, and his enemy too was hard pressed and had taken shelter in the enclosure. It was at this time that he received the order of falling back. He remarked "that this was not a time to retreat ; that the action was so far advanced, that whatever might happen would happen now, and that should he turn his head, to march back to camp, his people would disperse, and perhaps abandon themselves to an open flight." (d) St. Fraix and his Frenchmen also joined with this Hindu General in protesting against the order for

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(a) *Seir*, vol. I., p. 767-8.

(b) *Orms*, II., p. 175 ; c.f. also *Jes*, p. 151.

(c) *Tarikhi Mujaffari*.

(d) *Seir*, I, p. 768 ; c.f. also *Tarikhi* and *Mujaffari* and *Jamiat Twarikh*.

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retreat. These prudent and wholesome remonstrances, however, were of no avail. The advice of the Commander-in-Chief prevailed on the perturbed and terrified mind of the Nabob, and "this advice proved fatal."<sup>(a)</sup> "In an evil hour the wretched youth, incapable at such a moment of thinking soundly and clearly, followed the insidious advice and issued the orders."<sup>(b)</sup> Had the unfortunate Nabob been gifted with even the ordinary military instincts of a common soldier he would at once have perceived the wisdom of Mohan Lal's protest and the treachery of Mir Jaffer. And had he personally appealed to his army and led them against the English, it would have been all over with Col. Clive and his men. But his timidity, weakness and cowardice made him an easy victim of the treachery of Mir Jaffer and his associates, which he had neither the insight nor the vigour to defeat.

Clive, on the other hand, had returned during a heavy shower to his camp to take rest "leaving orders to send him notice if the Nabab should make any more motion."<sup>(c)</sup> At about 3 P.M. the Mussulman army retreated within their intrenchments without confusion,<sup>(d)</sup> with the exception of St. Frai and his Frenchmen.<sup>(e)</sup>

These gallant men remained true to their master in the hour of his supreme peril, and declined to quit a position, which supported by the troops of Mir Madan, they had maintained against the whole British force."<sup>(f)</sup> Major Kilpatrick was the first to perceive it and sallied out of the grove with two companies of the battalion and two field-pieces to attack the handful brave French men, who still bravely maintained their ground unflinchingly. St. Frai however soon recognised that the retreat of the Nabob's army had compromised him and that it would be impossible with his handful of men to resist the British force. "Resolved, however, to dispute every inch of the ground, he fired a parting shot, then limbering up, fell back in perfect order to the redoubt at the corner of the intrenchment. Here he planted his field-pieces ready to act again."<sup>(g)</sup> Clive starting up ran immediately to the scene of action and sharply reprimanded Kilpatrick for disturbing his plan. He had even at first ordered his arrest for such an unmilitary conduct, but was pacified by the Major making him an apology.<sup>(h)</sup> Shortly

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(a) Elphinstone, p. 320.

(b) Malletson's *Decisive Battles of India*, p. 67.

(c) *Ibid.*, p. 151.

(d) *Ibid.*

(e) *Ibid.*

(f) Malletson's *Decisive Battles of India*, p. 68.

(g) Malletson's *Decisive Battles of India*, p. 69.

(h) *Ibid.*, p. 152.



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afterwards "the troops of Jaffer appeared, moving away from the field of battle, without joining the rest of the Nabob's army, which convincing Col. Clive who they were, he determined to make one vigorous effort for victory by attacking at once St. Frai's redoubt."(a) He now ordered an advance.

At about 5 o'clock the Nabob heard with dismay of the treacherous movement of Mir Jaffer and of the general advance of the English army. Struck with panic, the unfortunate Nabob mounted a swift camel and beat a hasty retreat, accompanied by about 2000 horsemen. "In fact no other course remained to one incapable of taking the lead in his own person; for to such an extent division spread through the Mahomedan troops, that no officer willing to fight for his rightful master could rely on the co-operation of any other commander."(b) "His disappearance led to the dispersion of his army. The rout was complete."(c) All was in confusion now. Those few who were fighting for the Nabob, hearing of the Nabob's flight, fled in the utmost confusion. "St. Frai finding himself again deserted by his allies quitted without further resistance, and without carrying off his field-pieces."(d) Only the heroic Mohan Lal with sublime heroism rallied round a few of the horsemen and dashed against the advancing enemy. The heroic chief, after a display of unavailing heroism and courage before the scathing fire of the English, fell back in a sheer disgust, deserted and forlorn. Nothing was left now for Col. Clive but to occupy the deserted camp of the enemy. "Thus the whole of the English army entered the camp at 5 o'clock, without other obstacle than what they met from tents, artillery, baggage, and stores, dispersed round them."(e) About this time arrived "the messenger with the letter sent by Mir Jaffer at noon; soon after came another whom Col. Clive immediately returned with a note, requesting Mir Jaffer to meet him the next morning at Daudpore."(f) Mir Jaffer also at this time presented to Clive the beautiful Begums who had been at the Nabob's seraglio.

Thus at the field of Plassey was "determined the fate of a great kingdom and of 300,000,00 people with the loss of 20 Europeans killed and wounded; of 16 Sepoys killed; and only 36 wounded, the

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(a) Orme, II, p. 176-7; c. f. also *Ives*, p. 151.

(b) Martin, vol. I, p. 278.

(c) Elphinstone, p. 321.

(d) Orme, II, p. 177.

(e) Orme, II, p. 177.

(f) Orme, II, p. 177-8.

## THE STORY OF PLASSEY

vanquished losing only 500.”(a) At the present time, remarks Mr. H. Beveridge, the grove of Plassey has entirely disappeared. The last tree died in 1879—the stumps and roots are said to have been dug up and sent to England. The Government has erected a granite obelisk to mark the site of the battle. A marble tablet indicates the site in the following words :—

“ Plassey, erected by the Bengal Government. 1883.”

After the victory Clive was afraid to halt at Plassey “ lest his troops would disperse to plunder.”(b) Promising them therefore a donation of money he sent them 6 miles further off to the village of Daudpore. On the morning of the 24th, at Daudpore, Mir Jaffer joined Clive. No sooner Mir Jaffer appeared than Clive, advancing hastily, embraced and saluted him as Nabob of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. In course of about an hour’s conference Clive advised Mir Jaffer “ to proceed immediately to the city, not to suffer Surajddoulah to escape, nor his treasures to be plundered.”(c) Accordingly, Mir Jaffer hastened with his troops to Murshidabad and arrived there in the evening of the 24th “ and found the city in a state of confusion and anarchy ” and Surajddoulah *non est*.(d) On the 28th of June the English army marched to Madhupur, within 6 miles of the city. Clive purposely delayed entering Murshidabad after the battle of Plassey. From Madhupur, instead of marching direct into the city, he diverged westward to the French Factory of Saiyadabad.(e) On the 29th of June he entered Murshidabad escorted by 200 Europeans and 200 sepoys and proceeded to the mansion at Moti Jhil, the habitation allotted for him. Here he was immediately visited by Meeran, who conducted him across the river to the place of Hira Jhill at Mansurgunge, when a grand reception was accorded to him by Mir Jaffer and the great officers of the State. Here Clive led Mir Jaffer to the Musnad in which Surajddoulah used to appear in public. Having placed Mir Jaffer on the musnad, Clive made obeisance to him as the Nabob of the provinces in the usual forms, and presented him with a plate of gold Mohurs.(f) Mr. Raymond, the translator of the *Seir Mutagherin*, however, mentions in a note that “as we have been ourselves, in the very next year, in the Company’s service as linguists to Col. Clive, in whose camp we were, we re-

(a) Mill, III, p. 133.

(b) *The Calcutta Review*, April, 1892, p. 344.

(c) Orme, II., p. 178; *Scrafton’s Reflections*, p. 89.

(d) Elphinstone, p. 322.

(e) *The Calcutta Review*, October, 1892, p. 206.

(f) Orme, II, p. 181; *Seir* I, p. 772; and note *Tarikhimancuri*.

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member to have heard from the mouth of Mr. John Walsh, who was commissary in that army, that he himself went into that treasury with Mr. Watts, Mr. Lushington, Ram Chand, the Dewan Nabokissen and the Munshi or Persian Secretary and found it to contain 17,000,000 in silvers, 23,000,000 in gold, two chests of gold ingots, four of jewels set, and two of lesser ones of loose stones and gems ; but what is singular and yet true, this was only the outer treasury. The English did nothing with the inner treasury, said to contain eight crores, and which, pursuant to a custom well-known in India and which is ordinary even to private men, was kept in the zenana or women's apartments. This had been corroborated by another contemporary native historian of repute, Syed Ali, who states that, besides this treasure, there existed another in the harem, which fact Mir Jaffer concealed from Col. Clive at the instigation of the Dewan and Clive's munshi. The value of gold and silver articles and of the jewels found there was not less than 80 millions of rupees. All this was divided among Mir Jaffer, Ram Chand, Amir Beg and Nabokissen."<sup>(a)</sup>

At the mansion of the Setts in Mohimarpur, north of Jaffergung, the money stipulations referring to the treaty with Mir Jaffer were discussed on the 30th by all the parties interested, excepting Omichand. Raydullah said that the treasury of Surajdoulah was not sufficient to supply all the demands. The whole amount to be paid to the different parties amounted to 2,340,000, but there was in the treasury only a million and a half pounds.<sup>(b)</sup> The inner treasury was secretly divided between Mir Jaffer, Amir Beg Khan, Ramchand and Munshi Kissen whose silence was purchased by a share of the loot, or who, it was said, made away with the Colonel's share. This assertion seems to have been corroborated by the incredible sum of nine lakhs which Nabokissen (in Col. Clive's time, a man earning only Rs. 60 per month) is said to have spent at his mother's funeral.<sup>(c)</sup> This has however been recently disputed by the accomplished biographer of Nabokissen.<sup>(d)</sup> Soon after this Clive rewarded his Munshi for his services in the secret conspiracy with a medal and an elephant.<sup>(e)</sup> At last by the mediation of the Sett it was arranged and settled that one half of the money

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(a) *Tarikhimancuri*.

(b) Vide Clive's letter to the Court of Directors ; c. f. also Malcolm's *Clive*, Vol. I, p. 269.

(c) *Seir*, Vol. I, p. 773-4.

(d) Mr. N. N. Ghose in his *Memoirs of Maharaja Nabokissen Bahadur*, p. 19-22.

(e) Vide Nabokissen's deposition before the Select Committee. Bolt's *Considerations on Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, p. 145.

## THE STORY OF PLASEEY

stipulations should be paid over to the English immediately ; "two-thirds of this half in coins and one-third in jewels, plate, and effects, at valuation ; but that the other half should be discharged in 3 years at 3 equal payments." (a) Roydullav was allowed a commission of 5 per cent on the sums promised to Omichand. Jaggat Sett was now admitted into a share in the administration. Mir Jaffer, Clive, Roydullav and Jaggat Sett "entered into mutual engagements on oath to support one another." (b) Omichand, though he was present at the time, had not been asked to join the conference about the money stipulations ; he therefore watched the proceedings from a distance. The conference finished, Clive requested Scrafton to undeceive Omichand. On which Scrafton went near Omichand and told him in Hindustani that "the red paper is a trick ; you are to have nothing." Thus outwitted by the audacious falsehood of Clive, Omichand sank back fainting and was obliged to be conveyed to his own house. There for many hours he remained in stupid melancholy and began to show symptoms of insanity. From that moment Omichand turned a confirmed lunatic. In this state of imbecility he died a broken heart after a year and a half. (c)

Of Omichand's miserable and sad fate the great historian of British India remarks—"not an Englishman, not even Mr. Orme, has yet expressed a word of sympathy or regret." (d) As for Scrafton himself he met his death by drowning sometime after,—perhaps a fitting retribution for his part in the conspiracy.

All that was now wanting to complete the revolution was the capture of Surajdoulah. After his flight from the field, Suraj reached the city before midnight of the 23rd. Many of his officers too arrived there almost as soon as himself. The next morning (24th,) he collected them in council and ordered them to attend him with their troops for the safety of his person. "But none attended to his word and everyone without ceremony went to his own home, even Mirja Iraj Khan, his father-in-law, did the same. In vain did the Prince lay his turban at his feet, and entreated him for God's sake to remain with him, and to assemble some troops about his palace that he might stay with safety, if staying should become proper, or depart with some decency, should flight become necessary ; he would not hear, and

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(a) Orme, II, p. 182.

(b) Elphinstone, p. 324.

(c) Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*, p. 134.

(d) Mill, III, p. 316.

he also quitted him under a variety of pretences, and went to his house." (a) At this time some one advised him to surrender to the English, which he rejected with scorn, imputing it to treachery ; others proposed that he should purchase the confidence of the army to fight for him another battle by lavishing considerable sum of money on them. This he accepted and was preparing to act on it, but the soldiers receiving "what was his luck" deserted him to a man. They had no confidence in him any more. "His followers seeing him helpless carried off large sums under various pretences to their homes." (b) "Thus abandoned by his troops and deserted by his courtiers," writes Mr. Elphinstone, "he meditated another trial of his strength in the field, and he at last determined to make his way to Mr. Law and retreat with him to Behar. There, he thought, he might still hold out against his enemies until he could be assisted by Mr. Bessy and Sujauddoulla, whose province was contiguous." Receiving the last summons from Suraj-doulla a few days before Plassey, Mr. Law and his Frenchmen, with Mahommed Ali Khan, a distinguished cavalry officer, had advanced from Bhagalpore and came down as far as Rajmahal. They had not passed Pacriagully, when they halted at the report of the battle of Plassey and returned to Azimabad. (c) "Had he immediately proceeded 20 miles further, he would the next day have met and saved Surajdoulah and an order of events very different from those which we have to relate would in all probability ensue." (d) The approach of Mirjaffer near the capital in the evening of the 25th of June left him no alternative but to decamp. Accordingly at the dead of night he sent away his women loaded with as much gold and as many jewels as they could put on with 50 elephants laden with his last baggage and furniture, he himself departing a few hours later at 3 o'clock taking with him only his favourite daughter and valuable jewels. His intention was to effect a junction with Mr. Law. "Had Surajdoulah continued his journey by land in broad day light and sent notice to some commanders of his who had not yet joined the malcontents, it was possible that numbers of them would have rallied round his standard ; but instead of taking a bold course, he embarked in some boats secretly in the depth of night. (e) Crossing the Bhagirathi in a boat, the unfortunate Suraj and his attendands went by land to

(a) *Seir*, I, p. 769 c. f. also *Tarikhi Mujaffari*.

(b) *Twarikhi Mujaffari*.

(c) *Seir* I., p. 771-2 ; c. f. *Tarikhi Mujaffari*.

(d) Orme, II, p. 185.

(e) *Seir*, Vol. I., p. 771. *The First Report*, 177-8. *Scott's History of Bengal*, II, p. 369, 371. Elphinstone, p. 325. *Martia*, I, p. 279. Orme, II, p. 179. *Tarikhi Mujaffari* and *Jamiat Twarikh*.

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Bhagwangola. After leaving Bhagwangola, he embarked in a boat and crossed the Padma, avoiding Rajmahal, as Mir Jaffer's brother Meer Daud was the Governor there. Passing by the town of Malelah, the hapless Surajdoulah's boat was obliged to stop at Bahral, as the Nazirpur mouth was found to be closed. Exhausted with fatigue and famished with hunger, the unfortunate Nabob with his consort and infant daughter took refuge in a deserted mosque of a faqir named Danshah. And there the once all-powerful Nabob of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, with the beautiful and delicate Latifunissa, bred up in an atmosphere of extravagant luxury, had now to prepare a hodge-podge of rice and pulse called *khicheri*, to satisfy their hunger, a task to which they had never been accustomed. They had not tasted any food for 3 previous days and nights. While they were thus engaged in partaking of their modest meal, the Faquir's suspicion had been aroused by observing the richness of Suraj's slippers. "The Faquir at first did not mind the Prince, as not suspecting him to be anything but one of their many travellers that daily pass that way; but on casting his eyes on the very rich slippers of his guest, he put questions to the boatmen, who soon gave him full information."<sup>(a)</sup> "It is said that the *durvesh* had been a servant of Surajdoulah, and being ignominiously turned out by him for some fault had become a fakir."<sup>(b)</sup> Intent now in wrecking vengeance on him and getting the price money set upon his seizure, this wretch betrayed him to Meer Daud and Meer Cossim. On the 2nd of July when Suraj was captured, Mr. Law and his detachment were within 3 hours' march of Rajmahal.<sup>(c)</sup> On the receipt of the intelligence of Suraj's capture Mir Jaffer sent his son to bring him to the capital. Suraj was hurried back to Murshidabad on the 3rd of July "with every kind of insolence and indignity compatible with the preservation of his life."<sup>(d)</sup> "When the people beheld him in this situation they forgot his vices and recollected only the hardship of his present fortune, comparing it with splendour they had seen him surrounded with from his infancy till now. It was said that several Jamadars, as he passed their quarters, were so penetrated with grief and anger as to prepare to receive him, but were prevented by their superiors."<sup>(e)</sup> The news of his capture also "excited murmurs against a great part of the army encamped around."

(a) *Seir*, I, p. 775.

(b) *Char Guisar Shujari*.

(c) *Seir*, Vol. I, p. 775. Clive's letter to the Court of Directors, 21st July, 1757.

(d) Orme, II, p. 183.

(e) Scott's *History of Bengal*, p. 371.

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Therefore at about midnight he was brought at Jaffergunj "as a common felon, into the presence of Mir Jaffer, in the very place which a few days before had been the seat of his own residence and despotic authority. It is said that Jaffer seemed to be moved with compassion and well he might, for he owed all his former fortunes to the generosity and favour of Aliverdi, who died in firm reliance that Jaffer would repay his bounties to his successors. Surajdoulah prostrated himself, and with excessive tremor and tears implored for his life. But Meeran, the son of Jaffer, a youth only of seventeen, fierce, barbarous and in his nature as cruel as Surajdoulah himself, insisted on instant death. Jaffer however ordered the prisoner to be removed and he was confined into a distant chamber, one of the vilest in the palace, under a very strict guard.(a) Mir Jaffer immediately held a Council of his most immediate friends about the disposal of Surajdoulah. Some proposed a strict but mild imprisonment for Suraj, but the majority agreed with Meeran, that whilst Suraj lived Jaffer's Government would be continually exposed to the risk of revolt and revolution. Jaffer himself gave no opinion and Meeran, seeing his unwillingness to pronounce Suraj's doom, advised him to go to rest while he himself undertook to take care of the prisoner."(b) Meeran lost no time in summoning his own personal friends and attendants and asked which of them would serve the existing administration by murdering Surajdoulah ; but no person of rank would undertake the murder ; one after another they peremptorily rejected the dastardly office." At length a wretch named Mahamad Beg, who from his infancy had been cherished by Mahubut Jang and Surajdoulah, from whose grand-mother he had received a portion with his wife from charity, offered to execute the horrid deed"(c) in conjunction with a favourite servant of Meeran. The *Riyas* says that Surajdoulah "was put to death at the instigation of the English chiefs and Jagat Sett. Meeran did not require prompting from anyone."(d)

It was past midnight when the miserable wretch Mohamad Beg, with a drawn sword in his hand and accompanied by Meeran's servant, entered the cell where the helpless Suraj had been confined. Beholding them Surajdoulah at once guessed their horrid purpose and exclaimed in inexpressible grief and indignation—"They are

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(a) Orme, II., p. 183.

(b) Orme, II., p. 184. *The First Report*, 1772.

(c) *Seir*, I., p. 778. *Scott's History of Bengal*, p. 371-2.

(d) Beveridge in *The Calcutta Review*, October, 1892, p. 206.

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not satisfied with my being ready to retire into some corner, there to end my days upon a pension." Here he paused a while and then added—"no—they are not—and I must die to atone for Hossain Kuly Khan's murder." Recollecting himself he asked for some water to make his last ablution to the deity. Some water was given to him. His devotion was not yet finished when the savage Mahomad Beg smote him repeatedly with his sabre and some strokes fell upon that beautiful face of his, renowned all over Bengal for its regularity and sweetness. The prince in his last gasp exclaimed "Enough—that is enough—I am done for, and Hossain Colley Khan's death is revenged."<sup>(a)</sup> The body was hacked to pieces by strokes without number ; and the mangled carcase being thrown across the back of an elephant was carried through the most frequented parts of the city. It is said that, while the elephant stopped for a moment at Hossain Colly Khan's door, some drops of blood were seen to drop from the mangled body, and they fell on the very spot where the noble man had been murdered but two years before. When Suraj's mangled remains were carried before his mother's gate, "the unfortunate princess, unable to contain herself, forgot at once her sex, and throwing off her veil and slippers ran out of the house, like one distracted. She threw herself on the body which she covered with her kisses, and sat disconsolate, striking repeatedly her face and breasts. The spectacle greatly affected the by-standers but the guards by dint of blows and cudgelling and by the most indecent violence forced back the unfortunate princess who at the sight of her son's body had lost her mind and knew not herself where she was ; numbers of other ladies that had followed her in the same condition were used in the same barbarous manner."<sup>(b)</sup>

On the morrow of the murder of Suraj, Mir Jaffer visited Clive and thought it necessary to palliate the matter on motives of policy and "apologized for his conduct."<sup>(c)</sup> Clive thought Mir Jaffer's excuses superfluous.<sup>(d)</sup> Justly remarks R. M. Martin—"Clive does not appear to have deemed any excuse necessary ; but the truth was his own neglect had been now justifiable, in not taking precautionary measures to guard at least the life of a ruler deposed by conspiracy in which the English played the leading part. No effort was made to protect even the female relatives of

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(a) *Scir*, I, p. 778.

(b) *Scir*, I., p. 779-780.

(c) *The First Report*, 1772.

(d) *The Calcutta Review*, October, 1892, p. 206.



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the murdered prince from cruel indignities at the hands of Mir Jaffer and his son." Latifanissa and the infant daughter of the late Nabab had been robbed of all their jewels and valuables by Mir Cossim at Rajmahal.(a) "They were sent afterwards into confinement, in a manner calculated to inflict indelible disgrace on Mahomedan females of ranks."(b) The author of the *Riyas* concluded perhaps from these facts that in this tragic affair the English chiefs were implicated. But Clive says, "he knew nothing of it till the next day."(c) Col. Malleeson however remarks that "Clive by his conduct placed himself in the position of an accessory after the act."(d)

Not long after the tragic end of Surajdoulah the savage Meeran succeeded in capturing the younger brother's son of the deceased prince, Ahirga Mahomed Ali, a young boy in his teens. It is said that the unfortunate boy "was squeezed to death between boards, used for preserving shawls."(e) Meeran murdered many others of both sexes who were related and connected with the late unfortunate Surajdoulah. By Mir Jaffer's orders Ghasite Begum, Amina Begum and the wife and daughter of the late Subadar were imprisoned at Jahangirnagar. The cruel Meeran however having conceived some suspicion about the unfortunate Ghasiti and Amina Begums ordered them to be conveyed under a false pretence in a boat to the middle of the river and to be thrown overboard. When these unsuspecting females were being conveyed to their appointed place of destination, they were informed of the cruel order of Meeran. There the two sisters made their last ablutions. After bathing and putting on clean clothes they cursed Meeran in an invocation to the Deity—"O God, we have done no harm to Meeran who, having brought ruin on our family and deprived our brothers of their rights, is now about to put us to death. We pray that he may be struck dead by lightning for his cruel deeds." Their fervent prayer was heard. For Meeran was struck dead by lightning on the night of the 4th July, 1760, in his camp at Hajipur."(f)

The heroic Mohan Lal, who had been wounded in Plassey in fighting against heavy odds to protract the retreat of the Nabob, had hastened to Murshidabad after the dispersion of the army to save his master. Finding him not there he had gone after him to Bhagwangolla, where he was seized. Dullav Ram lost no

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(a) *Seir*, I, p. 775; c. f. also *Tarikh-i Majaffari*.

(b) *The Indian Empire*, vol. I, p. 282.

(c) *The First Report*, 1772.

(d) *Decisive Battles of India*, p. 47.

(e) *Seir*, vol. I.

(f) *Jamiat Tawarikh*.

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time in putting him to death and seizing his effects.(a) Thus perished the real Bengali hero of Plassey in defending the cause of his master, leaving behind him a reputation which will adorn the pages of the history of Bengal. Had his field of action been in Europe instead of in India, he would have been ranked with a Leonidas or Miltides. But unfortunately India, though she has produced in her various states a Leonidas and Miltides, has not brought forth with them a Xenophen or Herodotus to record their mighty and imperishable deeds. Had his advice been heard, instead of being a martyr at Plassey, he would have assuredly been the victor there, and perhaps the future history of Bengal would have been written differently. His worthy coadjutor, the real Mussulman hero of Plassey, Mirmaddan, was buried at Farid Tolla about 5 miles north of Plassey. His tomb is worshipped, like that of Jemadar Doulat Ali, at Plassey who too laid down his life for the Nabob. "The grave is under the shade of some young trees—a tamarind etc.—and is worshipped by Hindus and Mahomedans" every Thursday as this day corresponds with 23rd June, 1857, which was a Thursday also.(b) The mangled body of Surajdoulah was buried by the side of the mortal remains of his grand-father, Aliverdi Khan, at Khush Bagh, on the west side of the river and opposite the Motijhill, one or two of his wives being also buried on that spot. One Begum was in the habit of coming every day to the tomb of her departed lord and mourning there. According to Foster she was Oumalat-un-nissa. But Beveridge remarks—"I doubt if she was the same as Latif-un-nissa. Umlat-un-nissa was living in August 1791. She used to get pension of Rs. 500 per month which was reduced by Hastings to Rs. 450. It had been further reduced afterwards to Rs. 325 per month.(c)

Some time after the battle of Plassey Mir Jaffer "made a present to Col. Clive of ten handsome women out of Surajdoulah's seraglio."(d)

Surajdoulah was only 20 years old and reigned only for one year and two months and twenty-seven days when he was murdered.(e) Surajdoulah, remarks Mustafa, appears to have been a young man, very ill-educated through an over fondness of his parents; and a Prince too early transferred from the school to a throne."(f)

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(a) *Scir*, Vol. I, p. 776 and *Scott's History of Bengal*, p. 371.

(b) *The Calcutta Review*, April, 1892, p. 343.

(c) *The Calcutta Review*, April, 1892, pp. 340, 341.

(d) *Scir*, Vol. I, p. 722.

(e) *Jamiat Twarikh*.

(f) *Scir*, Vol. I, p. 768.

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"It is impossible, remarks Col. Malleeson, for a fair-minded reader to examine the circumstances which surrounded this unfortunate Prince from the time when Clive frightened him into signing the treaty of the 9th February until he met his end after Plassey without feeling for him deep commiseration. His attitude was that of a netted tiger surrounded by enemies whom he feared and hated but could not crush. Imagine this boy, for he had not yet seen twenty summers, raised in the purple and brought up in the lap of luxury, accustomed to the gratification of every whim, endowed by nature with the strength of character which would counterbalance these grave disadvantages, invested with a power which he had been taught to regard as uncontrollable—imagine this boy sent to play the game of empire against one of the coolest and most calculating warriors of the day, a man perfectly comprehending the end at which he was aiming, who had mastered the character of his rival and of the men by whom that rival was surrounded, who was restrained by no scruples, and who was as bold and decided as his rival was wavering, and ready to proceed from one extreme to another."(a) Justly remarks Orme : "if he had respected the advice of his grand-father Aliverdi and not have excited the detestation of the Gentoos and rendered himself dreadful to the principal Mahomedan officers of his court the English would have found no alliance sufficient to have ventured the risk of dethroning him."(b) "But although the irreconcilable enmity which he showed towards the English entitled that nation to insist on securities and destroy his power if some such could be found, it could never entitle them to make war on him under cover of apparent frankness and cordiality, nor to plot with his own servants for his destruction while professing to put him on his guard against the machinations of foreign enemies."(c) If the victor of Plassey were compared with the vanquished, Clive would not very much outshine Suraj. Suraj was cowardly, weak and unstable ; but Col. Clive was slow, calculating, and dependant on native assistance, in every important military step. As regards the honesty and probity of both nothing could be more pertinent and apposite than the following observations of Col. Malleeson—"Whatever may have been his faults Surajdostah had neither betrayed his master nor sold his country. Nay more, no upright Englishman sitting in judgment on the event which passed

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(a) *The Decisive Battles of India*, p. 51.

(b) Orme I, p. 185.

(c) Elphinstone, p. 328.

## ECOB'S FROM OLD MURSHIDABAD

in the interval between the 9th February and the 23rd of June can deny that the name of Surajdoulah stands higher in the scale of honor than that of the name of Clive. He was the only one of the principal actors in that tragic drama who did not attempt to deceive."(a)

"As a victory," remarks Col. Malleon, "Plassey was in its consequences perhaps the greatest ever gained. But as a battle it is not, in my opinion, a matter to be very proud of. In the first place it was not a fair fight. Who can doubt that if the three principal Generals of the Surajdoulah had been faithful to their master Plassey would not have been won? Up to the time of the death of Mir Madden Khan, the English had made no progress; they had even been forced to retire. They would have made no impression on the enemy had the Nabob's army been led by men loyal to their master, simply maintained their position. It was only when treason had done her work, when treason had driven the Nabob from the field, when treason had removed his army from its commanding position, that Clive was able to advance with the certainty of being annihilated. Plassey then though a decisive can never be considered a great battle."

G. L. D.

## ECHOES FROM OLD MURSHIDABAD

Leaving aside Dacca which has now been restored to her ancient dignity as the capital of the new Province, there is no other town in Bengal which is so rich with historical associations and so intimately connected with the growth of the British power in India as Murshidabad. The city claims an unusually brilliant historical record since the assumption of the sovereignty of Bengal by the Mohamedans in 1203, when the province was in the hands of Lakshman Sen, who had removed his capital from Lakshanavati, now known as Gour, to Navadwip or Nadia. The astrologers of the Court had predicted the fall of the Hindu suzerainty and had warned the king against a man 'with long arms reaching up to his very knees' who would bring about the ruin of the royal family. All the Hindu provinces of upper India bowed down before the far greater military skill of the new invaders and the eyes of the fallen Hindu houses were turned with hope towards Bengal, which was not only the most fertile province in the country, watered as it

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(a) *The Decisive Battles of India*, p. 76.

was, by the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, but contained the largest population under the control of the warlike House of Ballal. But the last Hindu king of Bengal was far from being a warrior. Effeminate, luxurious to a great degree, and highly intellectual, Lakshman Sen was no match for the experienced and hardy generalissimo of the Mohamedan sovereign. When Buktear Khilji, the man deputed to reduce Bengal to a dependency of the Badshate of Delhi, arrived at the gates of Navadwip, the king fled from his palace sheltered only by the darkness of night. The Kshatriya soldiery of Bengal were resolved to offer a bold stand against the 'unclean' invaders, but they completely lost heart at the flight of their king and Buktear Khilji without a struggle triumphantly entered the gates of the capital. From this time Bengal became one of the vast satrapies of the government of Delhi and the seat of the provincial administration was removed to Dacca, a city founded by Ismal Khan.

The first mention that is made of Murshidabad in any historical work is in the *Akbarnamah*\* in which it is referred by its ancient appellation of Maksudabad. Tieffenthaler says that the city was founded by the Emperor Akbar and was named after Maksus Ali Khan, the brother of the Governor of Bengal, at the time when the city was under course of construction. But the real history of Murshidabad dates from 1704 when Murshed Kuli Khan, from whom it has derived its present name, removed the capital of Bengal from Dacca to that city. Murshed Kuli Khan or Mohamed Hadi as he was formerly known was the son of a Brahmin who had turned a renegade during his stay in Persia where he had been taken as a slave-boy. From his youth he displayed those statesman-like qualities which latterly put him in the envied position of the viceroy of the richest province of India. For sometime he was the representative of the king at Hyderabad, and in 1704, was created by the Emperor Farrukh Seyar, the Governor of Bengal, as Nawab Murshed Kuli Khan. The first act of the new Nazim-Dewan was to remove his capital from Dacca and to embellish the city to which he gave his name. His vigorous action against robbery by holding the rich zemindars responsible for all crimes within their estates and his strenuous revenue administration procured for him in 1718 the additional responsibility of administering Behar also in addition to Bengal and Orissa. Since that time, up to 1905, the three sister provinces of Bengal,

\* A monograph in Persian describing twenty years of the reign of Akbar. This book is written by the versatile Abul Fazl, Akbar's famous minister.

## ECOE'S FROM OLD MURSHIDABAD

Behar and Orissa have been governed as one provincial unit. Murshid Kuli Khan's administration was not only famous for this unity of the provinces but he was the first Mahometan ruler to break the power of the great territorial magnates by disallowing monopolies in corn and other cereals and by establishing guard-houses both at Katwa and Murshedgunge. With all the fanaticism of a convert, Murshed devoted much of his time to proselytising which naturally was attended with cruelty and barbarism. His love for justice was well-known and he put apart two days every week for hearing appeals and complaints, to which he always lent an impartial ear. "So just was he in his decisions," writes a native biographer about him, "so rigid in the execution of the sentence of the law that he put his own son to death for an infraction of its regulations." On account of his well-devised plan of collecting revenues he was in a position to send at the end of the year to Delhi, after deducting his own expenses, a sum of money amounting to a crore and fifty lacs of rupees. Murshed Kuli Khan has sometimes been accused of nepotism, but the history of the East as also of some of the portions of the West is so full of this weakness that we might look with indulgence at the Nawab's fault. He had appointed his son-in-law Shujauddawlah the Deputy-Nazim of Orissa and had placed the husband of his grand-daughter in the same office at Dacca. Murshed Kuli did not rule long. Perceiving that his end was near he called to him his young grandson Sarfraz Khan, the eldest son of Shujauddawlah, and asked his councillors to swear that they would place the young prince on the throne after his death. Murshed died in 1725.

Sojourners in the city of Murshidabad will have noticed, whilst passing by its streets, a ruined mosque known as *Khetra Musjid* which is the resting place of the Founder of the Musnud of Murshidabad. It was formerly a two-storied building containing cells for seventy readers of the Koran, who, according to Islamic usage, prayed for the salvation of Murshed's soul. The terrible earthquake of '97 has razed the structure to the ground and the tomb of the ruler is the only thing that is left intact. The *Shahinashin* (the seat of the king) or the Imperial Bank and Hall of Public Audience was built by him in 1720, but is now overgrown with rank verdure "containing a fountain and a reservoir with sides of granite marble." It was here that the scheme of the deposition of Serajuddoulah was formulated by Clive and his colleagues. In the Artillery Park may be seen the famous 'tope' known as *Yahankosha* (or the Worlds' Destroyer)

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made at Dacca in 1637 and brought to Murshidabad by the Nawab. Every Thursday it is an object of veneration and a vast concourse of the superstitious assemble round it to offer sacrifices to the 'Destroyer.'

The injunction that Murshed Kuli Khan had laid on the nobles of his court on his death-bed to see his grandson installed as his successor was not destined to be of any use, and the opposition to his scheme came from a most unexpected quarter. The father, Sujauddoulah, stood up as the rival of his son, marched from Orissa with an immense force to Murshidabad, stormed the city and entered it in triumph. He came from a Turcoman family of Khorasan that had settled in the Deccan in which province he was born. There he came to be on intimate terms with Murshed Kuli when the latter was the Dewan of Hyderabad. One of the first acts of the new ruler was to release the Zemindars, who had been put into prison by his predecessor for non-payment of dues and for dacoity committed within their jurisdiction. During his reign of fourteen years he annexed several districts to the Government, notably Tipperah; but although the conquering army went as far as Cooch Behar and plundered its outskirts, it did not capture it. Much of the prosperity of the reign of Sujauddoula depended on his three famous councillors, the two brothers, Haji Ahmed and Ali Verdi Khan—the last of whom played a most important role latterly in the history of Murshidabad—and the scion of the celebrated family of Jagat Sett \* or the 'Bankers of the World. Like his predecessor, Shujauddoula was also very impartial and his love for justice has passed into a proverb. He was a bit fond of jovial company and the stories of his lavish repasts are still repeated by old men who have heard it from their fathers with the wonder that is attached to antiquity. He also embellished the city of Murshidabad, and when he died in 1739, was buried there in the beautiful Farah Bagh.

After the death of Shujauddoula, his son Sarfraz Khan was crowned as the Ruler of Murshidabad. Unlike his grand father and his father, Sarfraz Khan was a weak king with a vacillating temperament, impolitic and effeminate to a degree. By his weakness he turned Haji Ahmed and Jagat Sett, the two wise advisers of his father, into his enemies. But the young Nawab was not destined to rule long.

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\* This was the title given to the family of Fattah Chand by the Emperor Nasiruddin Abul Fath. The Setts possessed fabulous wealth in the XVIIIth century but their house on the banks of the Bhagirathi is now in ruins.

## **ECHOES FROM OLD MURSRIDABAD**

Ali Verdi Khan, the sagacious and the politic prince whom he had sent to Behar as its Deputy-Governor, was already making preparations to capture the capital. He had employed under him a troop of valiant Afghans who unmindful of any principle always fought recklessly for those who employed them. But Ali Verdi did not rely solely on his armed force. His chief supports were his intriguing capacity and his luck which had never yet betrayed him. He was busy intriguing at Murshidabad and especially at Delhi to obtain the sanction and countenance of the Emperor to his enterprise. By the middle of 1740 his preparations were completed and he marched towards the capital of Bengal. Sarfraz Khan, though naturally indolent and pleasure-loving, was energetic and brave when roused to action. In the conflict that followed he fought like a lion. The Nawab was the inspiring genius on the field on his side. Every one was anxious to have been afforded the opportunity to die under the lead of the valiant prince. The day would have turned with terrible odds against Ali Verdi Khan, had it not been for the ill luck of the Nawab. In the very midst of the fight he was informed that the powder in the magazines had been treacherously replaced by bricks. On this, Sarfraz Khan was obliged to appoint Panchu Feringee, the son of Antony Feringhee, a Portuguese physician, as the commander of his forces. The new commander was brave, but was unable to do anything against the odds that beset him and fell fighting. In the thick of the battle (which took place at Gheria, twenty-two miles from Murshidabad) the Nawab was mortally wounded by a musket ball and this decided the fate of the day. Ghazanfar Mahomed Khan, his son-in-law, appeared a few days after with re-inforcements, but he was too late. Ali Verdi in the meantime entered the city in triumph, seized seventy lacs in cash and fifty crores in jewellery and was crowned the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, Behar and Orissa under the grandiloquent title of Nawab Hassamatuddowlah Ali Verdi Khan Mahabat Jung. The battlefield of Gheria which brought Ali Verdi to the musnad of Bengal also saw the defeat of Mir Kassim twenty-three years after and the little beginnings of the mighty British Empire in India.

*(To be continued)*

**H. S. Sahrawardy**



## MUNDARI POETRY

The title that we have chosen for this article may come upon some of our readers as a surprise. To speak of a semi-barbarous people like the Mundas as having any thing like poetry may appear to many of our readers as a misuse of language. And we must admit that poetry in the sense of finished literary productions, the Mundas certainly do not possess. But what race or tribe is there that is altogether devoid of the 'faculty divine' of Poesy? As the American poet Oliver Wendell Holmes sings :—

There breathes no being but has some pretence,  
To that fine instinct called poetic sense ;  
The rudest savage roaming through the wild,  
The simplest rustic bending o'er his child,

The slave who slumbering on his rusted chain,  
Dreams of the palm-trees on his burning plain,

All, all, are glowing with the inward flame,  
Whose wider halo wreathes the poet's name.

Though the highest flights of Pegasus are beyond the reach of the unlettered Munda poet, his poetry, such as it is, is remarkably true to nature. His songs graphically represent the inner emotions that move him and portray the outer world that surrounds him.

Of all the sentiments that inspire the Muse of Poetry, the sentiment of Love is perhaps the strongest as it is certainly the oldest. In fact, this sentiment is as old as the human species. And naturally the poetical activity of the Munda mind is primarily, though not solely, taken up with the delineation of this primal passion of the human heart.

In our previous article we cited a number of Mundari love-songs and attempted to show with what exquisite tenderness and simple pathos, the Munda poet expresses in song the ever-varying joys and sorrows of the lover. The Munda poet is not, however, content with a mere subjective delineation of the workings of the human heart under the influence of the tender passion. As the poet's heart glows at the sight of the blossoming of new love in others, he contemplates it objectively and expresses in song the overflowing sympathy of his own heart. Thus, hear how in the following song the Munda poet gives expression to his own joyous sympathy with the first demonstrations of dawning love :—

[LAHSUA]

*Bhati ora piti piri, honortanaking juri juri,  
Nival sobha nelotanaking, kulgaking bano hiating.  
Nawa kiriti piriting, bano hiating, re-gating.*

## MUNDARI POETRY

*Samrom rupa munga mala, sasangsari katarepola*

*Jin jadi rajijanaking, banohiating, regating.*

*Nawa hiriti piritiking, bano hiating, regating.*

### [TRANSLATION]

By grog-shop thus through market-place,  
As arm in arm you couple go,  
Sweet Beauty doth their motions grace,  
No saddening thought the couple know.  
Young Love admits no fears, in troth,  
Nor cares their new-found bliss to blight.  
With *polas*\* and corals and yellow cloth,  
With gold and silver see them dight.  
When heart with heart in unison beats,  
Away flies care that glooms the brow ;  
When Love young hearts in union knits,  
No cares, no fears, the lovers know.

Here we have the same sentiment, the same human sympathy that inspired the well-known exclamation of the peasant poet of the Cotter's Saturday Night :—

O happy love ! where love like this is found !  
O heart-felt raptures ! bliss beyond compare !  
I've paced this weary mortal round,  
And sage experience bids me this declare,—  
If Heav'n a draught of heavenly pleasure spare,  
One cordial in this melancholy vale,  
'Tis when a youthful loving modest pair,  
In other's arms breathe out the tender tale,  
Beneath the milk-white thorn that scents the vale.

In the poet's eyes, youth is never so lovely as when Love casts its golden halo around it. And to the poet, as to every feeling heart, there is perhaps no picture more attractive than that of two young lovers in the fine intoxication of first love.

But with the Munda, as with other people, the course of true love does not always run smoothly. At times it is the social restriction that forbids marriages within the *kili* or clan, and at others it is the inability of the bridegroom to meet the pecuniary demands of the bride's guardians, that stand in the way of the fulfilment of the delightful promises of the heart.

The Munda is, if anything, intensely conservative. And the Munda lover, in such a predicament, generally bows down to the immemorial social laws of his tribe. But the more impatient spirits amongst the Munda youth sometimes rebel against society and cut themselves off from its moorings.

Hear with what passionate love the Munda lover clings to the maiden of his choice and for her sake is ready to give up the rest of the world.

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\* *Pola* is the Mundari name for a metal ring worn on the toe.

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### [JARGA]

*Kucha mucha kunduru,  
Kucha kotong tadinga kundurum.  
Kucha kotong tadinga nairi.  
Narin narin palandum narin  
Kotong tadinga palandum narin  
Kotong tadinga nairi.  
Jibare sukujanre do dolang senoa  
Kunduru do dolang senoa nairi.  
Kurambare rerajanre,  
Mare dolang birida, palandu,  
Mare dolang birida, nairi.*

### [TRANSLATION]

Like kunduru\* winding round the tree, (thou girl),  
Infold'st me in thy loving coils,  
Like kunduru clasping round the tree, my girl,  
Thou hold'st me close in thy tender toils.  
As p'landu creeper round the tree, my love,  
Around my heart so dost thou twine,  
As p'landu twists around the tree, my love,  
So hast thou bound my heart in thine.  
My heart feels warm, O come along, my love,  
O come with me my *kunduru*, dear,  
O come with me, and thus through life,  
We both will move together here.  
In thee my heart in bliss doth rest,  
Together will we run life's race,  
O come, *palandu*, come together thus,  
We'll stride across life's narrow pace.

In songs like this we have the same sentiment, though perhaps not so eloquently expressed, as in the Irish song of Francis Fahy :—

Maid of all maidens, my life is entwined in thine,  
Turning to thee, like the flower to the sun,  
Tell me, oh I tell me, thy heart is enshrined in mine—  
Tell me, ashore, we had better be one.  
Come with me, roam with me, over the foam with me,  
Come to my home with me near Carrig rock.  
Light of my life to be, sweet-heart and wife to be,  
Free from all strife to be, flower of the flock !

To such a pair the rest of the world has no significance. They ask for nothing in the universe save each other's company. Fear and anxiety these young lovers have none. The slightest attempt to check the natural bent of their affections they forthwith resent. And hear with what obstinacy one of these unruly Munda youths bids defiance to all social restrictions :—

### [JADUR]

*Kerketa dulamo kainga, Demchua darara kainga.  
Aingego salajoma, Aingego pit joma.  
Dugumugu chaurol kainga, Gajabaja bajuria kainga.  
Aingego salajoma, Aingego pitjoma,  
Ulisakam kirichiu kainga, Molongrao tika sindurio kainga,  
Aingego salajoma, Aingego pit joma.*

\* *Kunduru* and *palandu* are names of creepers. It is only natural that the Munda should borrow his metaphors and similes mostly from the *fauna* and *flora* as also from the beasts and birds of his native woods and hills.

\* Literally the original would be translated as,—When the heart becomes cool (*i.e.* filled with calm delight and joy).

[TRANSLATION]

O none of your ugly-matchmakers I need !  
 Do send them away your *kerheta* and crow  
 For a bride I shall look where affection will bid,  
 My wishes alone the sole mentor I know.  
 O none of your gaudy *chaudols*\* will I need,  
 No clanking musicians behind me will go !  
 For a bride I shall seek where affection will lead,  
 My wishes alone the sole guide that I know.  
 No sprinkling of water with mango-twigs I'll need,  
 Nor mark of vermilion over my brow.†  
 For a bride I shall look where affection will bid,  
 My wishes alone the sole mentor I know.

In this way the more unruly amongst the Munda youth defy all social restrictions. Away they go from their native village and hide themselves with their sweet hearts in the distant tea-gardens of Assam, or in the bleak swamps of the Sunderbans, and, like the hero of Tennyson's Lockley Hall, curse to their heart's content, the social laws that constrain them to adopt such a course.

Cursed be the social rules that sin against the strength of youth,  
 Cursed be the social laws that warp us from the living truth.  
 Cursed be the sickly forms that err from honest Nature's rule,—  
 Cursed be the gold that gilds the straitened forehead of the fool !

The average Munda youth, however, takes his disappointment rather soberly, and in time outlives his sorrow and gets married to some socially eligible girl. For a time, however, when the wound in the heart is still green, he naturally wears out his broken heart with bootless grief. And hear how the Munda poet commiserates with him in his sorrow :—

[JADUR]

*Juri juri sen baraea, jota jota koner baraea*  
*Juri re gatindo kahomnamia jota re sangam do kahom chinaca,*  
*Modhia, sindurite karating jana do,*  
*Bare tari\$ sasangte firating jana,*  
*Chakating monaia, karating janado*  
*Chakating monaia, firating janado*  
*Neating reo ho kahom namia*  
*Chakating reo ho, kahom chimaia*

[TRANSLATION]

Then, side by side, you walked about, a youthful loving pair ;  
 With woven arms you moved about,—unknown to Fear and Care.  
 But now no more will she be here to grace thy side, I ween,  
 Oh ! arm in arm, no more with thee will she be roving seen,  
 One scarlet mark of *Sindur* made her mated, Oh ! for aye  
 Her limbs with turmeric twice besmeared, she's tied in nuptial tie  
 One *Sindur* mark on that dear brow, has left thee quite forlorn ;  
 Oh ! twice with turmeric daubed, is she from thee for ever torn ;  
 It pains me sore, that she no more, will bear thee company,  
 It rends my heart to think that she for aye is lost to thee ;  
 Oh ! vain thy grief ! no longer she can grace thy side, I trow.  
 Ah ! though thou mourn, no more will she to thee her love avow !

\* *Chaudol* is a corruption of *Chaturdola*, a sort of gaudy of conveyance—an open *palanquin*—used by rich people in carrying the bridegroom to the bride's house.

† The sprinkling of water with twigs of the mango tree over the body of the bride and of the bridegroom and the besmearing by each other of their foreheads with vermilion are necessary parts of the marriage ceremony among the Mundas.

‡ *Kha* in Mundari means a small receptacle for holding vermilion or such other things.

\$ *Tari* in Mundari means a plate.

## THE INDIAN WORLD

More pitiable is the condition of the girl, whose lover proves faithless to her. The 'hapless doom of woman happy in betrothing, is thus expressed in song by the Munda :—

### [JADUR]

*Ata mata birko talare  
Aloko nirja bagiya,  
Ramecha marechare  
Alohome nojor rarayia  
Kachiko ms leledinga,  
Sengal lekaing juletanre,  
Kachikome china bledinga  
Dalekaing lingitanre,  
Kage choaing blejadme  
Disumdo dudugarjana  
Kage choaing chinajadme,  
Gamaya do Koansi jan.*

### [TRANSLATION]

[Maiden]

Amid this forest dense and dark,  
Oh ! let me not deserted pine !  
On this wide waste of Ramecha,  
Forsake me not—for ever thine !  
Did'st thou not know me when in youth,  
My beauty bright as fire did beam ?  
Didst thou not then my motions mark,  
As graceful as yon flowing stream ?  
[Heartless youth] I did not—could not—mark thee then,  
For all around with mist was dim,  
I did not—could not—mark thee true !  
Black fog the village did bedim !

This naturally recalls to mind the opening lines of Francis Sempell's "Auld Lang Syne" the Seventeenth-century original of Burns' famous poem on the same theme :—

Should auld lang acquaintance be forgot,  
And never thought upon ?  
The flames of love extinguished,  
And freely past and gone ?  
Is thy kind heart now grown sae cauld,  
In that loving breast of thine,  
That thou canst never ance reflect  
On auld lang syne ?

Thus, we find that among the Mundas, as amongst better races, there are some heartless people, whose "Love will fly the fallen leaf, and not be ever overtaken." When the roses in their sweet-hearts' cheeks are gone, the love of such people too is "lost in loathing."

Love, though the chief, is not, however, the sole inspirer of the Munda's Muse. Nor could it very well have been so. For, whatever moves the human heart, whatever kindles the emotions and fires the imagination of man,—in fact, every object of human interest and affection, is the proper domain of the poet. We all beam with happiness, smile with joy, glow with hope, tremble with fear, sigh in despair, and weep in sorrow. It is the poet alone who from an intense imaginative realisation of the

## MUNDARI POETRY

emotion can "summon back the original glow," and reproduce it in an embodiment of rhythmic and musical language, instinct with the warm breath of life. The poet alone can clothe in words of flame the emotions felt by all. As the American poet James Russel Lowell expresses it :—

In his wide brain the feeling deep,  
That struggled on the many's tongue,  
Swells to a tide of thought, whose suires leap,  
O'er the weak thrones of wrong.

As for the unlettered Munda poet, the Lyric form of poetry, is naturally his proper sphere. The Epic and Dramatic forms with their essential elements of character, action, plot and catastrophe, require a degree of intellectual culture to which the rude Munda can as yet lay no claim. Some external object, scenery, character or incident stirs his imagination and moves his feelings, and out he comes with a song. And in this the lyric department of poetry, the teeming creativeness of the Munda Muse is well-nigh bewildering. The Munda has songs without number about every possible theme that interests him. And the name of such themes, too, is legion. In the infancy of civilisation, keen-eyed wonder sways the human mind more completely than in an enlightened state of society. For the rude Munda the hand of science has not yet drawn aside the thick veil between appearances and realities. And naturally, imaginative faith reigns supreme. To him, things are but what they seem. The poetic temperament is consequently strong in such a primitive people. For, as Wordsworth himself has defined the function of the poet :—

The appropriate business of poetry (which, nevertheless, if genuine, is as permanent as pure science), her appropriate employment, her privilege and her *duty*, is to treat of things not as they *are*, but as they *appear*, not as they exist in themselves, but as they seem to exist to the *senses*, and to the *passions* ".\* Again, while referring to the primitive stage of human Society the great Lake Poet expresses the same idea in verse :—

O Fancy ! what an age was that for song !  
That age, when not by *laws* immaculate,  
As men believed, the waters were impelled,  
The air controlled, the stars their courses held,  
But element and orb on *acts* did wait,  
Of *Powers*, endued with visible form instinct  
With will, and to their work by passion linked !

It is but natural therefore that the uncivilised Munda should have a great variety of objects and ideas to stimulate his poetical sensibilities.

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\* Essay, Supplementary to the preface of Wordsworth's Poetical Works.

## THE INDIAN WORLD

As may be expected, the Munda enjoys life with a keen zest and relish which many of his more civilized fellowmen may very well envy. The keen excitement of the chase, the hilarious pleasures of his village dances, the ravishing strains of his weird music,—these are to him sources of intense delight, and many are the songs in which he proclaims that delight. Hear how in the following song, the Munda poet describes a hunt.

### [JAPI]

*Senderadoko kerakeda, dada,  
Kundurur burua, dada  
Karingadoko jeraokeda, dada,  
Seratibera.  
Sendera namelai, dada,  
Jilu nonoa, dada—  
Karinga namelai, dada,  
Susam sandi  
Tuiu talangme, babu  
Jilu nonoa, babu  
Terangi talangme, babu  
Susam sandi  
Tora logejanae, dada,  
Chutikanasul, Dada  
Tora, maihana Dada  
Suba serom.  
Otongi talangme, babu  
Jilu nonoa, babu  
Kajari talangme, babu  
Susam sandi  
Tora maiomkeda, dada  
Roro sakamrea, dada,  
Tora girumkeda, dada  
Dela burnis.*

### [TRANSLATION]

Goes forth the summons all around,  
Now see the huntsmen join the chase !  
On hill where *Kundur* plants abound,  
And vale where deer on *ser'is* graze.  
Behold ! a fawn before them flies,  
Fleet flies a young and lovely deer !  
Ah, look ! a *sail*\* the hunter spies,  
Lo ! there, away it flies in fear !  
O ! Aim thine arrow quick and true,  
Bear down on earth yon lovely fawn,  
O ! may that arrow pierce him through,  
— That *sakii* there that fleet doth run.  
Now, there ! it gets but slightly hurt  
Above its legs—that lucky fawn !  
Below the *sakii's* neck that dart  
Hath just but graz'd the skin alone !  
On ! on ! my boy ! pursue it still—  
Until the deer is down on ground.  
O ! search the *sail* all o'er the hill,  
Explore the forest all around.  
That deer—those drops of blood hath shed,  
And those dry leaves its gore retain.  
The *sakii*—slightly hath he bled !  
Those clods of earth its blood doth stain.

\* *Sail* is the

Mundari name for the wild buffalo.

In this animated description of the chase we have but a faint

## MUNDARI POETRY

reflection of the keen gusto with which the Munda enjoys his periodical hunting excursions.

Here is another description of a hunt, in a still more spirited strain than the above :—

[JAPI]

*Chetan kutire, gosain,  
Terea terako, gosain  
Latar kutire gosain,  
Marva, marvako,  
Sari, japi sari.\*  
Rutaba saili do, gosain,  
Rutukun rutukun, gosain  
Saidaba sukuri, gosain,  
Chotabaken, chotabaken  
Sari japi sari.  
Tuis mendo gore, gosain  
Rutukun rutukun, gosain.  
Terangi mendo, gosain,  
Chotabaken chotabaken,  
Sari japi sari.  
Torahoe togejan, gosain  
Chutima kanasui, gosain.  
Toraho togejan gosain,  
Subama serom gosain,  
Sari japi sari.  
Torahoe senojan, gosain  
Singeko birite gosain,  
Sari japi sari.  
Torahoe senojan, gosain  
Madeko landirite, gosain,  
Sari japi sari.*

[TRANSLATION]

Up there ! now the hunters in excitement and glee,  
"Look ! Look !" do they cry as you game there they see.  
Down there ! other hunters in enthusiasm high,  
"On ! on !" do they cry as you game there they spy.  
Now, lo ! the *sahil* like *rutaba* grey,  
Doth tremble and quake at the noise and the fray,  
And there the wild boar like a *saidaba* white,  
Doth grunt and squeak in sheer terror and fright.  
Now huntsman's fell arrow doth tremble and shake,  
As bends the big bow and his aim he doth take.  
Now 'smack' sounds the arrow as it pierces the breeze,  
And flies the keen shaft with a whirr and a whizz,  
Oh ! slight be the wound that you game doth receive,  
Alas ! but the skin the keen arrow doth cleave !  
Lo ! there flies the game,—for but slight be the hurt,  
Below the boar's neck just but grazed the keen dart.  
Away runs the game where the forest of Sing,  
Affords but poor refuge to the doomed dear thing.  
Ah ! there flies the game where the bamboo go high,  
In serried long phalanx doth brave the blue sky.

Songs like these remind us of the old Border Ballads like that of the Chevy Chase which describes how

To drive the deer with hound and horn  
Earl Percy took his way,  
The child may rue that is unborn.

\* *Sari japi sari* is an expression often used at the end of each stanza of the Munda's hunting songs. But the Mundas cannot explain this expression.



## THE INDIAN WORLD

The hunting of that day.  
The hounds ran swiftly through the woods  
The nimble deer to take,  
And with their cries the hills and dales  
An echo shrill did make.

And we may say of the Munda's hunting-songs what Sir Philip Sidney in his 'Defence of Poesy' says of the old Border song of Percy and Douglas :—"Certainly I must confess my own barbarousness : I never heard the old song of Percy and Douglas, that I found not my heart moved more than with a trumpet ; and yet it is sung by some blind crowder, with no rougher voice than rude style, which being so evil-apparelled in the dirt and cobweb of that uncivil age, what would it be trimmed in the gorgeous eloquence of Pindar ?"

Hear again the Munda poet describing in the following song how a young deer grazing on *mohua* flowers on a moon-light night is silently tracked and suddenly surprised by the huntsman. While you listen to a Munda singing the following song with its reverberating refrains you almost fancy you see the huntsman moving bodily before you with a stooping gait and stealthy steps. Now he reaches a point within bow-shot of the unsuspecting game, and all on a sudden up he springs and sends forth his arrow. Down falls his prey, as if before your very eyes, and the huntsman's triumphant shout of joy echoing through hill and valley seems to ring in your ears.

[JAPI]

*Madukam subare jiluhon atingtanae,*  
*Ho atingtanae.*  
*Hora korate pardia sesentanae,*  
*Ho sesentanae.*  
*Madukam nagenge jiluhon atingta nae*  
*Ho atingtanae.*  
*Jiluhon nagenge pardia biridtanae*  
*Ho biridtanae.*  
*Madukam subare jiluhon ranre jana*  
*Ho ranre jana.*  
*Jiluhon ranorejan pardia rasikatanae*  
*Ho rasikatanae.*

[TRANSLATION]

Underneath you *mowa* tree grazes lo ! a fawn  
Grazes on !  
Crouching down yon path see huntsmen moving slow  
Stooping low !  
Meals of *madkam* sweet have hither lured the deer,  
Roves it here !  
Quick to shoot the fawn doth huntsman upright stand,  
Bow in hand !  
Down beneath the *madkam*'s shade, lo ! falls the fawn,  
Falls adown !  
Glad the huntsman, hark ! with merry voice,  
Doth rejoice !

The vivid realism of this description needs no comment.

(To be continued.)

Sarat Chandra Ray

# The Progress of the Indian Empire

## PROVINCE BY PROVINCE

### BENGAL

Affairs in Bengal have ceased to run at a fever heat. On the one hand the feverish activity of the people has been partly scared to rest by repression and partly soothed by an expectancy roused by the change that has come over the spirit of the administration. On the other hand, the Government has come to take a more sane view of affairs. In Western Bengal the advent of Sir Edward Baker has changed the whole face of affairs and in Eastern Bengal, for some unaccountable reason the Government has ceased to be the wild hunter led on by the police hounds in its pursuit of swadesism and boycott. So, we are having a lull in the affairs of both Bengals. But incidents of uncommon interest have not by any means been rare.

The lull in Bengal

Lord Morley on the Partition

Lord Morley's inept statement in connection with the Partition of Bengal and his sharp rebuke to Lord Macdonnell for nothing but speaking the truth in the light of his long experience of India turned to good account, has roused very strong feelings in some and engendered a blank despair in others. The advent of the Reform proposals in their present shape had given rise to a confident feeling that a change had come over the spirit of our rulers. Henceforth, it was naturally expected, its policy should be one of conciliation and smoothing down of inequalities of temper in the relations of the rulers and the ruled. A modification of the Partition of Bengal was looked upon as a necessary corollary of such a spirit. In fact it was expected that the proposal to create an executive Council in Bengal was an index of the desire to reconsider the question. For with a Council for the L.-G. the only argument in support of the Partition disappears and if the maxim *cessante causa cessat effectus* operates, it was only natural to expect that it was only a preliminary to annulling the odious decree. But those hopes have been shattered, though not the faith fast imbedded in the soul of every Bengali that the wrong must be undone or the administration of the country sooner or later would be unhinged. So long as the partition continues, the deep sense of outraged feelings will ceaselessly rankle in the breasts of all Bengalees and, no matter what allurements in the shape of administrative reforms are held out to them, the people

## THE INDIAN WORLD

of Bengal will look up to the Government with sullen suspicion and aloofness with which the bureaucratic Government may run on famously for a long time but will not run so for ever. And for ever, we venture to predict, the sense of wrong will rankle in our breast and we will leave it as a heirloom to our successors. External manifestations of the grievance may be suppressed, even the boycott movement may go, and the bureaucracy may congratulate itself on its evil success in first outraging the feelings of a great community and then suppressing its expression of pain. But, let me remind the Government of the old old story, the heart will not be conquered. The partition is a real grievance, a grievance that is felt and felt deeply. The deep scar it leaves will bleed inwardly and will never be soothed till the partition is suitably modified.

Lord Morley's announcement puts the question of the partition beyond argument. It has simply become a trial of  
**The Partition and Reason** patience. We are sure the people will refuse to give active support to the Government till the partition is undone. The question has now become how long can the government afford to manage matters without the active support of the people and how long the people can keep away from giving active support to a government. Though argument therefore is out of the question, it may not be impertinent to point out that a valuable argument against the partition is afforded by the arrangements going to be made in connection with the reform proposals. Western Bengal is going to have an Executive Council, while the Eastern half of the province must be content to jog on its course somehow with the antiquated machinery of autocracy. Western Bengal is to have no communal representation, judged by the announcements made. But Eastern Bengal will have the full benefits of the incessant conflict of parties which a communal representation brings with it. The Council of Western Bengal gets a larger number of elected members than Eastern Bengal. Over and above the divisional electorates Western Bengal has two electorates, the Calcutta Municipality and the Calcutta University which may be expected to return independent Indian Members. But Eastern Bengal will have nothing to correspond to these. Besides these the Indian mercantile interests will necessarily be better protected by the great merchants of Calcutta while in East Bengal where those interests are not a whit less will have to suffer to be subservient to the European mercantile community. Most of the great Zemindars merchants and professional men of Eastern Bengal live in Calcutta and cannot

## PROGRESS OF INDIA (BENGAL)

keep away from the city. So the strength that would come from their influence would be lost to Eastern Bengal. Altogether, not only does Eastern Bengal become a third class province, the interests of its people are not sufficiently provided for in the new scheme of reform, while Western Bengal comes to the forefront as a premier province of India. Eastern Bengal has done nothing to justify this loss of status and comparative insecurity of popular interests. It has to yield precedence to Western Bengal solely because it pleased Lord Curzon to separate the East from the West. It was notorious before the partition that Eastern Bengal was fast taking the lead in all matters relating to the united province. The partition has however succeeded in rustivating it and throwing it to the background as an unprogressive backward province. Is more convincing argument necessary to drive home the truth about the evils of partition? That is if you are willing to be convinced. But the stolid obstinacy with which Lord Morley not only repels argument but resents the slightest breath of the matter obviously puts the matter outside the range of adjustment by reasoning. There are other methods of adjustment, and we must leave the Government to try to govern a sullen, dissatisfied, grumbling Bengali people.

In connection with the repressive methods when at its height

The aftermath  
of Repression

I was led to warn the Government against the Titus Oateses of our country and the result of some of the recent trials brings out most forcibly the fact that the crop of these rascals grow thick whenever the Government happens to lose its head over repression. If its high officials have a conscience the Government must have been feeling by now its prickings rather sharply; for the recent cases have shown that huge conspiracies were deliberately engineered under its favourable auspices by designing policemen with an eye to promotion and their paid spies the rate of whose pay was in direct proportion to the absurd albeit sensational character of their story and with the number of big men implicated by him as connected with a seditious propaganda. No cases in the past history of Bengal, if not of India, have perhaps roused so much interest as the Alipore, Midnapore and the Barrah Dacoity Cases. In the Alipur case the net was cast broad enough, but failed to secure more than 17. In the Barrah case it has proved altogether infructuous and the Midnapur case, though the result is yet to be finally ascertained, promises to end in smoke. In the last two cases police ineptitude and the excessive zeal of fire-eating detectives have appeared to such an extent that its disclosures have startled all India.

## THE INDIAN WORLD

The appeal in the Alipur case is still before their Lordships of the High Court and we shall not make any remarks with reference to these persons whose appeal is *sub judice*. But in his very able and elaborate judgment in the case Mr. Beachcroft has amply shown that against most of the accused persons, notably against Mr. Arabinda Ghose, there was not the slightest evidence to go upon. Yet these men were arrested and made to rot in the hajut, for one full year, a part of the time being spent in solitary cells. And why ! Because spies who were handsomely paid for it found it convenient to implicate them and allege all sorts of things against them. In fact it has long become well-known that an allegation had only to be made of a person being implicated in the conspiracy in the police office, with sufficient circumstantial account, to bring money to the informer and to secure the arrest of the person named.

But if the remarks of Mr. Beachcroft on police and police spies have been very guarded, those of our new Chief Justice have been very clear and strong. In connection with the Barrah Dacoity case his Lordship sitting with Mukerji and Carnduff JJ. has ruthlessly exposed the "grossly improper influences" exercised by the police over witnesses to swear to the identity of certain persons supposed to have committed dacoity in a village in Eastern Bengal. A dacoity was committed in broad day light and the dacoits were seen to have passed a long way along the river on a boat. The police along the banks of the river almost slept over the matter at the time and very little was done to get the miscreants arrested then and there. The courageous officers of the police are said to have saved their skins to very good purpose while a few of the pursuing villagers were shot. When the dacoits had showed a clean pair of heels, a very energetic and zubberdust police investigation commenced. The investigating officers began with their preconceived notions about certain men who were associated in Swadesi work and as evidence of identity was wanting they went on fabricating it right and left. When the case came on for trial under the new act before a special Bench of the High Court, their lordships found that while there was not a tittle of evidence to connect the accused with the dacoity, there was enough to show that the police had used highly improper methods to create evidence in the case. The accused were therefore all acquitted much to the chagrin of all repressionists. The *Englishman* has voiced forth its bitter disappointment at the result. It complains of the high standard set before themselves by the

## PROGRESS OF INDIA (BENGAL)

Judges of the proof required to establish the guilt of accused persons which places the police in an impossible position. Now so far as this charge insinuates that the rules of evidence as laid down by legislature and interpreted by our judges are strictly attended to by our judges, they must plead guilty to the charge. But the *Englishman* if it were only true to its name ought to have known that the English law of evidence was the result of a long and laborious study of expediency in the methods of law courts and they afford the best security for the ascertainment of truth in all matters. If the police keep to the right path and seek to trace an offence to its proper source and establish it by legal evidence and not to make easy work of it by creating the evidence there is no reason why it should not be able to conform to the standard set by the law of evidence. At any rate there is no reason why it should be allowed to go about manufacturing a case in all its parts against any body it chooses. If they do things like those found by the judges of the High Court, it must be said that the laws of evidence are required as a very necessary protection against their vagaries. But perhaps the whinnings of the apostle of repression only means this that repressive methods to be carried on with any amount of satisfaction to its agents should require the suspension of civilised laws and a reversion to the good old days of the *Qazi* of tradition. In this we are surprised to find ourselves in total agreement with the *Englishman*—the moral of which is that opponents never wholly disagree in any matter.

By far the most scandalous case however is the one now under appeal to the High Court. This is the notorious  
The Midnapore Case. Midnapore case. My readers will possibly recollect that two bombs were found in the course of a search by the police in two houses in Midnapore. In consequence of this supposed find the whole town of Midnapore was convulsed. Indiscriminate arrests of people, no matter of how high a station, were made. Forty-six persons including a live Raja and a number of men rich beyond the dreams of avarice, leading pleaders and other highly respectable persons were thrown into *hajut* to rot there. Bail was persistently refused although not a tittle of evidence was adduced before the trying magistrate. The first application to the High Court was refused on the understanding that the prosecution would immediately proceed with the evidence in the case. But evidence was not forthcoming, and the High Court granted bail in the case of most of the persons. The disclosures made in connection with the case in its argument before the High Court

## THE INDIAN WORLD

show that there were very good reasons for the Police to oppose applications for bail for as a matter of fact very scanty opportunity was given to the accused to see their legal advisers and they were made to do all that the Police wanted. However that may be, after this the then Advocate-general Mr. S. P. Sinha appeared on the scene. He was sent to conduct the case at Midnapore and after some time he entered a *nolle prosequere* against all the persons except three who underwent a long and protracted trial and were convicted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. They have appealed,

So far as the case of these three persons goes, judgment remains yet to be delivered, and we shall withhold our remarks respecting them. But the argument in the case discloses the frightful state of things which existed at Midnapore till the then Advocate-General appeared on the scene. It so happens that one of the persons connected with the Mozufferpore outrage was an inhabitant of Midnapore. Another, Satyendranath Bose, who was implicated in the Alipore case and has paid the last penalty of law for complicity in the murder of Norendra Nath Gossain, was also an inhabitant of Midnapore. Following upon these discoveries Mr. Weston, District Magistrate of Midnapore, received some threatening letters whose authorship yet remains a mystery. Then began the rage for repression. Houses were searched ; two bombs, the subject matter of the *sub judice* appeal, were found. Two men now before the High Court made confessions, since retracted. Two informers, most despicable creatures themselves, gave lurid accounts of a widespread conspiracy all over Midnapur to which the highest and the richest in the district were privy, for such a simple thing as the murder of Mr. Weston ! People were alleged to be going about the town with bombs, but to no effect. Forty-six men were arrested and one hundred and fifty-six men embracing all men who had the lead in wealth or education in Midnapur were on the catalogue of Police. Pleaders defending accused persons were arrested in the course of the trial. Arrangements were made for the arrest of Mr. K. B. Dutt, the leading counsel, a reis of Midnapur and the chairman of its Municipality. Old men tottering on the brink of the grave were brought in for complicity in a conspiracy to murder and all this on the testimony of an informer who has sworn to a character of himself which would make him the last person to be relied upon. When this informer in giving evidence retracted everything he had said in his reports, the Advocate-General found that there was no case against most of

## **PROGRESS OF INDIA (PUNJAB)**

these persons and they were all discharged. The story of the case is a story of the outrageous vagaries of the police in Midnapore for the last few months. It shows full well the extent to which an unbridled police may go with the active encouragement and assistance of a District Magistrate. It shows how possible it is in these days of law to let loose a surging stream of lawlessness upon any place at the mere will of the police and the head of the executive of the District, only if the central Government is only a little unnerved by wild spectres of sedition. The people of Midnapore have suffered grievously from the rage for repression which was encouraged by the Government some time ago, and from some of its disclosures the Government may learn a lesson about the supreme necessity of keeping its head cool above everything—a lesson, which, let us hope, will never be forgotten.

**Gesschietmacher**

## **THE PUNJAB**

It is not unoften that we are staggered by the development of abnormal and perplexing side-issues from seemingly innocuous and natural measures. Who could have thought at the moment of the announcement of the scheme of Indian reforms in December last that it would set the Mahomedan community at logger-heads with their Hindu brethren? Decidedly, the first appearances were deceptive. The Mahomedans no less than the Hindus acclaimed the reform measures with enthusiasm and gratification. Yet a few days later, what outbursts of Muslim opposition surged the whole land, from the office of the Muslim League in London to the dovecots of its branches at Aligarh, Amritsar, Dacca and Poona? Yet Lord Morley's scheme of Electoral Colleges was as nice and equitable an adjustment of the claims of the different communities as any that could be conceived under the peculiar circumstances of India. Similarly, who could have thought when, at the last University Convocation, the Vice-Chancellor Sir P. C. Chatterji made a reasoned and fervent appeal to the assembled graduates of the Punjab to cultivate their own natural vernacular, that a racial capital would be made by one section of the community of this natural and innocuous suggestion? And this is what has happened. A legitimate suggestion like this has touched the springs of racial prejudices and sectarian narrowness and have let loose forces which have been heaving and tossing, foaming



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and fulminating, during all these months. Quite a number of extraneous matter has been imported into the discussion of this purely academic question, weird phantoms have been raised, and one Mahomedan barrister addressing a meeting of Mahomedans convened to discuss this subject has gone even so far as to declare that any interference with Urdu would affect the loyalty of the Mahomedans. But to begin with the history of the controversy.

The controversy about the vernacular of the province is not a new one. Sometimes faint, at other times vehement, the controversy has existed for a long time until it was thrust into the front by the special prominence given to it in the last convocation address of Sir P. C. Chatterji. Sir Pratul Chandra took his stand on a high and honourable ground. In the course of his learned convocation address, he pointed out that as in dynamics the collision of forces acting from different directions produces a resultant motion in a new direction, so the impact of new ideas in the life of a people produces renewed activity in a fresh direction. Such an impact brings about a renaissance causing a general progressive movement giving rise to activity in various ways and in many new combinations. It finds expression in the birth of a vigorous new literature and art and in the ardent pursuit of scientific studies. Now the impact of English education in this country, it needs hardly be pointed out, has thrilled the entire framework of Indian Society with a progressive activity. In Bengal, and in other advanced provinces, it has been the mainspring of the growth and development of a splendid literature and art. After referring to the strenuous period of literary activity in Bengal as the result of the advent of Western education, the Vice-Chancellor called pointed attention to the backwardness of the vernaculars in this province. If like causes produce like effects, why is it, he asked, that the vernaculars of the province should show no development or any real progress? The Vice-Chancellor gave a full and complete answer to the question.

Before a language, he said, can make a real advance in literary culture, it must have a solid foundation in the idiom spoken and understood by the people. A written language generally reflects the peculiarities of expression and modes of thought characteristic of them and is mostly composed of words they commonly employ. Where it does not do this, the language is not a true vernacular and is unsuited for literary advancement. "When you think," said the Vice-Chancellor, "in one set of symbols and have to use another set to express your thoughts or, in other words, where you have not

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merely to transcribe your thoughts but to translate them, it is not easy to attain to real excellence. For literary success you must have spontaniety of expression and not continued effort." "You cannot," continued Dr. Chatterji, "reach the soul of a people by employing a foreign idiom. Poetic imagery can not find due expression in laboured language and prose is smothered in stilted phraseology. The main cause of the backwardness of literary culture in this province is the conflict of vernaculars and the consequent confusion in the minds of students. Urdu is the official language and a good part of the time of students is spent in learning it. The rest is devoted to the study of English and various other subjects. The result is that in the Punjab proper, Punjabee, the mother tongue of the Punjabi student, is neglected. The language which he has imbibed with his mother's milk and in which in his dawning consciousness he began to lisp and address his mother has no place in the curriculum. No wonder, then, that inspite of the undoubted ability, industry and intelligence of the Punjabee student, literary art has not been florescent in the province."

The same topic was handled with great ability by Sardar Jogendra Singh, President of the last Sikh Educational Conference. The learned Sardar, who has made his mark as a cultured and facile writer, pointed out how the Sikh regime conceived and carried out a scheme of popular and mass education for the province through the medium of the natural vernacular of the province. Popular education, he pointed out, was gaining its strength and was extending its borders till the British Government with its love of uniformity conceived the strange idea of conveying all instructions to the Punjabee villagers through the difficult medium of Urdu, which even a highly educated Punjabee can rarely speak and write with facility. The result has naturally been disastrous. Popular education in the villages has come to an end and the villagers receive no education at all. "It is just like trying to teach English peasants," as the president rightly observed, "through the medium of German." "Is there any Punjabee Mohamedan," he asked, "who can sincerely say that in his own home Punjabee is not spoken and that the want of instruction through Punjabee does not stand in the way of enlightenment of his people?" He pointed out the danger of leaving the Punjabee peasantry in ignorance and said that all should unite in pressing the claims of the Punjabee. As a compromise, the President proposed to leave the question of script to the option of the parents. The Mahomedans, if they choose, can use the Persian

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script and the other classes Gurmukhi. A Mahomedan boy, if he wishes to pursue his studies further, can easily take up Urdu in the higher classes.

The Urdu-Punjabee question was again the subject of a full-dress debate at the General Educational Conference held shortly afterwards. Professor Ruchi Ram Sahni in the course of a closely-reasoned speech made a striking vindication of the claims of the Punjabee to be recognised as the natural medium of instruction in schools. His arguments were quite unanswerable and he pleaded his case solely from the educational standpoint. At present, the education of boys, he pointed out by giving several practical cases, is wholly confined to words. We fondly imagine that we are teaching them *things* while, as a matter of fact, they learn mere *words*, which being in an alien tongue, as often as not, do not convey much idea of the real things. Mass education has utterly stagnated in the province, while the education of girls can not proceed beyond the most rudimentary stage. "The results of the importation of an unnatural vernacular are," he said, "dismal to contemplate." On the other hand, the small experiments that have been made here and there by the introduction of Punjabee, he pointed out, have been attended with excellent results. Punjabee is taught as an alternative language in the primary stages of the girls' schools with the result that most of the girls, in spite of their being more stay-at-home and their localised knowledge, learn more and make better progress than boys of the same stages. Poems, songs and stories published in the Punjabee are sold not by thousands, but by tens of thousands. This shows the great popularity of the Punjabee among the masses. As a matter of fact, both Hindu and Mahomedan writers have enriched the Punjabee language, and it owes not a small debt to the writings of authors like Budhe Shah, Waris Shah, Shah Mahummad and others. It is, however, a pity that inspite of the unanswerable and overwhelming case made out by Professor Ruchi Ram and others, no decision was arrived at on the subject at the General Educational Conference and no doubt the unreasoning and obstructive attitude of the Mahomedan delegates was responsible for it.

The question therefore remains unsolved : how long will education in the province be sacrificed to the blandishments of an imported language and how long will this unnatural arrangement be allowed to arrest the development of the vernacular and prevent the diffusion of knowledge among our masses and womenfolk ? Unfortunately, the ruler of the province has taken what seems to

be, a vacillating attitude in the matter. In an earlier speech at Amritsar, Sir Louis Dane warmly defended Sir Pratul Chandra from the aspersions cast on him by the Mahomedans and recognized that little boys should not be made to swallow hard words of Arabic origin in their primers but should be taught in the Punjabee, their own mother-tongue. And in his speech at the Sikh Girls' School at Rawalpindi, His Honour spoke to a similar effect, and promised to revise the curriculum of the girls' schools in the province. But in his speech before the Chief Khalsa Diwan at Amritsar, His Honour sounded, it seems, a somewhat different note. He said that time was hardly ripe to declare Punjabee as the medium of instruction in the primary schools and complained the lack of a standardised form of the vernacular. His Honour, however, overlooked the fact, which Professor Ruchi Ram had pointed out, that there was a standard form of Punjabee already in use in the girls' schools in the province and that the dialectical differences in Punjabee were not greater than in any other language. His Honour admitted, however, the strong vitality of the Punjabee language, embalmed in its inimitable folk-lore and pastoral poetry and said that, in time, it might become the dominant language of the province for all purposes. The allegation that the controversy on the subject has been made a question of creed does not and can not apply to the Hindus, who have always espoused the cause of Punjabee from the educational and ethnological point of view. The question, though unsettled at present, can not, however, rest here, and in time to come, the Punjabee will become—it is indeed destined to be so—not only the dominant language of the people but the sounding-board of the noblest emotions, the highest thoughts, and the most sublime aspirations of the people of this province. Supremacy is, indeed, assured to it by the instinct of self-preservation inherent in mankind.

In my account of the proceedings of the Sikh Educational Conference, which appeared in the last issue of the *Indian World*, I observed that the deliberations of the Khalsa body were leavened with the leaven of nationalism. This was fully borne out by the admirable presidential address of Sardar Jogendra Singh. "The accentuation of Sikhism," he said, "may at present wear the appearance of aloofness, but can it not in time to come serve as the nucleus of the United Indian Nation? Guru Nanak, when asked, clearly said that he was neither a Hindu nor a Mahomedan but a lowly exponent of truth

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and an humble follower of the true path." "No," said the president, "Sikhism can never be a disintegrating factor, it was never meant to be such. It is a unifying force, which in time must leaven the whole mass and unite us by the unbreakable ties of firm conviction and unbreakable belief." The Sikh Educational Conference is therefore only a piece of the stupendous process that is now leavening and uplifting the whole of India. The presidential speech referred gracefully to the glorious history and traditions of the Sikhs, but the burden of his song was attuned to the high gamut of Indian nationalism. And the president made this fully clear in his observations on the vexed question of separate electorates. Preferential treatment, he said, is wrong in principle and disastrous in the ultimate result. "It weakens the Government and lowers the morale of the public service. All subjects of the Empire are equal in the eye of the king is an oriental maxim. No one class can claim greater importance than the other. We must stand for merit and claim no preferential treatment. We as friends of the British Government shall not mislead it into a wrong action and eventual embarrassment. Anything that overlaps the high ideal of just and equal treatment of all the peoples of the Empire, however expedient it may appear, is sure to lead in the end to greater trouble and frustration of the end in view. We, as followers of Guru Govind Singh, shall ask no special favour. But if any sect deserves a preferential treatment, it is the Sikhs who have a long record of service at their back." Indeed, the prowess, the chivalry and the devotion of the Sikhs to the British Raj is not confined to mere lip-expressions but has been amply borne out on many a battle-field not only on the Indian frontiers, but in far-off countries like China, Egypt and Abyssinia. It is the Sikhs who saved the Empire in the dark days of the Mutiny and the Saraghari memorial at Amritsar, recently visited by the Viceroy, is only one among numerous monuments of the steadfast fidelity and the noble chivalry of the Sikhs. Yet the Sikhs desire no special treatment at the hands of the Government, and in the address the Chief Khalsa Diwan presented to the Lieutenant-Governor at Amritsar the other day they re-iterated their conviction that class-representation was wrong in principle. Nay, the ideal of the Sikhs is altogether different from the gospel of isolation emanating from Aligarh. Their ideal, in the words of Sardar Jogendra Singh, is a spirit of comradeship and fraternal co-operation in making the life of the Empire larger, happier and more harmonious, so that the Sikhs may

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play as glorious a part in the attainment of universal peace as they have hitherto played in the rugged path of warfare.

Owing to the difficulties enumerated in a previous letter, no substantial progress has yet been achieved in the arrangements for holding the next Congress at Lahore. Some work, no doubt, has been attempted and some is being done, but that is so little in view of the stupendous nature of the work to be accomplished that fears may naturally be entertained regarding the success of the next session. But we have no doubt that the Reception Committee which has lately been formed will shortly be able to stir the heart of the province to rise equal to the occasion. The work of the Exhibition is, however, vigorously proceeding. Sir Louis Dane has become a patron and is lending every help to it. The site has been fixed in the spacious camping grounds near the Fort. The Exhibition Committee are holding weekly meeting and the work is being expedited with all possible despatch.

Congress and  
Exhibition

## REVIEW OF LEADING INDIAN REVIEWS

### *The Calcutta Review*

The opening few pages of *The Calcutta Quarterly Review* of the first quarter of this year are taken up, as usual, with the notes and comments on some events of the *Quarter*. Mr. Kiran Nath Dhar then follows with a description of *Some Famous Earthquakes* in various parts of the world with scientific explanations of the cause of the same. In *An Account of the Garos* Mr. Sambhu Chandra Dey gives an interesting description of the manners and customs prevailing among the Garos. To note some of them : (1) The Garo who marries the favourite daughter of a household has to marry his mother-in-law in the event of the death of his father-in-law (2) Infant marriages are strongly discountenanced and widow remarriage is very common (3) The Garo women hold unchastity in supreme contempt.

Mr. K. C. Kanjilal in condemning the *Hindu Early marriage* quotes chapter and verse from *Manu*, *Raghunandan*, *Sushruta* and other Hindu scriptures to show that "the Hindu Medical Science and Hindu religious authorities unite in fixing 16 years as the proper age for a woman and 25 for a man, to enter upon the duties of maternity and fraternity," and that there is "Shastric sanction for marriage of girls after puberty." Mr. T. C. Adam then follows with a very interesting psychological discussion of the *Responsibility in Crime*.

The first instalment of a series of hitherto unpublished letters of Sir James Rivett Carnac written during his governorship of Bombay from 1839-41 discussing some important political topics of the day is published by Mr. Firminger as *The Letters of a Governor of Bombay*. Mr. Hemendra Prosad Ghose ends the list of articles of this number with the first instalment of his suggestions on the *Agricultural Improvement* in India. Some *Critical Notes* of books of various interest finish this number.

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### *The Malabar Quarterly Review*

The above *Review* of the quarter ending in March opens with an article from the pen of Mr. Saint Nihal Singh on *The Birth of a New Womanhood in the Orient* in which the writer urges the

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importance of female education in Asia as the "hand that rocks the cradle is the power that rules the world." Mr. M. S. Purna Lingam Pillai follows with the narration of some instructive *Fables from the Mahabharata*. In the 4th instalment of his learned paper on a comparison of *The Epics of India and Greece* Mr. Thomas C. Rice after a critical discussion fixes the approximate date of the composition of the great body of narrative portion of the Mahabharata to 350 B.C. and claims to establish that "in point of *form* the Iliad is more compact in structure, and the unity of the poem is greater than the Mahabharata which is diffuse in the extreme." Mr. T. Sriramulu is right in admitting the claim of *Ralph Waldo Emerson* as *A World-Poet*. Then follows a most informing article on *Some Aspects of Tamil History* by Mr. M. K. Pandian that deserves a full discussion which we put off for the next issue of the *Indian World*.

In the next two articles Messrs. T. Sadhasiva Aiyer and Mr. E. S. W. Senathi Raja make *An Examination of the Alleged Vedantic Reconciliation of free will and Necessity*. A series of letters written by Mr. V. Nagamaiya to the *Hindu* has been published as *Lord Morley's Proposals* in which the writer speaks highly of the reform proposals as the Indian popular leaders and makes out a strong case by quoting statistics for the wider employment of Indians in public service. The number ends with very brief *Reviews and Notices* of a periodical and a booklet.

### *The Modern Review*

The May number of the *Modern Review* opens with an article, apparently by the Editor, on *Public Works in Pre-British, Native and British India* in which an attempt has been made to prove that "in Pre-British India, both the state and persons charitably disposed vied with one another in constructing works of public utility" and an indictment has been made out by copious citations from eminent English authorities on Indian affairs against the Government policy of constructing railways in disregard of irrigation. Mr. C. F. Andrews of Delhi describes *A Great Educational Experiment* made by the United States in Philipines. Mr. Nihal Sing's *After Math of Education* which has no bearing on India is followed by the Editor's *Macaulay Versus Sinha* in which Macaulay, the first Law Member of the Government of India has been described, with quotations from



his own letters to his sister, to be "a needy adventurer who came out to India to shake the Pagoda tree and grow rich" and "unfamiliar," the writer quotes from *Mill's History of India*, "with the law or the practice of the Indian Courts, and recommended by no remarkable forensic qualifications" whereas Mr. Sinha "is an accomplished Lawyer of recognized merit and accepted the appointment at great pecuniary sacrifice to the extent of 3 lakhs of rupees a year or more than the Viceroy's salary." In course of an article on *The Indian Law Commission* the origin of the creation of the appointment of Law Member by the charter Act of 1833 is discussed in connection with the appointment of Mr. Sinha. Srimati S. K. Devi continues the story of *The Fatal Garland* in this number. Mr. A. K. Coomaraswamy in a paper on the *Message of the East* points to the Anglicization of the East through Western Science and the Indianization of the West through Indian Theology. Mr. P. N. Bose in a scrappy article discusses the question "Will the Reform Scheme Allay Discontent" and opines that any reform without giving wider employment to Indians will not allay the present discontent in India. Mr. B. C. Mozumdar in a short article makes *An appeal for a critical study of Our Past History*. In course of an interesting *Chat with A friendly Englishman of business* the Englishman advises the Indians to take largely to hand-looms and relates his knowledge of English manufacturer's antipathy towards the Indians: "I knew a craft-manufacturer who refused to let a young Indian even enter the doors of his factory." In a paper on the *Growing Ill-health and Increasing Mortality in Bengal and How to prevent it* Mr. Indu Madhab Mullick proves by taking figures from the census Reports that "In Bengal, mortality according to the last census has been put down at 35 per mille, but 10 years ago it was much less, 20 years ago it was still less, and 30 years ago lesser still" and suggest the following as the most practical and useful safeguards of national health. (1) The cheap and unadulterated food restaurants all over the country. (2) The weak-end excursions. (3) The scrupulous care of the rising generation by a body like the expert and devoted Volunteers of the "Child-Study Society of London." (4) The evening family gathering that would be the very best panacea for all the waste and worry of the day which is so potent a factor in the ill health of our brain workers." In a discussion on *The Problem of Regaining Sea Power in Southern India* Mr. V. V. Rajaratnam gives detailed estimates to prove that there is good prospect of success in conducting Steamship Companies if Madras, Burma and Ceylon co-operate. The two other articles—*Snapshots from a Chinese Hospital* and the other—*From Rail-splitter to President* in which the career of Abraham Lincoln has been described—has no bearing on India. In the last of a long list of scrappy articles Prof Jitendra Lal Bannerjee gives his reason *Why we Did Not Attend The Last Madras Congress* as follows: (1) *It had met under strange auspices and it had been convened by a committee which exceeded its proper functions and exercised powers not his own.* (2) *With an institution, professedly sectional, we could have nothing to do.* Some *Notes* on topics of various interest close the present number of the *Modern Review*.

### *The Indian Review*

The Rev. Bernard Lucas opens the April number of our Madras contemporary with an excellent article on *The Renaissance in India* which we intend to review at length in an early issue of the *Indian World*. This is followed by a short paper on the *Muhammedan Representation* in which Rao Bahadur M. Adinarayan Iyali condemns the demands of the Moslem League in the popular strain, which precedes a description of the last *Bombay Medical Congress* by Sir Bal Chandra Krishna. "An Indian Publicist" then reviews *The Lawrences of the Punjab*, one of the "Temple" series of biographies. Mrs. Swarna Kumari Devi's tale of *Lajjavati* is concluded in this number. Mr. Henry Dodwell's *Romance of the French Revolution* does not pertain to Indian affairs in the least. In a learned paper on the *Migration and Dispersion of the Human Race and the Earliest Invaders of India* Mr. Mahananda Gupta makes a scholarly treatment of the history of those dark ages of the Aryan Invasion of India. Mr. Govinda Das of Benares makes numerous suggestions about the reconstitution of the various Departments of *The Imperial Government* and objects to the idea of appointing a Viceroy from the Royal family.

In reply to the query *Is Hinduism Tolerant* the Rev. J. H. Maclean observes: "Hindus themselves, when they wish to act on their convictions, have no faith in the tolerance of their Co-religionists. To limit toleration to belief and refuse it in the social sphere is to rob it of all its value." As an answer to those who accuse the Native States of apathy in Railway enterprises "A retired Dewan" in an article on the *Railways in Native States* observes: "A Native State was not allowed to pass a Regulation for encouraging private enterprise in the matter of Steam Launch Service and construction of Tramways within its limits, by grant of certain concessions for limited and small periods, on the ground that such concessions were in the nature of monopolies. Mr. G. Ramunni Menon advocates the *Education of the Depressed Classes* and condemns what he characterises Mrs. Besant's attempt in the February number of the *Indian Review* "to prop up caste-distinctions of India by pointing to the class distinctions prevalent in England." Mr. Raj Dwary comments on the *Current Events* mostly of Turkey and Persia. The last few pages of this number are taken up as usual with reviews of books and comments on topics of various interest.

## REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

However seriously and clumsily may Lord Morley have bungled in his administration of the domestic and internal affairs of India, he deserves warm public congratulation for the courage and statesmanship with which he has steered his Councils Bill through the Houses of Parliament. No government measure has come out so triumphantly and so little mutilated in the course of the present Parliament as Lord Morley's Bill, and, when the history of the present Parliament comes to be written, the Indian Council Act will no doubt occupy one of the foremost places in importance in that record. Lord Morley must be very lucky that his Bill has not gone the way of the Education Bill and the Licensing Bill and other government bantlings, while India is still more to be congratulated on the fact that even a very powerful and hostile House of Lords could not wreck it on its floor. We owe this certainly to the great reputation which Lord Morley enjoys on both sides of the House as an 'honest' politician as well as to his immense popularity in the country. India for once has utilised the 'honesty' of an English politician and a Liberal majority in the House of Commons to its great advantage and benefit, for, we are sure, if any other statesman had taken charge of a measure of such far-reaching consequences it would have to be dropped soon after its introduction.

Since Lord Morley came to the India Office, he has been responsible for the passage of two items of Parliamentary legislation relating to the Government of India. The first of these Acts amended the constitution and character of the Council of the Secretary of State for India and reduced the salary and term of office of every one of its members. The second is the Indian Councils Act which has just received the royal assent and deals with the constitution and functions of the several legislative Councils in the Indian Empire with the powers of the Governor-General in Council to grant Executive Councils to any province with the approval of the Secretary of State. But before discussing this Act, it would be interesting to recall here the course of Imperial and Parliamentary legislation in connection with this country. The original charter of the East India Company was granted in 1600 by Queen Elizabeth. The charter of 1600 was

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continued and supplemented by other Charters, of which the most important were James I's charter of 1609, Charles II's charter of 1661, James II's charter of 1686 and William III's charters of 1693 and 1698. In 1773, Lord North passed the Regulating Act which created the first Governor-General and his Council, legislatively recognised the East Indian Company as a ruling power and established the Supreme Court at Calcutta. Pitt's famous India Act of 1784 was a measure of exceptional historical interest, for it gave the supreme civil and military authority to a Board of Control, whose President was made the official representative of the Company in the House of Commons. The Charter Act of 1793 made no material change in the constitution of the Indian Government and only renewed the Company's old charter. The three subsequent Charter Acts of 1813, 1833 and 1853 were very important enactments inasmuch as they were preceded by a thorough inquiry into the affairs of India and dealt with the Company's trading rights and civil patronage. While the Charter Act of 1813 threw open the trade to India, reserving to the Company the monopoly of the China trade, the Charter Act of 1833 terminated altogether the trading functions of the Company. By the Charter Act of 1833, a legal member was added to the Governor-General's Council. The Charter Act of 20 years after took away from the Court of Directors the patronage of posts in their service and threw open the convenanted civil service to general competition. By "An Act for the Better Government of India," passed in 1858, all the territories governed by the East India Company were transferred to the Crown and were to be governed by and in the name of Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, and all the powers exercised by the East India Company and the Board of Control were vested in the Secretary of State for India, assisted by a council of 15 members. The legislative councils and the High Courts were established by the Indian Councils Act and the Indian High Courts Act of 1861. Since that date, as Mr. Ilbert says, parliamentary legislation for India has been confined to matters of detail, though some of these details have entirely changed the character of the Indian administration. We shall pass over in this hurried review the powers given to the Governor-General in Council to alter the limits of the jurisdiction of the several High Courts, to alter by proclamation the territorial limits of the various presidencies and lieutenant-Governorships and to legislate in a summary manner for the less advanced parts of India or what have come to be known as the non-regulation provinces. An Act of 1873

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formally dissolved the East India Company from January 1, 1874 and the Indian Councils Act of 1874 enabled a sixth member of the Governor General's Council to be appointed for public works purposes. We now come to the historical Councils Act of 1892, passed at the instance of Lords Dufferin and Lansdowne which authorised an increase in the number of the members of the Indian legislative councils and empowered the Governor-General in Council, with the approval of the Secretary of state in Council, to make rules regulating the conditions under which these members are to be *nominated*. At the same time the Act relaxed the restrictions imposed by the Act of 1861 on the proceedings of the legislative Councils by enabling rules to be made authorising the discussion of the annual financial statement and the asking of questions under prescribed conditions and restrictions. In a subsequent Councils Act, the necessity for appointing a sixth member specifically for public works purposes was removed and, in an Act of 1907, some alterations have been made in the constitution of the Council of the Secretary of State. The number of members has been limited to 14 and the term of office to 7 years and it has been laid down that at least 9 members of this Council should have 10 years' residence of India to his credit and not more than 5 years' absence from this country prior to their appointment.

The Act just passed amends the several Indian Councils Acts that have preceded it and paves the way for constitutional government in this country. It provides for a very satisfactory expansion of the various legislative councils in the Empire, from the Viceroy's downwards, accepts for the first time in the history of Indian legislation the principle of non-official majority in the provincial legislative councils, widens the scope of discussion of all financial and administrative questions and removes all vexatious restrictions from the right of members to put questions on any general matter of public interest.

A fierce controversy raged in both Houses of Parliament round the original Clause III of the Bill which empowered the Viceroy to constitute provincial executive councils for the purpose of assisting the various Lieutenant-Governors. In the House of Lords, this clause was struck out of the Bill, but in the Commons it was re-inserted with a slight modification. It has again undergone another modification at the instance of Lord Morley himself, and in this shape it provides for an Executive Council in the province of Bengal, while in any other case "it shall be lawful for the Governor-General in Council, with the approval of the Secretary of

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State in Council, by a like proclamation to create a council in any other province under a Lieutenant-Governor for the purpose of assisting the Lieutenant-Governor in the executive government of the province. Provided that before any such proclamation is made a draft thereof shall be laid before each House of Parliament for not less than forty days during the session of Parliament, and, if before the expiration of that time an address is presented to his Majesty by either House of Parliament against the draft or any part thereof, no further proceedings shall be taken thereon, without prejudice to the making of any new draft."

For this Act Lord Morley has been described in some quarters as advancing too fast and too far while in others as not going far enough to meet even some of the most reasonable demands of the people. The cry of the Empire in danger has been a favourite cry with Anglo-Indians and their friends at home whenever reforms have been tried to be introduced in the administration of this country and therefore does not deserve to be taken seriously. As for the other view, we feel that the real leaders and representatives of the people should always press for reforms until they obtain a preponderant position on the enlarged Councils and have an effective voice in the making or amending of laws and regulations and in raising revenue and controlling expenditure. But it seems to us that it is a great mistake to take Lord Morley's Act as the final measure in the progressive administration of India. It is only a landmark in Imperial legislation and a bold step in advance in administrative reform. As such we must take it and be thankful for all that it offers us. Instead of cavilling at the measure, we must use its provisions to the best of our advantage and press on for further reforms without halt or rest



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## DIARY FOR JUNE, 1909

### Date

1. A Circular is issued by the Burma Government empowering Judges trying cases of murder to engage competent pleaders on behalf of indigent accused persons at Government expense.

The Annual Administration Report for 1906-7 of the Archaeological Department shows a total expenditure of five and a half lakhs of Rupees for the extensive excavation and conservation works undertaken during the year.

2. Miss Thompson, a young Australian lady, is converted at Lucknow into an Arya Samajist under the Hindu name of Sita Devi.

3. Mr. Swamiji Krishnavarma, Editor of the *Indian Sociologist* and Bar-at-Law, is disbarred from practising as a Barrister for seditious writing by the Benchers of the Inner Temple, London.

In the Satara Bomb Case the Sessions Judge agreeing with the Assessors acquits one accused and sentences the remaining three to 5, 4, and 3 years' rigorous imprisonment.

4. The House of Lords accepts the amendment of the House of Commons re-inserting in the Indian Councils Bill the Clause empowering the Government of India to create Executive Councils in the Provinces administered by Lieutenant-Governors.

5. A severe cyclone extending over 4 days rages at Calicut causing an estimated damage of 6 lakhs of rupees.

The accused in the Natore Mail Robbery Case are acquitted by the Calcutta High Court.

6. Lala Lajpat Rai opens the Swadeshi Exhibition at Delhi with a passionate appeal on behalf of Swadeshi.

The Mysore State abolishes the practice of retaining services of Devadasis in the various temple establishments on the ground of moral degeneration among these girl servants.

The judgment in the Alipur Bomb Case is delivered to-day. Mr. Arobind Ghosh and 16 others are acquitted. Barin and Ullaskar are sentenced to death. Of the rest 9 are sentenced to transportation for life and their properties are forfeited, 3 to 10 years' transportation, 3 to 7 years' transportation and 1 to 1 year's rigorous imprisonment.

The State Secretary sanctions the creation of an appointment of Superintendent of Industries and Inspector of Technical Industrial Institutions in Bengal.

10. The Special Tribunal of the High Court, presided over by the Chief Justice, Justices Mukherjee and Carnduff, acquit all the accused in the Barrah Dacoity Case. The Chief Justice passes severe strictures upon the investigating police officers and refers to the



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"grossly improper influences that had been at work and the most deplorable interference with evidence."

A petition signed by 146 M. P's is submitted to the Premier on behalf of the Bengal deportees. The Premier declines to interfere on the plea that "deportation is a preventive and not a punitive measure."

The Navy League in an appeal to the inhabitants of Bombay for more practical support to the League points to the immense injury that would be caused to the Indian trade "if Great Britain lost the command of the sea."

Three persons are arrested at Belgaum in Bombay under section 124 A. and 153 A.

11. 5 Moulavis are arrested, and Mirza Nazir Beg, a Zemindar, is sentenced, at Moradabad in U. P., for possessing unlicensed arms.

The Mysore Government refuses two more applications from Hindus for the publication of newspapers in the State.

12. At a meeting of the Anjuman Refiam of Gorakhpur in U. P., it is resolved that each member should, his means permitting, undertake the charge of educating one poor Mahomedan child.

13. The London Committee of the Moslem League protest against the new scheme of Mahomedan representation for the Indian Legislative Councils.

Mr. E. Digby of the *Indian Daily News* and Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee of the *Bengalee* leave for London to attend the Imperial Press Conference.

14. In the Trivandrum Riots Appeal Case, Mr. Justice Hunt of the Travancore High Court acquits all the 69 accused, characterising the prosecution evidence as a tissue of lies and comparing the conduct of the Madras Police "with the Russian method of doing things."

The District Magistrate of Ratnagiri orders all copies of the book entitled the "Indian Nationalist" to be destroyed on the plea of its being a seditious publication.

Mr. K. G. Gupta in course of a remarkable lecture before the London Royal Society dilates upon the great religious revival in the Hindu World and refers to the Hindu's powers of assimilation and adaptation.

15. The Judges of the Chief Court of Lower Burma address the Local Government on the question of having a High Court or a Chief Court on a similar basis to the Punjab Chief Court for Burma.

Bai Gulbai, wife of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, dies at Versova near Bombay.

16. The premature death of Lieutenant-Colonel Suresh Biswas at the age of 45 which took place in Brazil on September 22, 1905, is announced in India to-day.

18. Lord Ampthill writing to the *Times* on the "Empire Day" pleads strongly in favour of a distinctive flag for India.

Mr. Walter Gregory, Bar-at-Law, is temporarily appointed to act as Advocate-General of Bengal.

The District Magistrate of Ratnagiri in Bombay prohibits the exhibition and sale of photographs of the late Khudiram Bose, Mr. Tilak and others who have been convicted for sedition.

The Resident of Indore issues orders that only 3 p. c. of employments under the Indore Durbar should be given to the Brahmins and the rest reserved for non-Brahmins.

The Government of India sanctions a combined postal and telegraph service between the United Kingdom and India. Messages telegraphed in England to London will be posted to India and telegraphed to addresses from Bombay and *vice versa*.

Col. Cobbe proceeds with a Sikh Regiment to quell the disturbances at Mandi in the N. W. Frontier.

Mr. Asquith disallows any further discussion on the Bengal Deportations in the House of Commons and Mr. Keir Hardie's motion for the adjournment of the House is rejected by the Speaker.

19. The lawyers consulted by the Oxford authorities pronounce the return of the Spencer Lectureship Endowment to Mr. Krishna Varma as illegal.

The Marwar Durbar sanctions an Explosive Substances Act, fixing 10 years' rigorous imprisonment with fine as the maximum punishment for one causing or attempting to cause explosions dangerous to life and property.

The House of Commons agrees to the New Clause III of the Indian Councils Bill by 245 votes *vs* 104.

21. Lord Morley's despatch urging a gradual organization of an independent Medical Service for India with indigenous talents in preference to recruits from England and the Government of India's protest against the same is published to-day.

22. The 7th Annual Jain Conference is held at Poona in which resolutions advocating social reforms and progress of education for the advancement of the Jain Community are passed.

23. A meeting of the All-India Moslem League at Aligarh protest against the intention of the Government of India to limit separate Mahomedan representation merely to their numerical proportion.

Mr. Monahan, the Divisional Commissioner of Rajshahi, formally opens the Rangpur Tobacco Company in E. B. & Assam, started lately by Bengalees with a capital of one lakh of rupees.

24. Mr. Digambar Chatterjee is appointed temporary puisne Judge of the Calcutta High Court in place of Mr. L. M. Das on leave.

The Empire Day is celebrated in various parts of India.

A very daring dacoity is committed by a gang of 25 armed men in the house of a rich landholder at Netra near Diamond Harbour.

25. The appeal of the 19 persons convicted and sentenced in connection with the Alipur Bomb Case is admitted by the Calcutta High Court.

Mr. Gandhi is released to-day and receives an ovation from the Indians at Pretoria.

The drivers of the passenger and the goods trains in the Madras and Southern Marhatta Railway strike work owing to their various grievances remaining unredressed.

The Annual Report of the working of the Punjab Alienation of Land Act published to-day claims that it has had the desired effect of preventing land from passing out of the hands of agriculturists.

The Indian Councils Bill receives the Royal Assent.

26. The Annual Report on the Jail Administration in Bengal published to-day shows an increase of admissions from 78,891 in 1907 to over 1,01,000 in 1908.

27. Sergeant Sephton is sentenced to 6 weeks' simple imprisonment with fine of Rs. 50 for what the Madras High Court describes as "culpable negligence in accidentally shooting" a native boy, near Bangalore.

At the Conference of the South Indian Missionary Association held at Kodaikanal in Madras, Rev. Ralph Smith characterises the present as "the period of Indian Renaissance attended with the greatest revolution of thought that has ever agitated India and analogous to the stirring times of Luther and Loyola in Europe."

28. The Government of India issues a resolution formally establishing the Tata Research Institute at Bangalore.

In the Tittagor Riot case 20 among the 25 accused Hindus are convicted by the Sub. Divisional Magistrate and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

29. New rules are notified in the Indian Army Order to provide for closer control over the possession of private arms by Indian troops.

30. V. B. Joshi, a student, and M. B. Gadgil are sentenced by the District Magistrate of Nasik in Bombay to 6 months' simple imprisonment for importing arms from Gwalior.

Varman and Barve, Jagirdars of Nasik, are charged with the abetment of waging war against the king before the district Magistrate.

# NOTES & NEWS

## GENERAL

### A Great Step in Social Reform

To the north of the Ludhiana District in the Punjab are situated 7 villages inhabited by some 1,000 men of a Hindu tribe known as Labanas. These people were outcasted some time back during the Moghul Period for some ceremonial lapse. Hindus had no social intercourse with them and refused to take water touched by them. Times have, however, changed and all the Labanas were taken into the fold of Hindu Society last month. This, be it specially noted, was done not by the Arya Samajists, but by the orthodox Hindus. *Gayatri Mantras* were recited and Rs. 4,200 donated to the *Gaurakshini Sabha*. All the Hindus, including Brahmins and Kshatrias, took *achman* from the hands of the hitherto outcastes, and several marriage alliances were made with orthodox families on the spot.

### The Mikirs of Assam

In describing the Mikir, a tribe in Assam, Mr. T. C. Hodson gives an account of a custom which recalls the scape-goat in the Jewish religion. At a festival called the *Chirouba*, a man called the *Chahitaba* is selected from among the people who is to give the name to the coming year and who is also to bear all the sins of the people during the year. A special propitiation is made for the sins of the Raja. As a rule the annual sacrifice of a white goat is held to be sufficient, but on some occasions a much more elaborate ceremony is gone through. Some criminal, who has in any case to be punished, is induced to take upon himself the guilt both of the Raja and the Rani. A staging is erected in the bazar, with a screened tent upon it. The sin-bearer crouches beneath, while the Raja and Rani, splendidly robed, ascend the stage. They bathe in the tent and as some of the water they have used drops on the man below he is supposed to receive their sins as well. The royal robes worn before the bath are also given to him, and the Raja and wife, clad in new raiment, mix with their people until the evening. They then retire into a seclusion which may last for a week, and during this time they are said to be *namungba*, sacred or *tabu*.

### Deported Prisoners in India

Liberal, Labour, and Nationalist members to the number of 146 recently sent, through Mr. Mackarness, a memorial to the Prime Minister. It stated: Ever since the 8th December last nine British subjects in India have been deported from their homes and detained in prison without having been charged with any offence or informed even of the grounds of suspicion entertained against them by the Government of India. Some of them are admitted to be men of high character. None are alleged to have been previously convicted of any crime. Under these circumstances we venture to make an urgent appeal to you that they may be either brought to trial or set at liberty.

Mr. Asquith's reply, written from Downing-street, is as follows :—

My dear Mackarness,—I have to thank you for the memorial signed by many members of Parliament, praying that the nine British subjects in India who have been deported during the last few months should either be brought to trial or set at liberty. Such an appeal is perfectly natural, and I am not surprised to find that it is widely and influentially supported. Deportation without trial as a method of dealing with political agitation must necessarily be repugnant to Englishmen, and to no one has the necessity of resorting to such a measure been more repugnant than to Lord Morley. When, however, I am appealed to on behalf of the persons so deported, I must ask you, and those who are acting with you, to bear in mind that deportation has been resorted to for the sole purpose of preserving the country from grave internal commotion. It is a preventive not a punitive measure, and the responsibility for fixing the period of detention must therefore rest with those who are charged with the arduous and anxious duty of maintaining order in India. The Secretary of State and the Government of India are, I submit, the only possible judges of the circumstances which may warrant the release or the further detention of the persons deported, and the decision is one which, in my view—and I hope that you and your co-signatories may find yourselves in agreement with me—may be left with absolute confidence in their hands. It is particularly necessary, at a moment when a great extension of popular representative elements in Indian administration has just been sanctioned by Parliament, that none of the various forms of anarchical violence should be tolerated, and that no lawful instrument for suppressing them should be discarded.

Mr. Mackarness, in a letter expressing the thanks of the memorialists for this communication, writes :

I can confidently assure you that every one of the signatories would agree with you "that none of the various forms of anarchical violence should be tolerated, and that no lawful instrument for suppressing them discarded." I hope, however, you will forgive me for reminding you that neither here nor in India has any evidence been even suggested by the authorities to connect any of the deported gentlemen with forms of anarchical violence. And it is difficult to understand why, if such evidence is in existence, it should be necessary to conceal it not only from Parliament and the public but from the accused themselves.

## **COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL**

### **Imports of Metals into Calcutta**

During the official year 1908-09, 2,275,964 cwts of iron were imported into Calcutta from foreign countries, the imports of steel during the same 12 months being 2,975,239 cwts, of copper 130,068 cwts, of lead 85,945 cwts, of tin 21,140 cwts, and of silver 9,763,160 troy weight ounces.

### **Spinning and Weaving**

According to official statistics of cotton spinning in Indian Mills for the twelve months April, 1908, to March, 1909, the quantity (in

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pounds) of yarn spun in British India and the Native States was over 656¾ millions against 638¾ millions in the previous year. That quantity of woven goods produced in British India (in pounds) was over 184 millions against 181 in the previous year, or in yards, 793 millions against 778 millions. The returns for the Native States show the same improvement.

### **Cheap Electric Supply for Calcutta**

An extremely promising scheme for supplying Calcutta with cheap water-generated electricity is now on the way to being put in operation. Among the wilds of Mourbhanj, a Native State of Orissa, there has been discovered a series of falls, only 140 miles distant from this city, which are estimated to be capable of supplying 30,000 to 70,000 horse-power, not only in the rains but, by means of a comparatively small dam, all the year round.

### **Rhea for Pulping Purposes**

The upper India Chamber of Commerce has suggested to the Department of Agriculture in the United Provinces that the only satisfactory method of determining the value of the Rhea tree for pulping purposes would be by carrying out in England a practical test on a commercial scale. The Chamber hopes the Government may undertake this trial entirely at its own expense. Regarding the use of Rhea for the production of tanning bark, it has been pointed out that one important firm has used it largely for five years and that had there been a more extensive market much greater quantities, doubtless, would have been forthcoming.

### **The Trade of Madras**

The total trade of the Madras Presidency in the year 1908-09 shows an advance of Rs. 131.05 lakhs, or 3 per cent over that of 1907-08, the foreign trade having advanced by 1.21 per cent, and the coasting trade by 7.30 per cent. The total trade registered is greater than that of any of the previous thirty years. This fact, however, must not be taken as an indication of unexampled prosperity, inasmuch as the increase was largely accounted for by speculative trade in cotton piece-goods on the one hand and by imports of grain, which make up the deficiency in the local food supply, on the other. In the case of exports the trade products of the West Coast, such as coffee, copra, tea and spices alone show a considerable advance.

### **India and Eastern Trade**

The Bombay Millowners' Association report that the shipments of cotton yarn from India to China last year showed an increase of 29,772 bales, or 7.22 per cent. more than in the previous year. The Association also shipped to China, besides yarn, cloth to the extent of 3,245,175 yards, or 2,092,000 yards more than in 1907. This shows a remarkable development in the Indian cotton trade with the Far East. It is also reported that during last year there were 9484 looms added to the weaving industry. The expansion of the home market has given a great impetus to the weaving of better cloth. The Indian mills are now turning out cloth which a few years ago would have been declared to be beyond their capacity.

### **New Indian Ironworks**

The recent opening of the works of the East Indian Rolling Mills, Iron and Steel Manufacturing Company, Limited, at Cawnpore, marks another important development in Indian industrial enterprise. The mills are equipped with the most up-to-date rolling plant, and are capable of turning out 40 tons of finished iron in twenty-four hours. They are specially adapted to the rolling of faggots for piles in sections from  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. to 3 in. round, angle iron, tees, squares, and flats, while the shearing machine can cut at one operation a 4 in. square billet.

### **Wheat Crop in India**

The Final General Memorandum on the wheat crop of the year 1908-09 shows that the yield is much higher than that of last year, when the harvest was exceptionally bad one. The total area sown is stated at 25,836,800 acres, which is 13.3 per cent in excess of the figures for 1907-08, but 8.2 percent lower than the average of the preceding five years. The aggregate yield is estimated at 7,580,800 tons, an increase of 1,476,600 tons as compared with 1907-08, this expansion being equivalent to 24.2 per cent. The total however is less by 1,184,200 tons, or 13.5 per cent, than the average of the preceding five years. In view of the high prices now ruling for wheat owing to the shortage in the world's supply, Indian cultivators are to be congratulated on the improved yield of the current season.

### **Railway Administration**

It appears from the railway administration report of the calendar year 1908, that the actual capital outlay (excluding premia for the purchase of companies' lines) from the commencement on all open lines amounted at the close of the year to Rs. 411,91.71 lakhs and that on lines under construction to Rs. 778.73 lakhs. In addition, Rs. 97.05 lakhs were incurred on miscellaneous items, (English stores, etc.). The total outlay amounted to Rs. 420,67.49 lakhs. All sanctions for expenditure are given with reference to the official year and the sum of Rs. 1,500 lakhs (£10,000,000) has been provided for 1909-1910. The financial result of the working of the State railways for the year was a net loss to the state of Rs. 235.64 lakhs after meeting, in addition to expenses of working, all charges for interest on capital outlay by the state and on capital raised by companies and also the annuity payments for railways purchased by the State including both interest and the portion that represents redemption of capital.

### **The Lac Industry**

Large quantities of lac are produced in Sind which are sold to contractors of the Forest Department. The latter, we are informed, has sustained a loss of revenue of Rs. 6000 from lac during the past year. Prices have in consequence been affected and the "Sind Gazette" takes the opportunity to call on the patriotic Sindhis to turn their attention to this industry. Out of lac shellac is prepared which has considerable market. New methods for its preparation have been suggested by which a much purer quality of shellac at a lower price could be obtained. Some time back we remember to have received the prospectus of a Company intended to be started

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for the purpose of preparing shellac out of lac. A similar undertaking is needed in Sind where the article can be had in abundance. Of course there are several industries to which Sindhis could turn their attention with profit and whenever there are opportunities for so doing, we hope, the claims of this industry will be duly considered.

### **Irrigation Canals in the Frontier**

Irrigation is making great headway in the frontier provinces and several important schemes are now in hand, the most important being the Upper Swat River project. In connection with the Kabul River canal an important survey has been undertaken for the extension of the Hazarkhani branch towards Nowshera. Good progress has also been made with the Paharpore canal. The Gumal dam scheme is being further investigated and surveys carried out in connection with the proposed improvements of the Bannu canals. In connection with the Upper Swat project and with a view to arranging for the efficient irrigation of lands at present watered by district canals, a considerable amount of survey work was done. Survey for the final alignment of the following canals were carried out during the year:—Extension of Michni Dalazak canal to Swat River; Doaba canals; Swat River survey above the head of the existing lower Swat canal; surveying and levelling bed of existing canals and erecting gauges in them; a distributary from lower Swat canal for Sholgirah tract.

### **Maritime Trade of Bengal**

It appears from the report upon the maritime trade of Bengal for 1908-09, just issued—that the trade of the province decreased in the aggregate by 14 per cent. This was also the figure of decrease in the total aggregate foreign trade. Imports of foreign merchandise and treasure both declined: the former by 15 per cent. and the latter by 68 per cent. The total foreign export trade fell by 5 per cent. In the aggregate coasting trade, the total value fell off by 16 per cent. Imports improved by one per cent. but exports declined by 32 per cent. The trade of the subordinate ports showed a small increase but amounted only to 4 per cent. of the total sea-borne trade of the Province. There was a remarkable fall in the import duty, amounting to over 26½ lakhs. This is exclusive of the duty levied upon imported salt which in spite of the reduction of the duty to eight annas per maund, rose by nearly 4½ lakhs, while the export duty increased by about 2.5 lakhs. It is curious to note that there was a large falling off in the import of the musical instruments, especially gramophones. Cotton goods occupy by far the most important place among imports—36.64 per cent. to total imports of merchandise. During the year just closed this trade amounted to a little over 16 crores, being a decrease of over 7½ crores compared with 1907-08, when there was much activity in this trade.

### **Australian Horses for India**

The horse trade Australia has built up with India is so immense that considerable alarm has been created among Australian exporters by the threat that if the restriction against the landing of stock from India in Australia is not removed without delay, the Indian authorities will adopt retaliatory measures. It is believed

that the Government of India are in favour of an embargo being placed on the landing of Australian horses in India unless the objectionable Federal regulations against the landing in Australia of stock from India be removed. Mr. R. McKenna, the well-known Indian horse-trader, has informed the Australian authorities that it was only owing to the intervention of Lord Kitchener that it was decided some time ago to prohibit the importation of Australian stock to India. Mr. McKenna, says the *British Australasian*, will wait on a member of the Federal Government and communicate to him the views of the Indian Government on the question.

#### **Increasing Use of Aluminoferric in India**

The use of aluminoferric as an agent for purifying water is gradually establishing itself in India. This chemical has been employed for years, with excellent results, in the settling tanks of the Calcutta Corporation, and it was adopted some five years ago by the Howrah Municipality, whose engineer reported very favourably upon its merits. "The appearance of the water," he stated, "was much improved during the rainy season, the milky appearance peculiar to the filtered water during the rains, which is attributed to the fine clay held in suspension, and which no amount of filtration alone seems capable of entirely removing, particularly disappeared." As the cost of this purifying agent is inconsiderable, working out in Howrah to about two pies per 1,000 gallons of water treated, it is probable that many municipalities, Union Committees and other local authorities would utilise it for cleaning tanks if they were aware of its efficacy and of the ease with which it can be applied. The special merit of aluminoferric is that, after its use, the purified water contains no constituent which was not present in the liquid before treatment. Aluminoferric is in fact merely a compound of alum, which the Chinese have employed for centuries to clarify water. Alum being costly, a substitute has been found in aluminoferric.



# SELECTIONS

## INDIA'S COAL INDUSTRY

### SIXTY-FOUR COMPANIES AT WORK IN BENGAL

The Board of Trade have received, through the India Office, from the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence at Calcutta, particulars relating to the coal mining industry of India, from which the following information is extracted :—

A table is given showing the quantity of coal produced in each Province in India in each year from 1878 to 1907. In 1878 the total amounted to 1,015,210 tons; in 1907 it had risen to 11,147,339 tons. In 1878 the only fields worked were the Raniganj and Giridih fields in Bengal and the mines in the Central Provinces. The Raniganj field held the first place as regards production up to 1906, but is now second with an output of 3,981,659 tons, or 35.7 per cent. of the total production of the Indian mines. Jherria, which was opened in 1893, had the largest production in 1907, viz., 5,179,185 tons, or 46.5 per cent. of the total. The production of the Giridih field in 1907 fell to 750,374 tons, or 6.7 per cent. of the total. The Daltonganj field was opened in 1901; its present production is 81,873 tons. These four coal fields are all included in the Province of Bengal, where about 90 per cent. of the coal obtained in India in 1907 was produced.

### MINES OUTSIDE BENGAL

Outside Bengal the most important mines are those at Singatani, in the Nizam's Territory. Work was begun there in 1887, and progress has been more rapid than in any other place outside Bengal. The Umari mine, in the Rewa State, in Central India, was started in 1884. Its progress was steady up to the year 1903, when the maximum production of 193,277 tons was reached. Since then there has been a slight decline. In the Central Provinces the Mohpani mine was opened in 1860, and the Warora mine in 1871. The production in the Central Provinces reached its maximum in 1902 (196,981 tons). Since then the output has decreased considerably, and the Government mines at Warora, which produced 123,015 tons out of 147,265 tons produced in the Central Provinces in 1905, were shut down in 1906. On the other hand, the production at Pellarpur showed a large expansion last year, and the output of the Pench Valley mines has been rapidly increasing.

### GROWING PRODUCTION

In every year since 1886 the production of the Indian coal mines has been greater than in the preceding year. The output in 1907—over 11 million tons—represents an increase of about 14 per cent. over the figures for 1906 and 32 per cent. over those for 1905.

The following table shows the quantity of coal produced in each province in India during 1906 and 1907 :—

## INDIA'S COAL INDUSTRY

	Tons. 1906.	Tons. 1907.
Bengal ... ..	8,617,820	9,993,348
Nizam's Territory ... ..	467,923	414,221
Assam ... ..	285,490	295,795
Central India ... ..	170,292	178,588
Central Provinces ... ..	92,848	134,088
Punjab ... ..	73,119	60,749
Baluchistan ... ..	42,164	42,488
Rajputana (Bikaner) ... ..	32,372	28,062
Burma ... ..	1,222	—

### EXPORTS

The exports of Indian coal (not including bunker coal) have increased in proportion to the production in the last ten years. On the average of the five years 1898-9 to 1902-3 the exports were 7.13 per cent. of the total production of Indian coal, but the exports of the following five years, 1903-4 to 1907-8 averaged 7.97 per cent. of the production. Almost all the coal shipped as private merchandise from India is sent from Calcutta. Ceylon and the Straits Settlements are the two principal markets for Indian coal, and of the total quantity shipped in 1907-8 about 53 per cent. was declared for Ceylon and 28 per cent. for the Straits. In 1905-6 and 1906-7 Indian coal took the place of Japanese coal in Hong Kong, but the shipments entirely ceased in 1907-8. On the other hand, Sumatra took more coal from India, and is now her third best customer (14 per cent.). From 1902-3 till 1906-7 the total exports increased rapidly till they reached 935,350 tons. The year 1907-8 showed a decrease of over 200,000 tons, all countries except Sumatra taking less.

### CONSUMPTION

In the three years 1905-6 to 1907-8 the amount of coal left available for consumption in the country was 7,761,486 tons, 9,104,873 tons and 10,726,771 tons respectively, of which 7,581,590 tons, 8,847,900 tons and 10,419,453 tons respectively were Indian coal.

### VALUE AND PRICES

The "value" of the coal produced in India is reported annually by mine-owners. The figures represent the actual or estimated wholesale price of coal at the pit's mouth. The "average value per ton," as thus defined, of all the coal produced in each province in India ranged from Rs. 3-6 annas (4s 6d) in 1890 to Rs. 3-8 annas (4s 8d) in 1907. In India the coal now being worked is near the surface, and labour is cheap. As a consequence Indian coal has a comparatively low price at the pit's mouth.

### CAPITAL EMPLOYED

The total amount of capital employed in the coal-mining industry cannot be stated, as reports are received from joint-stock companies only, and the capital employed by private individuals and syndicates is unknown. There were 64 joint stock companies at work in Bengal on March 31st, 1907. These companies produced 81 per cent. of the total output of the Bengal coalfields in 1907. Outside Bengal there were only two joint-stock companies at work in that year. In addition to these, 50 companies were registered in the period April, 1907, to March, 1908. Only

four of the companies at work on March 31st, 1907, have a paid-up capital of Rs. 15,00,000 (£100,000) or more each.

### BUDDHISM AND HINDUISM

Many writers on Oriental Religions have made the statement that Buddhism is a mere modification of Hinduism, but, as a matter of fact, *Buddhism* started from a fresh basis sweeping away all the theories—theistic and materialistic—that were in vogue then; and even to-day, it can be safely said that Buddhism is the only religion that stands between theism and materialism in opposition to both. Those whose knowledge of the principal teachings of Buddhism is superficial and immature are often led to believe that Buddhism is an off-shoot of Hinduism noticing the affinity in words used. Out of the many, a few terms in common between Buddhism and Hinduism are : Moksha, Nirvana, Karma, Atma, Uposatha, Dharma, Saddh (Pali) and Sraddha (Sanskrit) signifying Mataka Dana, Deva, Svarga, Kusala, Akusala, Loka, Sila, Apaya, Vruta, Samadhi, Samyak-drusti, &c. Of these, the Nirvana of the Buddhists is quite opposed to the Nirvana of the Hindus, whose *sumum bonum* is, according to the theistic aspect, eternal happiness in heaven replete with sensuous pleasures, or eternal bliss in a spirit world, and according to the pantheistic aspect, living in the same world, with god (Salokya), approximation to god (Samipya), assimilation to the likeness of god (Sarupya), and complete union with god (Sayujya). Atma of the Hindus signifies an undying principle called "Soul" that is said to exist in sentient beings, whereas Atma (Sanskrit) or Atta (Pali), according to Buddhism, signifies "self." So are Uposatha, Karma, Sila, Samadhi, &c. When Buddhism began to shed its light on the borders of the Ganges, Hinduism was in the flourishing state, and the Buddha, while adopting most of the words current then, gave them quite a different meaning. Hence arose the erroneous impression that Buddhism is an off-shoot of Hinduism.

From the hymns of the Rig Veda, the earliest religious work of the Indo-Aryans, it appears that the creed of the primitive Aryans was monotheism, and polytheism, though some verses of the Purusha Sukta (Rig Veda, Mandala X. 90), believed by several scholars to have been recently added, illustrate the gradual sliding of monotheism; the Yajur Veda or Sacrificial Veda gives hymns and texts for the use at sacrifices; the Sama Veda is a re-production of parts of the Rig Veda, arranged for Soma ceremonies; and the Atharva Veda contains verses and hymns as magical spells and incantations for averting evils caused by evil spirits. In coming to post-Vedic literature, the second portion of the Veda known as Brahmana contains ritualistic precepts and illustrations; and the third division of the Veda is called Upanishad, or the mystical doctrine, and in the Isa and Chandogya Upanishads the pantheistic doctrine of Brahmanism is given. In short, Hinduism is ritualistic and sacrificial, and it is monotheistic, tri-theistic, polytheistic, animistic, and eternalistic; and nomistic and philosophical Brahmanism is pantheistic, animistic, and eternalistic. Hence any attempt to reconcile Hinduism with non-ritualistic, atheistic,

positivistic, semi-materialistic and stoical Buddhism is as futile as trying to extract sunbeams out of cucumber.

The Buddhism of the Southern Church is diametrically opposed to all the known religions of the world, and following are some of its leading characteristics :—Buddhism is the only religion

1. That discards as idle speculations the god-theory, creation-theory, soul-theory, sin-theory, prophet-theory, immaculate conception-theory, incarnation-theory, saviour-theory, eternal heaven and hell-theory, and the theory of the union with Universal Spirit ;

2. That rejects the efficacy of prayers, penances, hymns, songs, charms, incantations and invocations ; of sacrifice, burnt offerings, and oblations of butter, ghee, rice, bread and wines ; of holy waters, relics, and sacred thread, dresses and ornaments ; of suppers, feasts, and fasting ; and of austerities and asceticism or self-mortification, as well as the dependence on rites, ceremonies, priests, saviours, prophets, saints, virgin-mothers and intercessory deities ;

3. That discards the observance of lucky hours, mysticism, occultism, supernaturalism, and the belief in omens, miracles, dreams, &c. ;

4. That does not meddle with cosmogony, cosmography, origin of sentient beings, a first cause, &c., but, taking things as they are, enjoins the liberation from suffering and attaining higher life by walking on the Noble Eightfold Path ;

5. That teaches not to believe anything because it is believed by parents, teachers, learned men, men of high position, or by the majority of people ; or because it is alleged to be a divine inspiration, or because it is said that it came down for generations as a tradition, or because it is said to be an oracle, or because it appears in books, or because a certain individual emphatically says it is the truth, but to believe a thing if it agrees with one's reason, investigation, and consciousness ;

6. That teaches that its followers should not be displeased, be angry, or be excited when any person speaks against the Buddha, against the Dhamma (Buddhist Law), or against the Sangha (Buddhist Order) ; and also they should not be pleased, be gratified, or be elated when one speaks in praise of the Buddha, the Dhamma, or the Sangha ; because, when thus prejudiced they are unable to judge properly whether what is spoken for or against is true or false ;

7. That teaches that the three-fold Tanha or Thirst called (1) the craving for the enjoyment of sensuous pleasures, (2) the craving for a future existence in an eternal heaven, either with or without a material body, and (3) the craving for success, for luxurious living, and for renown in this life only, is the cause of all suffering and misery ;

8. That propounds a practical and positive philosophy teaching self-culture, self-control, self-conquest, and self-enlightenment ; and inculcates the science of moral and intellectual culture ;

9. That declares that good results, visible to self and others, are produced when one, avoiding the two extremes known as Sensualism and Asceticism, to which all other religions belong, walks on the Middle Path called the Noble Eight-fold Path of (1) Right Knowledge, (2) Right Intention, (3) Right Speech, (4) Right Action, (5) Right Livelihood, (6) Right Energy, (7) Right Investigative Recollection, and (8) Right Concentration of Thoughts ;

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10. That enforces the cultivation of peace and good-will towards all living beings denouncing the distinctions of caste, creed, colour, race, and species ;

11. That teaches that man is not a sinner or a depraved being, but that a man, who is morally and intellectually developed, is superior to the so-called divine beings, and that to be born as a human being is a rare occurrence ;

12. That gives the liberty of thought and action ;

13. That exhorts the cultivation of universal Love, universal Pity, universal Sympathy, and universal Neutrality or Impartiality ;

14. That teaches that the following good results are produced by cherishing universal Love constantly. They are :—(1) He who cherishes unselfish Love sleeps well, (2) wakes well, (3) is not troubled by frightful dreams, (4) becomes agreeable to human beings, (5) becomes agreeable to non-human beings, (6) is protected by Devatas, (7) is not hurt by fire, poison, or weapons, (8) his thoughts are easily and rapidly concentrated, (9) his countenance becomes inviting, (10) he will be conscious in his dying moment, and (11) if he be one who did not enter into one of the four Paths of purity, he will be born in an abode of the Noble Ones.

15. That sets the highest value on life, teaching that the destruction of life of any sentient being is a very grave crime, as life is dear to others as it is to oneself ;

16. That elevates one's position by enjoining to cultivate the Ten Paramitas or "Natures or Actions of Noble Ones," known as (1) Charity, (2) Observance of moral precepts, (3) Renunciation, (4) Knowledge or Science, (5) Energy, (6) Forbearance, (7) Truth, (8) Will-power, (9) Unselfish Love, and (10) Impartiality ;

17. That enjoins the acquisition of wealth by righteous means, and its proper and liberal use ;

18. That prohibits its votaries the five trades known as (a) sale of human beings, (b) sale of weapons used for depriving life (c) sale of birds, animals, &c. for slaughter, (d) sale of poison for killing purposes, and (e) sale of intoxicating liquors and drugs except for medicinal purposes and flavouring food ;

19. That regards (1) reliance, (2) moral purity (3) conscientiousness, (4) sense of one's guilt, (5) a good retentive memory, (6) charity and (7) science and knowledge as the seven-fold wealth that a noble person should possess.

20. That inculcates charity, observance of moral precepts, and mental development as the basis of every virtue, and the source of every happiness ;

21. That enjoins that it is the duty of parents

- (a) To restrain their children from vice,
- (b) To train them in virtue,
- (c) To have them taught arts and sciences,
- (d) To get them suitably married, and
- (e) To give them their inheritance ;

22. That proclaims woman's independence, teaches that she can, like man, attain the highest stage of moral and intellectual development, and lays down that it is the duty of the husband to cherish her ,

- (a) By treating her with respect and attention,
- (b) By using kind and affectionate speech,

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(c) By being faithful to her having no attachment to other women,

(d) By causing her to be respected and honoured by others, and

(e) By giving her necessary ornaments and dresses ;

23. That makes people independent, progressive, and responsible for their deeds by teaching that self is the lord and saviour of self, that each one is capable of attaining the highest stage of development, and that each one makes his heaven and hell here and elsewhere according to his thoughts, words, and deeds ;

24. That stands as a stimulant to activity and manliness by teaching that each action, whether mental or physical, produces its results without the aid of gods or any other metaphysical beings, and thereby gives liberty to mould one's destiny by one's own hands according to one's own wishes without throwing him under the mercy of a second being, on whose whims and caprice he has to depend for his future, either in this life, or in a life beyond the grave ;

25. That teaches that in all the worlds there is nothing more useful and valueable, more efficacious and powerful, more sublime and supreme than a well trained, well cultured, well developed and well tranquilized Mind ;

26. That stands in opposition to theism, deism, spiritualism, materialism, (implying the materialistic creed denying a future existence), agnosticism, eternalism, nihilism, fatalism, and all theories that ignore the Laws of Causation and Mutation ;

27. That teaches that every state of existence here or anywhere else is finite, conscious, material, and individual, that each existence in this or in any other world is mixed with pleasure, pain, and indifference, that pleasure alone without pain exists nowhere, and as pleasure and pain are caused, both are transitory and transient.

28. That teaches that the Law of Mutation pervades everything in the organic and inorganic worlds, and that the mental and material undergo constant changes momentarily ;

29. That teaches that all sentient beings are composed of Nama and Rupa (name and form or the mental and the material) ; that there are no spiritual beings as taught in theistic creeds ; and the invisible beings known as Devas &c., are composed of rarefied matter, and are endowed with the power of assuming various forms and making themselves visible whenever they desire to do so ;

30. That teaches that the material that composes the physical body of sentient beings is a product of matter that existed, and likewise, the mental is a result of a mental activity of one that existed previously ;

31. That teaches that life and the physical body, its pleasures and pains, its decay and dissolution, as well as re-birth, are the results of the Law of Causation ;

32. That upholds that sentient beings come into existence in four ways known as oviparous, viviparous, engendered from the cohesion of humid or gelatinous matter as insects, &c., of many species, and by spontaneous generation caused by the aggregation of rarefied matter, as in the case of most of the invisible beings called Devas, Devatas, Pisacas, Pretas, &c.

33. That teaches that each sentient being is a result of his own thoughts ;

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34. That teaches a purely autonomous ethical code ;
35. That discards dogmas and metaphysical speculations ;
36. That propounds a state of happiness without an objective heaven, a salvation without a saviour, and a redemption without a redeemer ;
37. That infuses cosmopolitan spirit against national exclusiveness ;
38. That teaches that invisible beings known as Devas, Devatas, Asuras, Kumbhandas, Petas, Pisacas, &c., of various grades are all subject to the Law of Mutation, and, like man, they also are dazed with lust, pride, hatred, and vanity, and embracing various creeds indulge in such idle speculations as to the existence of a soul, creator, &c.,
39. That teaches that human beings are intellectually superior to all other beings—including invisible beings called Devas, &c.,
40. That upholds that life in this world or in other worlds is constantly undergoing change, and is not identical in two consecutive moments ;
41. That teaches that all sentient beings are subject to the laws of nature of the world or region in which they are born ;
42. That teaches the existence of the *aura*, and the emanation of rays at times from the physical body of persons morally and intellectually developed ;
43. That upholds that just as the Physical Laws pervade everything in the material world likewise the Mental Laws called Karma pervade every being in the sentient world ;
44. That propounds the Law of Heredity by teaching that each individual inherits the character of his previous existence, and that of the parents of his new existence ;
45. That advocates natural evolution, natural development, and natural dissolution of worlds and sentient beings ;
46. That teaches the existence of a countless number of worlds and innumerable species of sentient beings ;
47. That enjoins the conservation and right application of Energy, and the development of Will-power and the powers of Recollection and Concentration of thoughts ;
48. That enjoins the development of Vipassana or Special Knowledge that eradicates cravings, dispels doubts, subdues passions, dissipates speculations, curbs the pursuit after vanities, and leads in this life to a state of purity, serenity, and tranquility.
49. That teaches that *the mental forces* called Karma (mental activity,) Sankhara (aggregating mental powers,) Tanha (thirst or craving producing Will to Live and Enjoy,) and Upadana (forcible mental grasp) are *indestructible, and that they cause the continuation of individuality in this or in any other world according to the power, nature, and tendencies of thought ;*
50. That combines the Ethical with the Physical Law, and places sentient beings under the nature of each locality and world for their happiness and misery ; and better than all,
51. That teaches a *summum bonum* attainable only by moral and intellectual development, in this life and in this world, or in the future, in this or in any other world.

Without entering into the higher Dhamma (teachings) this much will suffice to show that Buddhism is not only antagonistic to theistic and pantheistic Hinduism of the Veda, but also that it

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is radically opposed to modern theistic schools known as the non-dualism (*Advaita*) of Vyasa and Sankara, dualism (*Dvaita*) of Ananda Tritha, pure non-dualism (*Suddhadvaita*) of Vallabha, transcendental non-dualism (*Vasistadvaita*) of Ramanuja, and dualistic non-dualism (*Dvaitadvaita*) of Nimbarka and Caitanya, as well as to the theistic sects founded by Swamy Narayana, Kabir, Nanak, Ram Mohun Roy and several others.

It is stated by some oriental scholars that the *summum bonum* of the Buddhists and that of the Vedanta Philosophy are similar. This is a misconception. The final goal of Badarayana's pantheism, which has much in common with the idealism of Plato, is a state of unconscious immateriality produced by the re-establishment of the identity of the Jivatma or the Individual Soul with the Paramatma or the Supreme Soul. The one universal Essence called Brahma, who is both creator and creation, the existence of a thing called Soul having five coats, like those of an onion, called Vijnana-maya, Mano-maya, Prana-maya, Anna-maya, and Ananda-maya, and the separation of the individual soul from the Supreme Soul and again a complete absorption into the supreme, having three essences called *Sat*, *Cit*, and *Ananda*, and the impersonal Spirit called Brahma assuming consciousness by the power of Maya (Illusion) investing itself with three corporeal envelopes, known as Karana-sarira, Linga-sarira and Sthula-sarira, are subjects quite foreign to the teachings of the Buddha. In Nirvana exist Dhuva, Subha, and Sukha, but the existence of an *Atta*, either individual or supreme, is denied. Moreover, Nirvana is Asankhata (un-caused), Anidassana (incomparable), and Avvyakata (inexplicable), and Nirvana is described as "*Vinnanan anidassanan amanan sabbato pabhan*." Hence, the dissimilarity is obvious. It is noteworthy that the following words of the Buddha appearing in the Alagaddupama Sutta of the Majjhima Nikaya distinctly show that Nirvana is not blank annihilation as represented by some oriental scholars. The passage runs thus: "I, who declare and speak thus (on Nirvana), am reviled falsely, baselessly, vainly, and speculatively by some Samanas and Brahmanas (Hindu recluses and priests), saying that the nihilistic recluse Gotama teaches the annihilation, the destruction, and the non-existence of existing sentient beings."

The belief that Buddhism borrowed the doctrine of transmigration from Hinduism is also unfounded. The doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which forms one of the principal teachings of Brahmanism, is unknown to Buddhism. The Buddha emphatically denies the existence of an entity called "Soul" in sentient beings, and teaches that this "I am I consciousness" is a product of the aggregation of the mental and the material, and at the death of a sentient being nothing goes out of his body to another place, *but his mental forces cause the production of a new vitality--inheriting character in a place agreeable to the tendencies of his thoughts.*

Of the six Darsanas (Six Schools of Philosophy) that grew out of the Upanishad, it is believed by some that Buddhism "has more in common with the Sankhya Philosophy than with any of the other systems." This is also a misconception. The theories of the primordial Producer (Prakriti) and of the Soul (Purusha) which form the basis of the Sankhya, are radically opposed to Buddhism, which, by ignoring a first cause and soul-theory, teaches



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that both the mental and the material constantly revolve in the circle of cause and effect, without a beginning and without an end, and without either peace or pause.

It is not out of place to mention here that some of the Hindu ceremonies performed in the Devalas (residence or houses of gods), as well as the introduction of the images of some Hindu deities to the Buddhist temples in Ceylon, is a work of some Sinhalese Kings who embraced Hinduism ; and under this influence, superstition, to use a Buddhist simile, began to grow luxuriantly like the Virana weed warmed by the vernal sun. (J. Wettha Sinha in the *Ceylon National Review*).

## LEADING THOUGHTS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS

### THE RENAISSANCE OF INDIA

In the midst of frequent gibes and sneers made by the opponents of Indian progress, it is, indeed, gratifying to note that some Christian missionaries have taken kindly to the great national movement of India of today. Rev. Andrews of Delhi's noble pronouncements on the present movement have been followed by similar expressions of views of missionaries in South India and England. And today we have the pleasure to refer to another very sympathetic and discerning paper contributed by Rev. Bernard Lucas on the above subject in the April number of the *Indian Review* of Madras. The writer refuses to agree with those who consider the present "unrest" in India as merely political, but describes it as "the negative and superficial aspect of something which is positive, and much deeper and wider." And although "the political aspect is more in evidence and attracts more attention," goes on Rev. Lucas, "it is by no means the chief nor the most significant factor in the movement." The writer rightly considers it "a fatal mistake to regard it as a *disease* or malady from which India is suffering, which can be best treated by either opiates or more drastic surgical methods" and condemns the treatment based upon this diagnosis "as calculated to aggravate rather than allay the symptoms." "That which is taking place in India," wisely suggests the Rev. Missionary, "is nothing less than the travail preceding the birth of a New India. What is needed is neither Medicine nor Surgery, but the services of a fully qualified midwife. .... Good nourishment, a careful diet, gentle exercise, and the avoidance of all excitement, these are the main things indicated in any treatment which may be adopted."

The writer then enters into an analysis of the present movement and disproves the allegation that the present movement in India is confined merely to political activities. Observes Rev. Lucas : "The unrest in the social and religious sphere affects a far greater number (of people) than that in the political. There is a deeper consciousness of dissatisfaction... Alongside the National Congress, there are the Industrial, Social, and Theistic Conferences, the religious and semi-religious movements like the Theosophical Society, the Arya and Brahmo Samajes." The writer traces all these acti-

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vities to the same cause and "that cause is itself a part of a vaster one which is affecting not only India but the World." The contact of East and West," observes Rev. Lucas, "which has become much more pronounced and real during the last Century, could not possibly take place without making its impression on both alike." The writer then alludes to the similarity of this all-embracing movement in India and in England in the following manner : "Corresponding with the political unrest in India, there is a similar one in England, making itself felt in the demand of the still unenfranchised man and woman for a recognised place in the national life. In the social sphere there is the rise of the great Socialist Movement, demanding the overthrow of the tyranny of individualism, which has its counterpart here in India in the growing demand of the Social Reformer for deliverance from the tyranny of a form of socialism, the caste system, which has enslaved the individual and prevented the progress of the race. In the religious sphere there is a similar parallel in the rise of what is called Modernism, demanding freedom for each age to formulate its religious conceptions, untrammelled by the dogmas and formulas of past ages. This again corresponds with the various religious and semi-religious movements in India today, which aim at re-statements and reconstructions of the religious and philosophical thought of India."

As this present movement is due to the contact which India has had with Western thought and Western life the writer presses home to his readers the importance of clearly perceiving that "the new life must be an expression of the two-fold influence which has begotten it. The New India which is to be born will be India in the truest sense of the word, but it can not be a merely resuscitated India." "It is the recognition of this fact," continues the Rev. Missionary, "or the failure to recognise it, which divides India today far more really and effectively than any of the party names which are chosen." Referring to these divisions among the Indian Nationalists and their ideals and methods the writer very tersely observes : "Among the so-called Moderates there are Extremists who are merely destitute of the courage of their convictions, and amongst the so-called Extremists there are many Moderates who are only extreme in the expression of their thoughts. The two real parties are the Progressives and the Regressives; the Regressives have as their ideal an India which existed before the advent of the British, and they wish, to resuscitate an India which has no more connection with England than existed in the days of Hindu and Mahomedan supremacy; the ideal of the Progressives on the

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other hand is a New India, the joint outcome of British and Indian effort. It is not a demand that India should be severed from the British Empire ; it is a request that she be allowed to become an integral part of the Empire."

The writer seems to be in a comparatively bellicose mood when he attacks the ideals of what he calls the Regressives ; for he says : " Such an ideal, however, involves as its necessary precursor, the reconquest of India and the expulsion of the British. The advocacy of such an ideal is not a constitutional agitation—it is a seditious campaign, a declaration of war and no English Government can treat it as anything else, and those engaged in it—whether Moderates and Extremists—must be prepared for whatever consequences are attached to sedition." The writer, however, sympathises with the aspirations of the Moderates for he observes : " Towards the realization of this ideal, all the best forces of the Indian and the English people are destined to contribute. It satisfies, as no other ideal can, the recognised English responsibilities, the legitimate political aspirations of the true Indian patriot, and the political safety and prosperity of the Native States." Referring to the influence of the economic life of England over India, the writer points to the division of Indian opinions into two opposed camps one of which, according to him, " looks back to the past and the other looks forward to the future." " There is a Swadeshimism," goes on the writer, " which would limit the industrial life of India to that restricted area which it occupied when its life was self-contained, and its intercourse with other nations was of the most limited kind. It would prohibit the use of every foreign article, and insist on the use of Indian articles only. Its ideal is in the past and its bugle call is not for an advance but for a retreat into the Old India of pack saddles and trunk roads." " The Progressives, on the contrary," the writer goes on to point out, " do not insist on total abstinence from foreign goods but strive to make India supply, whenever possible, cheaper and better goods than she can get from abroad. They would not inveigh against Western capitalists but would create Indian capital." " It is this party of progress," the writer continues, " who has the truest title to the name of Patriotism, which, while it *does* mean the intense and passionate love of one's own country, does *not* involve the hating of every other country."

In the matter of the social reform movement also, the Rev. missionary " meets with the same two watchwards of Backwards and Forwards." The goal of the Regressives in the Social Reform

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camp," the writer observes, "is an India of the past, in which, it is alleged, there were only four castes, in which woman was educated and enlightened equally with the man, in which there were no restrictions on foreign travel, and no child marriages." The writer, however, strongly insists that "a return to the past, if it were possible, would of necessity mean and eventuate in a repetition of the present." Rev. Lucus approves of the ideal of the Progressives. Observes he : "The ideal of the Progressives is not the adoption of the social order of the west, for that would be but the exchange of one tyranny for another, but the evolution of a social order in which the right of the individual is not sacrificed to the community, nor the right of the community to the individual. It is an order in which all that is good in the past is preserved, and all that is good in the present is conserved."

"In the religious sphere the unrest is," according to the writer, "far more widespread than in the political and social spheres," and "the same two watchwards indicate the line of cleavage." "Reformed Hinduism which the Regressives advocate, looks solely to the religious Scriptures of India, to purely Hindu religious ideas, and to purely Hindu ceremonies for the panacea for the present religious unrest. There are others, however, who are more open to conviction, and are prepared to take a dispassionate view of the matter." The writer unlike an exclusive Christian missionary, takes rather a catholic view of the future of the religion of India. He observes :

"The religious situation has been as radically altered by the advent of Christianity, as the political situation has been, by the advent of the British. In the Providence of God, Christianity has come to India, and it has brought its special revelation to the East, just as it brought its special revelation to the West. It will have to take its place in New India—but it will not be the Christianity of Western dogma and Western organization, but an Indian Christianity whose theology and ecclesiastical organization India will evolve for herself."

The writer concludes his interesting paper with the following appeal :

"The movement which is manifesting itself in India today in the political, industrial, social, and religious spheres is really a Renaissance and not a mere series of changes without meaning and purpose.....Let us once realize that this great movement is the birth of a New India and we shall all co-operate for the safe delivery of a vigorous, a healthy and a noble child. The New

## THE INDIAN MAHOMEDANS

India will doubtless be very different from the ideals which are in the minds of those of us who are attending at the birth, but will incorporate them all, resolving their differences and harmonising their antagonisms."

### THE INDIAN MAHOMMADANS AND THE "REFORMS"

Mr. A. E. Duchesne, late of the Calcutta *Englishman*, is apparently determined not to let any grass grow under his feet during his present sojourn in England, and his recent indiscreet indictment before the East India Association against the Indian National Congress, which we reviewed at length in our last number, has been quickly followed by an equally hortatory paper on the above subject. The paper is inspired throughout with the imperious idea of "Divide and Rule," the writer cunningly advancing in almost every page of his essay tentative feelers to kindle racial animosities among the different communities in India. Mr. Duchesne has no love lost for the "Reforms" and he does not believe in the representative character of any Indian, for he seems to think that "since there is no unity of either race or creed in India, and since the phrase "Indian Nation" is much more the expression of a pious hope than the embodiment of an existing fact, it follows that a representative Indian can not be found." Though the writer's observations on the caste system, referring to the "oppressive theocratic domination of the high-caste Hindus," are mere malicious exaggerations of distorted truths, we must not refuse to profit by these taunts of the enemies of Indian progress. Observes he: "so long as that system obtains, so long must Hinduism continue to be divided in itself, so long will a representative Hindu be a mere academic abstraction, incapable of realization in the flesh." Mr. Duchesne, however, has been kind enough to admit that, inspite of these deterrent factors in the way of India's ever attaining to nationhood, "there are certain forces at work which, though very slowly, are moving the Indian peoples towards this ideal. The most potent of these is the inclusion in the British Empire with all that this involves of good government and a central authority and the spread of Western education and the English language. In so far as those exposed to the influence of our Indian educational system have received a common training, this has tended to the production of a unity of aspiration, which, although it is at present but shallow and has very little relation to the

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fundamentals, is nevertheless of a character to demand recognition." But he at once hastens to point out to his readers the evils resulting from the present system of education: "It is unfortunate that the educational system hitherto in vogue has focussed attention on (possibly imaginary) rights than on (certainly imperative) duties, with the result that the ideal fostered has been more the ultra-democratic one of government by the people, than the sterner creed of the elimination of the unfit from all places of public trust."

Mr. Duchesne, however, admits the duty of England to set up the ideal of democratic Government before the Indian people and observes: "We must face our responsibility and endeavour as far as possible to satisfy the craving we have aroused." But this admission of a generous principle is a merely intellectual recognition, for he goes on to state: "In aiming at that satisfaction we must bear in mind that the English-educated class amounts only to a microscopic fraction of the total population .....and in granting their demands we are not yielding to a national wish, but to a sentimental attitude largely due to our own educational system." Mr. Duchesne, however, regards it too late to consider the justice, or even the expediency, of this concession to the British worship of the democratic ideal and solemnly asserts that "in whatever way these changes are introduced their inevitable effect will be to weaken the estimation in which the British sovereignty is held in India. . . . The *Raj* will no longer be exclusively British." The writer thus refuses to face the very responsibility which he himself thinks that England has created for her by undertaking the governance of this country.

Mr. Duchesne is at his best when he pets and pats the Mahomedans on the back and hugs them in fond, fraternal embraces only to sinisterly egg them on against their Hindu neighbours. Observes Mr. Duchesne: "Representation being ordained for the heterogeneous population of India, it must be of races, classes, creeds, and not of a numerical majority of the various units of the populations." The writer then proceeds to sing the eulogy of the Moslems in a few of the choicest epithets, describing them as "tolerant, all embracing," and as "a mighty world-force which no Asiatic or African ruler can afford to ignore." "One in their creed, with eyes directed towards Mecca and souls attuned to the majestic melody of the Koran, the Moslems compose a united body in all that concerns their religion." While pleading the claims of the Mahomedan to separate representation to the re-organised Councils, the writer observes:

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"He (the Mahomedan) has not clamoured for a franchise, he has relied for justice on the superb impartiality of British rule. He has endured the boycott persecution with a steadfastness which demands our respect.....Now that rule in India is no longer to be exclusively British, now that some measure of democratic Government is to be forced on the people, the Mahomedan community has been compelled to make its voice heard."

The writer, by way of a further vindication of the claim of the Mahomedans to separate representation, alludes to the following circumstances in connection with the recent Municipal elections in Lucknow: "The Muhammadan candidate at the last election, three years ago, received Hindu support, but this year the Hindus will vote for no Muhammadan candidate, and make inclusion in the Congress camp a test of eligibility." We are of opinion, however, that this is an illustration in point to prove how in course of these years the amicable relations between the two communities have been so deplorably disturbed by the activities of mischievous busy-bodies.

In condemning the mixed electoral system the writer observes: "It is evident that earnest Mahomedans can not favour a system which would neither leave them without representation or inflict upon them members, nominally of their faith, who had prostituted their ideals in subservience to the will of the Hindu electorate; and who, as cowardly renegades, would be even less suitable exponents of Mahomedan wishes than a high-minded and generous Hindu might be." The writer then outlines the following scheme as calculated to ensure the best Mahomedan representation: "The first step is for the ratio of Mahomedan and Hindu representation on all representative bodies, from the rural boards upwards to the Viceregal Legislative Council, to be fixed by executive authority on consideration of all circumstances, whether of imperial policy or local conditions. In determining this ratio there should be eliminated from the total population generally taken as Hindu, all tribes, castes and communities who are only nominally Hindu, and who object to Brahmin supremacy as much as do the Muhammadans themselves. The ratio having been fixed so as to secure substantial and adequate representation for Muhammadan interests, the mode of election must be so arranged that the delegates chosen are really representative and possessed of the confidence of their community. Muhammadan representatives must be chosen by the Muhammadans themselves. It matters not into how many stages the selection be divided, the election of representatives of Islam for



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Rural board, Municipality, Electoral College, or Government Council must be by Muhammadans, among Muhammadans and for Muhammadans."

### THE GURUKUL

Mr. Alfred Nundy, a prominent Punjab Congressman and the late Editor of the Lahore *Tribune*, leads off the joint May and June number of our Allahabad contemporary of the *Hindusthan Review* with an appreciative article on *The Gurukul*. The writer, though a devout Christian, is not blind to the innate vitality of Hinduism which, according to him, is "its elasticity and receptivity." "Monotheism," observes Mr. Nundi, "pantheism, atheism, agnosticism and demonolatry have each one their devoted adherents, who cordially fraternise with one another and together constitute the Hindu Community." The strength of Hinduism," goes on the writer, "lies in its tolerance, and in its adaptability to all phases of religious belief. It differs from other religions in this that, whereas with them the profession of a common faith keeps together those who owe allegiance to them, Hinduism makes no such demand on its followers. Another striking feature about it is that it is absolutely non-militant." With these preliminary observations on Hinduism of which the religion of the Arya Samaj is merely an offshoot, the writer enters into an account of the *Gurukul*, which is an educational institution reared up by one of the sections of the Arya Samaj. His criticisms on the Arya Samaj movement seem to us to be perfectly well-balanced and impartial, leaving, of course, as all honest criticisms may, enough margin for differences of opinion. We are not aware how far the charge of intolerance which the writer prefers against the Arya Samaj can be justified in the light of facts, but we must say that the difficulties of a reforming body like the Arya Samaj, bent upon purging a society of its evils to which it has been used for thousands of years, must be fully realized while testing the tolerance of their activities. Referring to this, the writer observes :

"The members of this new offshoot from Hinduism entertain the conviction that all creation should subscribe to the articles of faith which find favour with them and to attain this end they assert themselves sometimes in such a manner as they incur the hostility of all and sundry with whom they come into contact. They are not content to adopt a passive attitude, their aim is to convert and proselytize."

Mr. Nundi illustrates the absence of toleration in the Arya Samaj by pointing to the split of the Samaj into two sections on a matter of such trivial importance as the question of eating meat.

The section which claims the Gurukul as its principal achievement bears the cognomen of "vegetarian" as distinguished from the other which is called the 'cultured' or the 'meat-eating' or 'College' party. On the creed of the Arya Samaj, the writer has the following observations to make :

"It draws its inspiration from the Vedas and it rejects the superstition and idolatry and the exaltation of the Brahman, which, it considers, constitute serious blots on the present-day Hinduism. While accepting the fourfold division of Hindu Society into Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras, it deprecates the existence of caste which it holds should not be regarded merely as determined by birth ; for a man's occupation, knowledge of the Vedas and manner of living should also be taken into account."

By way of a contrast between the activities of the Brahmos and the Arya Samaj, Mr. Nundi observes :

"The Brahmos are virtually outcasts from Hinduism and as such exercise no influence upon it, and are indeed a decadent community depending largely on England-returned Hindus to swell their numbers in Bengal. But the Arya Samajists, while entertaining almost similar views as to the value to be attached to caste, have abstained from openly discarding it and do not go in for inter-marriage between two unconnected castes, though they are cautiously advancing in this respect by permitting alliances between sub-castes. Being within the fold of Hinduism they are silently undermining it, and those who desire to see it purified from the accretions which have brought about its degeneracy must acknowledge that they are rendering a service to India of no mean value."

We may perhaps point out here without fear of digression that there is much of affinity between the Adi Samaj of the Brahmo cult of Bengal and Arya Samaj of the Punjab.

"It is in the matter of education," the writer thinks, "that the Arya Samajists are entitled to claim an unqualified success. They not only believe in the necessity for it, as regards both the girls and the boys who belong to their community, but they have carried their professions into practice by starting schools in important centres, with the result that from the point of view of literacy, they far outstrip all other sections of the Hindus in the Punjab. The 'cultured' party have further given an impetus to the higher education and the D. A. V. College in Lahore in point of numbers and as regard funds, and no less with reference to the success of its pupils at University examinations, offers eloquent testimony to the zeal and enthusiasm of its members on a matter which redounds much to their credit."

Arising out of the rupture referred to above, "a departure was made by the receding members as to the manner in which education was to be imparted to the young. The European methods were considered to be ill-adapted to an eastern people and were held to be fraught with dangerous results." This estimate of the results of the introduction of western culture in India the writer

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considers to be "most probably fairly correct", while he admits, though he does not enter into a discussion into, the differences of opinion as to how these evils can be corrected.

"They considered it a first step to resuscitate Brahmacharya to mould the character of the pupil so as to qualify him for a life of peace and happiness in the world. This was to be attained by imparting to him a sound religious instruction in the Vedas and secular knowledge through the medium of the Sanskrit by placing before him facilities for the development of his physique and, above all, by removing from his path the temptation and allurements which bring about the ruin of a youth by contact with a vicious world."

To achieve that object by devising a scheme of education on the above lines, they established in 1901 the Gurukul which they

"located in a healthy place at the foot of the Himalayas at a distance of about 5 miles from Hardwar and about 3 miles from Kankhal, on the south bank of the Ganges near the village Kangri. The climate is bracing, exhilarating and extremely delightful," and the writer "vouches that the spot chosen is well adapted for the resuscitation of the ancient system of Brahmacharya. The village which is valued at about Rs. 30,000 is the gift of Munshi Aman Singh, a philanthropic gentleman who has given away his entire estate for the upkeep of the institution."

Mr. Nundi gives the following account of the Gurukul Academy and its course of studies :

"The buildings that have so far been erected at an estimated cost of 5 lacs of rupees consist of 22 class-rooms and dormitories, science rooms, rooms for devotional purposes and for the performance of the *Agnihotra*, hostels, dispensaries, hospitals and guest houses. Arrangements have also been made for the residence of teachers with families near the hostels so as to keep the pupils constantly under the supervision of the teachers. A minimum sum of Rs. 10 is taken for board, lodging and education. At present there are 300 boys ranging from five years of age to twenty. The scholars are required to lead life of strict celibacy up to the age of 25 years, at least. They are not allowed to visit their homes except under special circumstances. Nor are they permitted to visit towns, or in fact to leave the precincts of the Gurukul ; but during the holidays some of them are taken to places which possess some historical or archaeological interest..... There are ten classes in the school department, and a period of ten years is fixed for the student to finish the prescribed course of studies. The medium of instruction is the *Arya Bhasha*, and it is only after a student has been seven years in the Gurukul that he begins to learn the English alphabet and it is merely as a second language that English is taken up."

The net result of such a system of education, Mr. Nundi rightly holds, is "a well-balanced mind, a good moral character, a mastery of the Vedic and of Sanskrit literature—gifts which are no doubt excellent in themselves. But these fall short of the needs of a struggle of the present day life." "Government service and learned professions are absolutely closed to the Gurukul alumni." The necessity for acquiring a knowledge of Sanskrit literature and Vedic mantras is negatived, the writer thinks, if the scholars are to make commerce and trade their ultimate fate. Nor "the Gurukul is suited to equip the pupils to fill the role of householders when they enter the world." These are the shortcomings of the system of the Gurukul education to which Mr. Nundy rightly lays his fingers on, and although the Gurukul is a splendid achievement of the noble

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self-sacrifice of its promoters, notably of Mr. Munshi Ram, "who took a vow not to set foot in his house so long as the requisite amount was not collected and gave up a lucrative profession at the bar to serve the Gurukul for life," we entirely agree with Mr. Nundy's suggestion that

"He is more likely to attain his object, if instead of looking altogether for inspiration and guidance to the past he were to take into consideration the present also, and weigh carefully how his scheme can be given a practical turn, so that the apprehensions as to the future of the boys may be removed and they may have secured for them a fair prospect of success when they leave the Gurukul."

## SOME ASPECTS OF TAMIL HISTORY

In the March number of the *Malabar Quarterly Review* appears an interesting and elaborate account of *Some Aspects of Tamil History* from the pen of Mr. M. Karpurasundra Pandian, B.A., a profound scholar and an antiquarian of much repute. This is not the first occasion the writer ushers himself before the public as a student of antiquity. His previous treatise on the subject has already made his name familiar to an ever-increasing reading public. Mr. Pandian opens his article with the question of the Tamil matriarchate and to this he gives the highest prominence. Indeed, the history of the Tamil-matriarchy, as put by the writer, is very interesting, though the very conception of "heredity through the female, and the man becoming a member of the wife's family" is simply revolting to modern customs and institutions. The system is rapidly disappearing before modern ideas, but there are still to be found here and there some of the lingering vestiges of the matriarchal epoch which time has not succeeded in effacing.

It would be no infliction, we hope, upon the readers of these pages if we were to briefly sketch here a few of the many interesting customs and ceremonies in connection with the Tamil-matriarchy.

In the matter of deciding family relationship among the Maradas, one of the old communities forming the bulk of the population in the Tamil districts, "agnation is made to hold a subordinate position to cognation," and what is strange, rather repugnant, "while the union between a maternal uncle and his niece is looked upon as nothing short of an incestuous connection, the marriage of paternal uncles with their brother's daughters is tamely submitted to."

Another interesting fact may be mentioned in this connection. "Among the Marava retainers of the Zemindar of Ettaiyapuram, betrothal is the offer and acceptance of what is known as Parisam

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or lericid money. The maternal uncle of the bridegroom solemnly intimates to the assembled clansmen that the daughter of such and such is proposed to be given in marriage to the son of such and such and begs their permission to allow him to give the Parisam money. The clansmen give their assent to it. Next comes the bride's uncle to appropriate the reward which, of course, he is induced to hand over to the girl. Any breach of this performance entails serious consequences."

Again, "a girl, as soon as she is born, is treated as destined to wed her uncle's son, disparity of age being a matter of no concern and in some unfortunate circumstances, when nature chooses to be too unkind and no male issue is spared to the uncle, she is, on age, wedded to one of the rafters of the house."

To say the least of it, it is a most pernicious and inhuman custom—an unmitigated evil that dates back from an epoch when barbarism and savagery reigned supreme in the land of the Tamils. Happily the custom has almost died out.

"In matters ceremonial, the ordinary invitation by offer of betel-leaf and nuts is not sufficient to the uncle. Custom entitles him to a few silver pieces in addition."

"On occasions of *Kathukuthu* or the ear-boring ceremony of a new-born child, the victim is said to sit upon its maternal uncle's lap till the close of the tragedy."

"During funeral ceremonies, especially on the 16th day, the son of the deceased is seated in some spacious part of the house and the relatives are invited to take their seats around him. Up springs the uncle now and begs his clansmen's permission to tie his *Lenju* (a small piece of cloth generally red-coloured) on his nephew's head prior to every other that is present there. This distinction is of right his."

The above and similar other facts, shewing the importance of the maternal uncle in all functions, social or religious, constitute the basic customs of the Tamil matriarchate. The institution, however, is gradually being left in the back-ground and "the right of the father has slowly come to be recognised through various stages."

Apart from the intrinsic merit or demerit of the institution from an ethnological standpoint, it is a thing of no small historic importance to a student of sociology inasmuch as it furnishes an important data for the further disquisitions into the realms of ancient societies.

The writer then proceeds to discuss the question why Malabar

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still retains a system which the Tamils elsewhere have abandoned and he assigns two reasons for it, *viz.*,—(i) “the advent of the Nambudri who, partly through his intellectual superiority and more through his adversary’s simplicity was able to get a firm hold here,” and (ii) “the indivisibility of the Tarawad which centred an almost dictatorial power in a person invariably in his grand climateric and hence more susceptible to religion.”

Towards the further solution of the problem, the writer quotes a tale suggested by Mr. K. Kannan Nair, who observes :—

“The ancestors of the Nambudris were a militant class of people, and as such, they had not brought with them a sufficient number of women belonging to their own caste.....The eldest son of a person contracted marriage with a woman of his own community while others formed connection with Sudra women.....who were already living in Kerala. The Nambudri was however admired and respected for his superior learning, power and wealth and he could induce the Nair to surrender to him any woman he chose.....Though this practice has entirely died out, it was so very common in old days that it has now earned for the Nambudri the notoriety of having corrupted the sexual morality of Nair women.”

The writer, however, does not seem to concur with Mr. Nair’s estimate of the Nambudris as a “militant class” and calls it “nothing short of a contradiction in terms.” He emphatically denies the truth of the statement that the Nambudris far excelled the Nairs in valour and military skill, in virtue of which they held them in subjugation. According to him, the Nairs were “a race that knew no profession nobler than that of war, that would not brook its chieftains dying of old age and infirmity, and would therefore pass the sword through the corpse before burial. The boast of a Nair woman is that ‘My father lives in stone, a hero’s effigy ; my husband fell in battle slain, my brothers died resisting the foe to the last ; when all the host had perished, my son like a porcupine, pierced by innumerable darts, fell fighting against the foeman’s king.’

“Of danger scornful ever armed they stand,  
Arround the king a stern barbarian band.”

In speaking of Malabar, the writer says :—“The magic of Malabar—the nursery of the war—locks, as the Tamilian believes—is more to our rescue than the sword of these priests.” Modern scepticisms may repudiate the fact, but it should be borne in mind that “occultism is a potent factor at a certain stage of society and Malabar cannot but have succumbed to it.”

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Mr. Pandian goes on to observe : " The real fact seems to be that the king on the west coast, as did the Pandya and the Chola, invited the Aryan, whose fame has already spread far and wide, offering him every facility. The very remoteness of the land and the jungle paths to it were not very welcoming and more bachelors than house-holders ventured on the expedition. The princes set the example of inter-marriage and the rest followed the lead. The very condescension of the Aryan—the intermediary between God and man—was itself a privilege. Parental responsibility was yet unknown and any attempt to introduce it would have been an infringement on the Nambudri rights. There ought certainly to have been an opposition, for human nature is such, but this seems to have been feeble though serious at a time calling on the Nambudri to bear arms."

The writer concludes by drawing out a contrast between the Tamil of the west and the east coasts and says that unlike the former the latter is not altogether without civilisation and has made some progress both socially and politically. The east coast people "seem to have been extremely reluctant to take everything foreign as superior to their own. With their proud traditions and legendary lore, with the Academy at the capital manned by the scholars of the type of Nakkiran, and with their own Saiva Philosophy and religious leaders, they have been able to hold their own for a considerable time." With regard to the Tamils on the other side of the ghats, the writer characterises them as "a despicable specimen of race that has studiously copied the vices of another nation without caring to preserve the sublimest of its own virtues."

## REVIEWS & NOTICES OF BOOKS

### CULTIVATION OF JUTE CROP

[*Jute in Bengal*: By Nibaran Chandra Chaudhury, Travelling Inspector, Department of Agriculture, Bengal: *Mazumdar Library*, 20 Cornwallis Street: Calcutta.]

It goes without saying that jute is one of the most important crops in united Bengal and a very valuable asset of the Indian Empire. But this crop, according to some authorities, is responsible for the abnormally high prices of our food-stuffs. In the work under review, the author attempts to show that the high prices have little or nothing to do with the cultivation of jute and, on the contrary, the growers and dealers of jute have been materially benefited by the extension of its cultivation and that people have been greatly relieved of the pressure which would otherwise have been more acutely felt by them.

The book has been split up into five parts. The first part deals with some introductory notes giving a succinct history of the jute industry in Bengal. The second part dwells upon the cultivation of jute with special reference to soils, manures and climate. The third part furnishes a very useful account of the jute trade. This part has a special statistical value of its own. The fourth part, which contains some selected official papers, embodies the labours of some eminent experts, and will be found very interesting and instructive to all. The fifth part puts down some miscellaneous notes in the course of which the important races of jute are described, and which are followed by four appendices making up the last item of the volume lying on our table.

A theory has of late gained ground that jute causes malarious fever in Bengal. The writer holds that there are hardly any facts to prove this theory. We are sorry we cannot see eye to eye with the author in this respect. Mr. Chaudhuri seems to believe that malaria is not severe, if at all present, in some parts of Mymensingh, Dacca, Faridpur &c. We are afraid this statement is not founded on facts in its entirety. The present reviewer hails from Mymensingh and he can assert from personal experience that nowhere in the world do jute and malaria flourish side by side with such amazing rapidity as in the western parts of that district.

Speaking purely of India's foreign trade in jute and jute manu-



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factures, it would seem that even with 24 large European factories at work in India and the hand-loom which still survive, her raw jute interests are four times as valuable to India as her manufactures. A comparison between the exports of Indian 'power loom' and those of 'hand loom' manufactures will convincingly show the extent to which the jute manufactures have passed out of the hands of the Indian peasants, who alone, a little more than 40 years ago, met the demand for gunny bags. There are now 43 mills at work in Bengal and one in Bombay. The number of looms working in 1887 was 7,164 which increased to 26,799 in 1906. These figures show a great development of the jute industry in Bengal. The actual consumption of jute by these mills has doubled during the last ten years, while the foreign exports of raw jute have continued to increase very steadily, each year exceeding the preceding one.

In Bengal, says the writer, there are old and new alluvial soils which are called the *lal mati* or *khair* and *pali mati* respectively, the same as *bhangar* and *khadar* in Behar. The new alluvium is generally found near large rivers, especially in their deltas, and is commonly called alluvial soil *par excellence*. The soils of parts of Orissa, South Behar and the Burdwan Division belong to the old alluvium. The whole of North Behar, Eastern Bengal and North Bengal consists of new alluvium, with the exception of the Madhupur jungles in Mymensingh and the *khair* in North Bengal. Jute grows on the new alluvium, but not on the old. The author here cites a striking example from the Bogra district in support of this fact.

Jute grows on the high lands as well as on the low lands, which are not liable to submersion before the middle of June. Floods can not do much harm to the plants, once they are sufficiently strong, that is, when they will shortly run to flower. Mr. Chaudhuri thinks that high land jute is always superior to low land jute in quality.

Jute is a rainy season crop. Damp heat is the most favourable condition for its growth. Excessive rain prevents both sowing of the seed and the weeding and thinning of the young plants. Occasional showers of rain, varying from one to two inches, at intervals of about a week, are most beneficial for the growth of the plants. It is not possible to grow jute anywhere in Bengal during the cold weather. The cultivation of jute has been rapidly extending owing to the high prices of this fibre during recent years. The price still continues high; the demand for the fibre, according to the author, is increasing steadily. New markets are being continually opened out. There can be little doubt, says Mr. Chaudhury, that

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the cultivation of jute will, in the near future, extend largely in Bengal and Assam. The total area under jute in 1906 was nearly 10 per cent. of the total cultivated land of the district in which jute is grown.

Land for sowing jute is generally prepared just after the first shower of rain during the latter part of February or the beginning of March. Deep ploughing is said to be essential for this crop. Five to eight ploughings and four or five ladderings will be often found sufficient. After sowing, there should be no ploughing, unless the soil is very light, but simply laddering to cover the seeds and to press the land in order to bring up the moisture to the surface of the soil which helps germination of the seed. Green manuring with *sun* is strongly recommended by Mr. Chaudhuri for jute. This is said to be specially useful, when the character of the soil is required to be changed. By green manuring stiff clay becomes lighter and the light sandy soil becomes retentive of moisture. Cow-dung, castor-cake, super-phosphate, salt-petre and bone-meal are also mentioned as effective manures. The sowing season of jute extends from about the middle of February to the end of May. Germination takes place within three or four days after sowing, if the soil contains sufficient moisture.

Jute is cut from the beginning of July to the end of October. If the plants are allowed to get dead ripe, the fibre becomes coarse in texture and dirty reddish in colour. Plants are cut with a sickle close to the ground. Plants growing in deep water are pulled up. After cutting or pulling, they are tied in bundles and steeped in water. In Eastern Bengal, where jute is cut in water, the steeping begins at once with the leaves on. The plants take 10 to 20 days to rot. The water in which jute is steeped has considerable effect on the quality of the fibre. Steeping in running water takes longer time than in stagnant water.

The cost of jute cultivation in Eastern Bengal is about Rs. 3-8 per maund. An additional expenditure of between Rs. 6 and Rs. 14 is required if the land is to be manured. If the yield be taken at 16 maunds per acre, when the land is not manured, the value of the outturn may be estimated at Rs. 120, at the rate of Rs. 8 per maund, leaving a net profit of about Rs. 72 per acre or Rs. 24 per *bigha*. Mr. Chaudhuri considers that manuring increases the outturn at least by 6 maunds per acre.

The book abounds in such useful informations as are referred to above, and we have absolutely no hesitation in saying that it will

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prove an invaluable *vade mecum* to the growing class of jute merchants in Bengal. The author has spared no pains to make it an instructive study and the statistics published in his book are specially interesting. The book ought to be translated into Bengali for the perusal and benefit of that class of Bengali merchants and manufacturers which do not know English. The entire community of jute merchants in this country should be thankful to Mr. Chaudhury for bringing out this exhaustive compendium which has been moderately priced at one rupee and eight annas only.

Mulhall, in his Dictionary of Statistics, states that the production of jute in India, including Bengal but not Upper Burmah, was 630,000 tons in the year 1888 and the figure has no doubt considerably swelled by this time. Indeed the jute trade in this country is fraught with great possibilities. However much we may hope that jute should not be grown to the detriment to our food-stuffs, whatever the publicist may cry that jute is ruining our agricultural classes, we see with a clear vision that this particular crop is bound to make head-way in spite of all obstacles to retard its progress. In view of this state of things, we doubt not but the book will command a large sale.

P. M. N.

## ARTICLES

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### THE HIGHLANDS OF ORISSA

*(Continued from the last number)*

On the morning of the 20th December 1895, I crossed the British frontier and came into the tributary State of Atmallik,—and sure enough the Maharaja of that State, Mahendra Deo, was waiting at the frontier with his elephants and *packs* to receive me. His capital is away to the south on the Mahanadi,—and with the courtesy which is never wanting in these chiefs, he had come over thirty miles to meet me at the thresh-hold of his State. We journeyed together, still by the Sambalpur road westwards, and the road now ran through a wild undulating country frequently cut up by hill-streams which are now dry but are rushing torrents in the rains. Hills rose to our north, and a higher range near to our south terminating in the Goja Parbat, so called because its bare crest terminates in a rock resembling a needle or spike. After passing this hill we left the Sambalpur road and turned southwards into the jungles, and encamped for the day in the small village of Boinda, embosomed in hills.

Atmallik State is 730 square miles in area, but is full of hills and jungles. It has about five hundred villages containing a population of only thirty-one thousand—giving an average of only 60 people or say twelve families in each village. The Maharaja Mahendra Deo is 47 years of age, hale and hearty, genial and frank in his disposition, and with that natural courtesy which marks the true gentleman. He came into my tent and we had a long and pleasant talk about various matters concerning his State and its administration, which I need not reproduce here. The Maharaja has married two sisters of the Angul family, and the story of this double marriage is very interesting. He went to marry the elder of the two sisters, but after the ceremony was over, the younger sister would not let her elder go, for the two dearly loved each other. At last the wise men of both houses put their heads together, and the parents of the bride and bridegroom agreed that the bride's younger sister should also be

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married to the bridegroom ! This was done, and the happy bridegroom who went in the hope of winning a bride came back with two ! This happy double marriage was performed many years ago, and the Maharaja has now a son, the Jubaraj, 22 years of age, and two daughters who are married. Girls in the Garhjats, and in Orissa generally, except among Brahmins and one or two other castes, are married at the age of fifteen or sixteen.

In the village of Kotora, as in most other villages that I have passed through, I saw the shrine of the *Gram-Devata*, the tutelary goddess of the village. She is generally a stone smeared with vermillion, housed in a shed surrounded by a strong palisade. The goddess of this village is called Khambeswari ; there is a priest who holds some lands for the service of performing worship once every week ; and on occasions of marriage as well as in times of epidemics or scarcity or other calamities the goddess is invoked with much more pomp and ceremony. Goats are then sacrificed, while the ordinary offering is rice and some vegetables. There can be little doubt that every village in non-aryan Bengal had its tutelary goddess, and when Aryan-Hinduism supplanted the primitive worship, the non-aryan goddess assumed Hindu names.

On the 21st I travelled with the Maharaja some twelve miles through dense jungle and came to the village of Thakurgarh. Elephants walk faster than would seem at first sight, and we did 12 miles in two hours and a half. I have now and then timed my elephant when going pretty fast, and the huge animal did a mile in eleven minutes, which is  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles an hour. But the usual pace is between four and five miles an hour. The whole of our way lay through a jungle, and the rays of the morning sun struggled through the thick trees and checkered and beautified the rustic scene. Bamboos were very frequent, and occasionally our path lay entirely through bamboos forming an arched avenue with their bending stems and soft feathery leaves. The Maharaja informed me that wild elephants often resort to this jungle. Here and there trees had been cut down and patches of land had been brought under cultivation in valleys where water is available. The Gonds and the Khonds are the pioneers in this cultivation work, but are not good cultivators. They make a beginning,—but whatever they get they spend in drink, and the Uriya Hindu, who is a more provident and careful as a cultivator, soon replaces them. In this way the aborigines are receding from

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tracts brought under cultivation,—seeking still to live their careless and unprovident lives in the bosom of uncleared jungles.

The Maharaja takes a great interest in the extension of cultivation in his State, and has constructed about a hundred Bunds in different parts for the supply of water for irrigation. As we passed through the clearances and little villages in the jungle, the whole female population of the villages turned out and greeted the Maharaja with their merry *ulu* sound, which we hear in Bengal on marriage and other festive occasions. Surely the Gond women have adopted this merry form of greeting from the Aryan Hindus ! But the Gonds are by no means the majority of the population even in these jungle villages. Low-caste Uriyas, generally Khairas, have already replaced them in the larger clearances.

Thakurgarh, where we arrived after a journey of two hours and a half, is situated at the foot of a few ranges of hills to the south called the Panchadhara or the Five Ranges. The village is a comparatively large one, the Gonds are decreasing in number, and the Hindu castes are increasing. I sent for a number of Gonds and had a quiet chat with them. They have already forgotten their native language and speak Urya. Elders among them knew their own tongue, they said, but none of those who appeared before me spoke it. They have no caste among them, and they have become sufficiently Hinduized to get the lower caste Hindu Brahmins to celebrate their marriages. Girls marry at any age when they can get husbands,—may be at 15, may be at 25. They eat all kinds of animals, kid, fowl, deer, pig &c., I did not ask them if they took anything worse. But horror of horrors !—every Gond who appeared before me,—every Gond in these parts wears the *Poita* or the holy thread !

One of the coldest mornings in this season was the morning of the 22nd December, and I started before seven in real bracing cold, and walked a couple of miles to set up a little warmth, before I got on my elephant. Our way lay through thick jungle, mostly of bamboos—but as we approached the Panchadhara ranges, the sal, the Asan and other tall forest-trees were frequent. The wild hill-stream of Dhemdapota flows through a gap of these ranges, southwards to the Mahanadi river, and we crossed the stream at a spot of great wildness and beauty, and then followed her course. High wooded peaks rose to our left. Our path was shaded by unending forest trees, and

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to our right, far below us, the Dhemdapota clattered over her stony bed. Our path rose gradually to a height of three or four hundred feet, and then gently descended, carving with every curve of the hills over which it was constructed. The Maharaja informed me that mangoes grow wild and plentifully in these hills, and that villagers, far and near, come and settle on these hills in the summer, forming temporary villages, in order to help themselves to these mangoes in season.

At last we left the hills and woods behind, and descended into the valley of the Mahanadi. The Jubaraj met us here, and we all went together to Kaintra village which is the capital of the Atmallik State. One has a good view of the valley of the Mahanadi river from this place, the Panchadhara hills which we had just crossed lying to our north, and another range of hills running along the southern banks of the Mahanadi.

On the 23rd morning, I paid a visit to the Maharaja in his Rajbaree and said good bye to him, thanking him for all his kindness. I crossed the Mahanadi to the State of Bod on the south and met the Raja of Bod, who was waiting for me on the banks of the river, and accompanied me to Jogendra Deo, at Dhalpur. At one time Bod was an extensive State and comprised the whole of the south-western corner of the Orissa Garhjats. But new States like Atmallik and Daspalla have been carved out of this parent State, a part of Bod, inhabited by the Khonds, and called the Khond Mals which is now under British rule, so that the territory of Bod has dwindled now to only 2064 square miles, with a population of about ninety thousand.

I have said that a portion of the Bod territory called the Khond Mals is now under British rule. The history of this place which is the home of the Khond tribe is interesting. The Khond Mals are surrounded by a ring of hills on all sides and are intersected in every direction by low ranges of hills, and though this hilly tract is situated within the Bod State, the Khond people were only nominally subject to the old Raja of Bod. They recognized the Rajas of Bod, but never paid any tax, and their own sardars administered their affairs without any interference from chief or king. It is well known that the Khonds practised human sacrifices to propitiate the goddess of the earth and make her fertile, and the Raja of Bod could not stop the practice or control the Khonds. The British Government accordingly established an agency to put

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a stop to the practice (Act XXI of 1845) and the Raja was glad to make over the administration of the Mals to the British. The Khond Mals are therefore a British possession now and form a sub-division of the British State of Angul, though separated from that tract by a wide tract of country. Human sacrifice has been stopped, and though the Khonds do not yet pay any rent or land-tax (except a plough tax), they are settling down into peaceful cultivators and have courts and schools among them.

The Khonds are one of those aboriginal tribes who have been pushed into hills and fastnesses by the invading Aryan Hindus, and have still retained their aboriginal customs and religion like the Sontals, the Gonds and the Kols. Their total number now in the Orissa Tributary States is probably under eighty thousand ; half of them live in these Khond Mals, and the other half are in the other Garhjat States like Bod and Angul, Daspalla and Nayagarh.

Their religion is of a simple primitive character. The earth is their great goddess, and human sacrifices used to be made for centuries to make the goddess fertile and to yield crops. Children, born of the Pan or other low tribes, were kept and supported for years for the sacrifice. During all this time the child kept for sacrifice (called *Meria*) was treated with exceptional indulgence,—he went where he liked and took what pleased him. At last the day came when a new clearance had to be made in the jungles or the goddess of earth had to be propitiated after a year of bad crops and scarcity, and the child was sacrificed, and his limbs interred in different fields. This inhuman practice has been stopped, but animals are still occasionally sacrificed, and the Khond will often pour some liquor on the earth before he drinks it. For the rest, the Khond has other deities, gods of the Sun and Rain, Rivers and Forests ; and there is a tutelary goddess in every Khond village. There are two great celebrations attended with sacrifices,—one in summer and the other in the autumn, after the rice crop is reaped.

There is no caste division among the Khonds, and their women are treated with much respect and deserve it. Girls are allowed a degree of liberty and freely mix with young men and seldom go astray. After marriage the Khond wife is the mistress of the family and orders the household, and infidelity to the husband is scarcely known. Nevertheless, as among other barbarous races, the lot of the Khond wife is one of pre toil ; she does field work, she does household work, she



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labours and toils while her husband is perhaps regaling himself with drink ! For drink is one of the besetting sins of the Khonds,—  
and they drink not mild fermented liquor, like the  
Drink

*Handia* or *Pachwai* of other tribes, but distilled liquor. This degrades him and sullies the better traits of his character. Another Khond failing is cruelty, but like the Red Indian of America the Khond is hardy and brave, and never complains under suffering and never spares others. In the olden days when the Khond tribes had their wars among themselves or with other tribes, the Khond patriarch or tribal assembly sent out messengers from glen to glen with an arrow as a summons to war. Warriors assembled, the earth goddess, *Bera-penu*, was propitiated with a vow

of human sacrifice, the god of war, *Loha-penu*, was  
Warfare  
implored with the blood of fowls or goats for victory, and then the fight ensued and continued till, like the fight described in *The Fair Maid of Perth*, one party was fairly exterminated ! British officers have testified to the courage of the Khonds, their devotion to their cause, and their superiority to physical pain. "In superiority to physical pain the Khonds are surpassed by no people. In a period of suffering rarely paralleled, during which the population wasted for two months beneath famine, disease and the sword, no single Khond was found to falter in his devotion to the common cause." One person tore out his tongue by the roots and died rather than say anything that might involve his clan ; another refused food and died on the fourth day.

But these wild days of warfare are over, and the Khonds are now being trained into the virtues and vices of civilized life. They are less addicted to drink than before ; their children go to school and learn the Uriya language, and their cultivators come to Courts and are becoming familiar with perjury and all the chicanery of law. The population of the eastern half of the Khond Mals speak Uriya, dress like Uriyas, and are becoming like the Uriya population. In the west, however, they still adhere to their original type,—dress themselves with feathers and a loin cloth, are simple and truthful, drunk and inhuman.

I had left Cuttack and crossed the Mahanadi on the 3rd December ; and after a march of twenty days through six states I had now recrossed the Mahanadi a hundred miles above Cuttack on the 23rd December, and come to Dholpur in Bod. My plan now was to drift down the Mahanadi by boat, visiting the states on both banks until I reached Cuttack. I was enabled to execute

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this plan through the courtesy of the Maharaja of Atmallik and the Raja of Bod, who had kept suitable boats ready for me. A couple of canoes or *Dongas* were lashed together, a temporary thatched hut was erected on them, and the sides and roofs were covered with cloth and beautified by flags! Two such gorgeous barges were ready for my use and that of my assistant and smaller boats were prepared for use as kitchen-boats. On the 23rd December accordingly I said good bye to the Raja of Bod at Dholpur, and drifted down the river. The ranges on both sides

Drifting down  
the Mahanadi

of the Mahanadi approached closer as I went down and the river winded between these wooded ranges. I reached Harbhanga on the afternoon and passed the night in the bungalow on shore.

The next day I continued my journey down the Mahanadi. The wooded hills on both sides now rose directly from the banks of the river, and the scenery became more imposing. The hilly jungles are full of peacocks, and I saw a troop of one male and five females at one spot on the river bank. In the afternoon I reached Tikarpara where the Mahanadi was regularly locked in among the wooded hills, and looked like a long and winding lake, enclosed on all sides by majestic and precipitous hills rising from its banks. I saw a little of the reserved forests near Tikarpara, and slept at night in the bungalow on shore. Elephants range these forests, and a Khedda will be established here next year.

It was a glorious Christmas morning—the 25th of December, 1895! The morning mists rose from the waters of the Mahanadi and rolled up the sides of the wooded hills on all sides. The weather was cold and crisp, bracing and delightful. The scenery was lovely like that of a lovely Scottish lake—but the Indian sun was brighter and more glorious than its sickly imitation in the northern climes! I started at seven in the morning, and my boat went merrily over the limpid and bluish waters over the Mahanadi, sparkling in the morning sun.

Christmas morning  
on the Mahanadi

From Tikarpara to the historic pass of Barmul, the Mahanadi flows through a rocky gorge, the hills on both sides rising from the river to a great height, and clad with unending trees. A lovely spot like this in Europe would be known far and wide, and would be traversed by steamers and launches and frequented by countless tourists, like the Rhine or the Lochs of Scotland, but no human voice disturbs the silence of the rock-bound Mahanadi and of the mighty wooded hills. Peacocks and other birds of

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gaudy plumage hunt these jungles and elephants and other wild animals roam through the trackless woods.

At Barmul the hills recede and are less continuous and the Mahanadi expands into a spacious and mighty river. A laughing stream, appropriately called the Khalkhala, runs down from the southern side into the Mahanadi at this spot, and this stream leads up to the historic pass called Padmatola where on the 2nd November 1804 the Mahrattas made their last stand after they had lost Orissa in the previous year, and were defeated and broken by Major Forbes and escaped into the Central Provinces. The plan was that the British troops would proceed through this pass to the Berrars to co-operate with Wellesley who was fighting the Mahrattas in Central India. But Wellesley did not stand in need of the help. He had already won the famous battles of Assye and Wargaon, and had forced the Scindia and the Raja of Nagpur to conclude a peace, and the Orissa troops accordingly went back from Barmul to Cuttack.

After a short halt at Barmul, my boat started again after mid-day and reached Belpada in the evening. It was a glorious night and the moon-light rested on the grey wooded hills and the broad waters and sand banks of the Mahanadi when I moored for the night.

Belpada is in the Daspalla State, and the Raja Chaitanya Deo Bhans of Daspalla came to see me the next morning. He claims to be of Rajput descent, and was dressed like a Rajput prince with flowing white robes, and a splendid Rajput head dress decorated with a golden ornament in front. But he is weak in body and mind, and his state is in the hands of an Agent. The area of the state is 568 square miles, and the population is over forty-five thousand.

Opposite Daspalla, and situated on the northern banks of the Mahanadi, is the smaller State of Narsingpur, with an area of 199 square miles, and a population of nearly thirty-four thousand. The Raja is a minor and is studying in the Cuttack School, and the state is under British administration. I visited the palace in the evening,—a two-storeyed house with some pretensions to architectural beauty. The late Raja used to live in the lower rooms, and the upper floor was assigned and is still used for the worship of an image. By the side of this structure are the inner apartments,—masonry rooms round a quadrangle; and close to this building on all sides are thatched sheds for the

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maid-servants, all surrounded by the palace wall. Every Rani in the Garhjats rejoices in a large number of maid-servants who are taken from their parents at an early age and are trained in the Raj family to their vocation. Occasionally the Raja favours one of them, and thenceforth she is promoted to the status of a *Ful-Bai*, the Raja's flower-lady.

The village, as usual, consists of a long and spacious street leading up to the Rajbari, with huts on both sides. The tutelary goddess of the village happens to be a vermillion-covered stone right in the middle of the street, and unprotected. It is proposed to remove her to a suitable site and give her a suitable roof. The jail, dispensary, school, police station and post office are the most conspicuous buildings, while there is a beautiful garden near the Rajbari where I saw ripe oranges on trees. On the 27th, I marched from Narsingpur-Garh by land to Champeswar, a village in that state. The hills of Hindol were to my north, while the Mahanadi flowed on my right, and the peaks and ranges beyond the Mahanadi bounded the view. I halted that night at Champeswar, in a bungalow, close to the foot of the hill. On the following morning crossed the Mahanadi and came to Kantilea, in the Khondpara State, lying to the south of that river.

The Khondpara State has an area of 244 square miles and a population of sixty-three thousand. The Raja Natobor Murdharaj received me in state on the banks of the river, and accompanied me to Kantilea. He is over 60 years of age, but is still active and stalwart, a good *shikari*, and with a good-humoured face and lively conversation. He wore a green turban decked with gold ornament, and a green silk robe set off with gold. Two royal umbrellas, one black and one white, were carried by two retainers while a third carried a *jhandā*, representing shield on a long pole.

As we went from the river bank into the village on elephants, we passed a low hill to our left with a fine temple built on its crest, the towers of which are visible from a great distance. Festoons of leaves had been hung across the streets, *paeks* ran before and behind with their swords, and the whole village turned out to view the procession.

We halted for a short time in a bungalow in the village. The Raja never omits to mention that he is related to the Raja of Rewa in Central India, and he had many anecdotes of shikar

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to tell me. He was accompanied by his boy, a fine looking and intelligent youth, but not born of his Rani. The youth is well read in Sanskrit, and sang verses from many Sanskrit poets in a sweet musical voice. In the afternoon I left the place and drifted down the Mahanadi river until I reached Baramba,—the last State which I visited during my December tour.

The State of Baramba lies to the north of the river, and is separated by the lofty Kanaka range of hills from The Baramba State Hindol to the further north, the peak of Kanaka rising to over two thousand feet. Baramba is a small State, 134 square miles in extent, containing a population of only thirty-two thousand. The Raja is a minor and is residing at Cuttack, and the administration of the State is in British hands. Landing from my boat I rode on my elephant through villages which rejoice in the classic names of Mathura and Gop, and reached the Garh or head quarters of the State by moon-light. The same evening I had a stroll through the town which is in the usual style,—one long and spacious street lined with huts, and leading to the Rajbari. At the request of the Rani I had an interview with her. The old lady wished to see her son married, and expressed a natural and reasonable wish to come to Cuttack and live with her son from time to time. The inner apartments of the Rajbari is on the usual plan,—pucca masonry rooms round a central quadrangle or courtyard, and surrounded on all sides by huts for maid-servants. A new two-storied house is under construction for the residence of the young Raja, and behind it are the inner apartments which I desired to be constructed in the usual quadrangular form which ladies here find so comfortable.

I slept in a bungalow on the top of a hill apart from the town, and the next morning I enjoyed the scenery from this high spot. Hills, higher than the bungalow hill, rose to the north, while to the south the level fields stretched away to the Mahanadi, and hills far beyond that river were visible. As usual, I visited the jail, the dispensary, the vernacular school and the offices.

On the morning of the 30th December, I left Baramba and drifted down the Mahanadi as far as Banki. I Temples on Rocks passed the conical island rock known as the Sinha Natha from the name of the image whose temple is built on its slopes. Many other similar temples are built on the rocks along both sides of the Mahanadi, and it is said the Mahrattas repaired these temples when they held the country.

The river has extensive sand banks here on both sides. In

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high floods, the water covers the sand banks and also the country on both sides to the foot of the hills, and the river looks like a limitless stretch of waters, over ten miles wide.

Banki was the head quarters of a tributary State up to 1840 ; but the Raja was convicted of murder, and sentenced to imprisonment for life, and the State was annexed by the British Government and now forms a part of Cuttack District. I left Banki on the morning of the 31st December, passed Naraj in the afternoon, where the river bifurcates into two streams, the Mahanadi and the Katjuri, between which the town of Cuttack is situated. I reached that town at night, and saw the old year out and the new year in.

*(To be continued.)*

**Romesh Ch. Dutt**

## POOR MEN'S PROBLEMS

### SANITATION AND AGRICULTURE IN BENGAL

It will be readily granted that the questions of the agriculture and sanitation are two of the questions of paramount importance to the people of India and those in which millions of our population are vastly more interested than in most far-reaching political reforms. That the questions so far as Bengal is concerned are not so very far apart from one another as may be too readily assumed, we shall see in the sequel. And so far as Bengal is concerned they stand on a footing somewhat different from the rest of India.

One of the most troublesome features of the administration of Bengal, East and West, is the question of sanitation. The growing insanitary condition of the provinces which is becoming every day too patent and the sorrowful features of the health of Bengal villages and towns and which is so very evident to any casual observer of the villages and towns have already imprinted themselves indelibly on the figures relating to the sanitation of the provinces. These display an appalling increase in mortality and sickness from malaria and to a smaller extent from cholera, all over the provinces. But although the fact has made itself so very patent no one is really very much in earnest about meeting the situation. Some money and enterprise has been employed in determining the bacteriological facts and the ætiology of malaria but up till now no really comprehensive attempt has been made to meet in a proper spirit this

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widespread calamity which has cast a shadow over the population of the province which has been every day growing in extent as well as intensity. But the evil has reached a stage when a decided step to grapple with the situation cannot very much longer be delayed.

Speaking as a lay man from common every day observation one may say that there must be a very close relation between the proper supply of water and malaria. I suppose that every man who has had to do with a malaria-stricken village will bear me out when I say that the outbreak of malaria in any locality has as often as not immediately followed the disturbance or check in course of a river which used to flow by the locality. Now these rivers affect the health of any locality in two important ways. In the first place, the river system of Bengal makes up a natural drainage which keeps the area drained by it clean. In the second place, it is a means of water supply which is renewed every minute by water drawn from its source. Both these sources of health are affected by the stoppage of water supply. The water stagnates and is continually fouled by the villagers. Thus on the one hand the poison of the locality is not carried off and on the other the water being drunk and otherwise used becomes a source of further contamination.

Perhaps this relation of river water with malaria will be readily recognised and in the days of Sir Charles Elliot attempts had been made to open up some silted up rivers in parts of Bengal. But the attempt has stopped there. Since then such projects seem to have been definitely abandoned and all that has been done to meet the pest of malaria consist of the occasional digging of drinking water tanks for the supply of pure water and the supply of cheap quinine. By way of patchwork these measures are undoubtedly better than nothing, but certainly the evil has developed to such enormous extent as to demand a more drastic treatment.

One fact ought to be quite clear, and that is, that to meet the evil no patchwork will be nearly adequate. It is not this locality or that infected with the fell disease which more than its immediate injury inflicts a permanent loss on the nation by degenerating its offspring. The fact is that practically the whole of Bengal is a sweltering mass of malaria-stricken population. The cause of such a widespread epidemic must be a comprehensive one which must be dealt with on an equally comprehensive scale. The root-cause must be got hold of and an all-embracing scheme must be devised for removing it, no matter at what cost and in what time.

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It may take long to remove the evil altogether, but a beginning must be made at once.

If a proper expert enquiry is made, it is possible, it may be found that the most prominent causes of disease are the bad water and bad drainage, induced in most cases by the changing courses of streams and the consequent silting up of old beds. Of these the problem of drainage has not yet been thought of. The question of drinking water supply is supposed to be solved by the occasional excavation of a drinking water tank by the District Board out of its none too overflowing cash. Yet, the only way of meeting these difficulties is by a comprehensive scheme of works which will tax the utmost skill of the best engineers, to regulate a proper flow of water all over the province, fit to carry off sewage and to supply fresh water for drink.

Even if it should be found that a regulation of the river courses of Bengal may solve the question of sanitation, the stupendous magnitude and the vast uncertainty of the undertaking would certainly justify the attitude of utmost unwillingness to approach the problem. The whole province would perhaps have to be re-surveyed for the purposes of regulating the river system and a stupendous scheme worked out at great expense and labour. Even then the uncertainties of Bengal soil and the uncertainties of river courses make the success of any such measure carefully thought out, highly problematical and may lead only to disaster. The utmost caution is therefore certainly required in handling such a scheme. It may perhaps even be granted that the science of engineering has not yet been sufficiently developed to grapple with a problem of such appalling magnitude. But when all is said and done, there appears no valid reason for not trying to see if anything can be done. There is no reason why engineering skill which has negotiated before this position of a sufficiently great magnitude should not be called upon to study the situation in Bengal and find a way out of its difficulties. At any rate there is no harm in trying to a study of its possibilities. The cost may be immense, but an attempt is surely worth making to study the problem even at that.

There is no question at any rate that the Government ought to take up the work of fighting malaria in right earnest. At present this stupendous work is left mainly to the District Boards who are asked to grapple with the situation in their own District as best they can with their scanty resources and with scantier assistance from the Government. Apart from the smallness of their means there is one



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evil in the arrangement which does not seem to have attracted proper attention. The exact remedy to the evil in any district cannot be found except on a comprehensive view of the whole province. The scientific study of malaria with a view to its prevention is yet in its infancy and that study in order to lead any really valuable results must be made from data carefully culled from all affected centres. The measures devised must also have reference not to a district by itself but to the province at large. Grave evils may otherwise follow. Suppose for instance that a Municipality or District Board with sufficient funds and enterprise thinks fit to construct a scheme of effective drainage for the area under its jurisdiction. That drainage may be very effective so far as this area is concerned but unless it is made with reference to the facilities of the neighbouring area, the only result would be to discharge its sewage upon another part of the province which cannot properly manage to remove it with reference to the system of drainage of the offending town. Such things are not altogether rare and I have known Municipalities constructing a system of drains with no other object than to discharge sewage out of its jurisdiction. Besides this, each district is left to discover its own means of battling with malaria and this necessarily leads on to a repetition of the same futile experiments at great cost in different parts of the province. While, if the Government had taken up the pioneer-work it might have been done at much less cost to the province and left a large margin to be utilised in taking effective steps against malaria.

From all these considerations and many others which will naturally occur to any one who has made a proper study of the system of sanitation in the province it will be abundantly clear that any effective steps towards checking malaria can only be taken if the Government wakes up to its responsibility in the matter and initiates a study of the question on a comprehensive scheme. When its scheme is fully thought out and a plan of operations clearly drawn up for the entire province, the Municipalities and District Boards should undoubtedly be called upon to look to the execution of the parts of the scheme which relate to their own jurisdiction. But the pioneering work will have to be done by the Government and that without delay.

Is it too much to ask that the Government of Bengal should set on foot a full scientific investigation into the whole question of malaria in the province? Not one of those official commissions so often initiated, which serves no other purpose than to create evidence that Government has been stirring in the matter, but a

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commission consisting of very competent men, medical men and bacteriologists of repute, and engineers of note assisted by men who are fully acquainted with Bengal village life. If such an inquiry is to be instituted, the first step no doubt would be to send out to the villages, thanas, subdivisions and districts, full instructions for the observation of specified facts and to prepare them for examination by the commission. After an adequate time has been given for observation, the commission might set out on its work.

There is one matter which, it strikes me, must be borne in mind if any such inquiry is undertaken. For the purposes of this inquiry at least, the partition of Bengal should not exist. The two Governments should combine to make possible the study of the entire province as a whole ; for the provinces are so homogeneous and their sanitary conditions are so dependant on one another that a study of the one without the other is sure to yield utterly inadequate and misleading results. If, as I suppose, the question of drainage would be by far the most important question in relation to malaria, it cannot be properly studied without reference to the entire river system of the major portion of the two provinces together. This cannot be done if the two Governments take up the problem piecemeal. It can only lead to confusion of issues and misleading and perhaps disastrous consequences.

A very notable illustration of the inadequacy of such partial studies was furnished by an enquiry conducted by Mr. Oldham in Western Bengal into the question whether high price of food grains had anything to do with the increased production of jute. The conclusions that the Commissioner drew from a study of facts in Western Bengal was that the area under cultivation for rice had not decreased on account of the cultivation of jute and that consequently there was no truth in the suggestion that the increase in the production of jute was responsible for the rise in prices in Western Bengal. But the great fact was not taken into consideration that commerce has signally failed to take proper account of the Curzonian boundaries and that for the purposes of commerce, Bengal is still an undivided province. The price of crops vary in each of the provinces with direct reference to the condition of agriculture in the other. So that although the rice area may not have decreased in Western Bengal, yet the swallowing up of culturable land by jute in Eastern Bengal may, for all that we know, have been the cause of the rise of prices. I do not say that that has been the fact, but if that has been so, Mr. Oldham's enquiry may be looked upon as wholly futile if not misleading.

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This brings me to the other great question which has been affecting the lives of millions of the population who take no account of Legislative Council or, for that matter, of Swaraj, absolute or qualified : the phenomenal rise of prices of food crops in Bengal. This too is a question for all India, but even with reference to this question Bengal stands on a footing somewhat distinct from the rest of India. The conditions of the two Bengals with reference to climate and soil no less than in respect of land tenure makes this plot of land a piece by itself to be studied apart from the rest of India.

Several theories have been put forward for the general rise in the prices and respective values of these have yet to be proved. It is not my purpose in this article to canvass the merits of these theories. In this article I am only concerned with noting the fact that an enormous rise in the price of food stuffs has occurred within the past few years. There have indeed been a succession of bad years in Bengal, the like of which Bengal has not had for a very long time. But even this is not sufficient to account for the permanent high figure at which foodstuffs stand now. The situation, whatever its causes, has come to stay, independently of the fluctuations in the yield of crops in any year. While on the one hand this fact of itself demands a sifting enquiry into its real causes, it ought to open the eyes of our people to another aspect of our agrarian question. It is the question of the improvement of our agriculture; which alone can meet with a situation threatening to become a permanent feature of our economic condition. We must anyhow increase the total output of our crops. The conditions of Bengal make it eminently suitable for agriculture and it is an industry that we can never afford to neglect. We ought therefore to take the greatest care to see that our agricultural prosperity remains unimpaired and that our capacities for the industry is not by any means permanently injured.

The one fact that ought to be forced upon our attention by the succession of bad years is that inspite of our magnificent river system we are hopelessly at the mercy of Nature. A shower delayed and a shower too early or too much for the season means ruin to our agriculture for the year. Yet there is no reason why it should be so. In no civilised country is the condition as bad as this. In very few countries does nature's bounty flow with the abundance that it does here but in no other country is the agriculturist a slave to Nature. The question naturally arises, could nothing be done to free agriculture very largely from its utter dependence on timely rain.

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As it is, our agriculture is in the greater part of Bengal proper for the most part done by Nature herself. Our irrigation is entrusted to Nature and so is manuring of the soil. Our cultivators only till the soil and sow the seed and do a little hoeing. This done they sit comfortably confident of a harvest. But this comfort is amply repaid by the penalty of starvation if there is anything wrong with the rains. If we were not so dependent upon Nature perhaps we might depend on agriculture with a very much larger amount of confidence, and agriculture like Indian finance would cease to be "gambling on rain." Could nothing be done to secure this independence, to save crops from inundations on the one hand and drought on the other? Drought might very easily be remedied by irrigation but inundation is a far more difficult matter to deal with. A carefully planned elaborate system of canals might remove the evils of innundations but it would remove its good effects too. At present, over a large part of Eastern Bengal, all the manuring and renovation of the soil is done by periodical innundations. The innundations also have a very useful influence in washing away the unpurities country. But I suppose that these difficulties are not serious. Artificial manuring may ultimately prove much more profitable and is surely much more certain than the chances of an innundation and manuring is certainly out of question so long as the manure runs the risk of being washed away any rainy day. As for carrying away the accumulated filth of the country a well regulated system of drainage will effectually remove all necessity for the annual wash that some parts of the country seem to need.

So that it does not seem altogether unlikely that the same scheme of re-distribution of river water in the province which may prove beneficial to the sanitation of the province may also be helpful to the agriculture of the province by saving it from the twofold evil of innundation and drought. All this is no doubt problematic and may not stand the test of scientific investigation. But in any case, it does not seem that the possibilities of agriculture in Bengal have been exhausted and that a well judged scheme cannot be thought out for making agriculture less dependent on rainfall.

Of late some steps have been taken by the Government to improve the agriculture of the province, but these attempts have mainly been concerned with the improvement of staple crops, introduction of new staples and a very humble and so far fertile attempt to spread knowledge of scientific agriculture. The ques-

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tion as to whether anything can be done in Bengal to free agriculture from the absolute thralldom to Nature has not been yet mooted. It is no doubt a very bold and ambitious suggestion but there is no reason why the Government of Bengal cannot indulge in daring ambitious projects of this type when by a series of bold and dashing projects large tracts of arid desert in the Punjab have blossomed forth into fields groaning with corn. It is good to be cautious and following the line of least resistance is very good policy but at times a dashing move does a lot of good which any amount of patchwork could not have done.

In any case the question of freeing agriculture from its hopeless dependence on Nature is one which ought to engage the attention of the Government and a study of the whole subject from the scientists', administrators' and the people's point of view ought certainly to find a place in the scheme of the agricultural improvement of the country side by side attempts to improve the staples, to introduce new staples and to spread agricultural knowledge. It is high time that the Government initiated a systematic study of the agricultural conditions of Bengal and of the possibilities of the improvement of those conditions in all its aspects.

This problem, like the other one, must be viewed from a broad standpoint and must be studied in the two provinces together. It is scarcely needful to point out that, not professing to have any expert knowledge of these matters, I do not put forward any of the concrete propositions advanced with any confidence of their fitness. All that I suggest is that in the considerations set forth above on the basis of common every day observation there might be found food for expert investigation ; and that an enquiry may with profit be started into the problems of sanitation and agriculture in a broad spirit and schemes of a liberal nature may then possibly be devised for a solution of these problems which touch all classes of people very intimately. I am sure that any money spent on such enquiry will not be thrown away and an honest zeal in making a sifting enquiry into the questions and taking steps to meet them will meet with the warmest sympathy of the public.

**Nareesh Chandra Sen-Gupta**

## MUNDARI POETRY

(Continued from the May number)

There is no sight that arouses greater enthusiasm in the Munda youth than the rolling volumes of smoke and blazing tongues of fire that occasionally rise from some neighbouring hill or jungle and bespeak active preparations for an approaching hunt. The object of this fire is to burn down the smaller branches, twigs and dry leaves that lie strewn all over the tract selected for the hunting excursion, and thus to prevent the animals from having any warning through the pattering of the leaves and the creaking of the twigs under the feet of the huntsmen. As the red fire blazes high and the black wreathes of smoke curl up above the trees, the eager groups of Munda youth watching the smoke and the fire rejoice at the prospect of a successful hunt, and the Munda poet, half in joy and half in pity thus addresses the luckless and doomed animals :

[JADUR]

*Burudoa kulai lolantuna,  
Fevadoo near sukultanae,  
Baijomme kulai diri-kapata,  
Baijomme near daru-kapata.  
Kachim boroa kapichutido ?  
Kachim chirea sarkanido ?  
Leha-leha-janre nirbolome,  
Mar-dhar-janre hojorbolome.*

[TRANSLATION]

There burn, O hare ! the leaves and twigs,  
That yonder hill bestrew.  
Grey smoke, O Ear, (a) from yonder vale,  
Lo ! rises into view.  
Stone doors, O hare, do thou secure,  
To shield thee from attack.  
Strong doors of wood, thou Ear, prepare  
To shun the hunter's track.  
Dost thou not dread, O say, thou hare,  
The point of huntsman's spear ?  
Dost thou not dread the hunter's raid,  
The point of his arrow fear ?  
When huntsman sets his bounds on thee,  
O seek thy stone-door'd cell.  
When huntsman's halloo fills the woods,  
Get in and hide thee well.

The Munda, in the plenitude of his faith, believes that it is the Gods presiding over his sacred groves that assist him in the chase as they assist him in securing a good harvest. And in songs like the following we hear the Munda poet expressing his simple faith :—

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(a) *Ear* is the Mundari name for a wild cat.

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## [JAPI]

*Madukam Jatar do senderai Senojana,  
 Bhai, Senderae senojana,  
 Papra chandi do karingae biridjana,  
 Bhai karingae biridjana.  
 Madukam jaer do twing jilutana,  
 Bhai Twing jilutan.  
 Papra chandi do da babatana do, bhai  
 Bhai Da babatan  
 Madukam Jaer do kutungan kulai,  
 Bhai kutungan kulai.  
 Papra chandi do, bhai, jatarang mara,  
 Bhai, jatarang mara.*

## [TRANSLATION]

The god in Madkam Sarna reigns,  
 To join our chase that deity deigns,  
 And out he goes a-chasing.  
 The god of Papra Chandigrove,  
 With village huntsmen doth he rove,  
 The hunters' party gracing.  
 For us the Madkam deity hight,  
 At beasts doth let his arrows fly.  
 And down He shoots the game.  
 The Papra Chandi brings us rain,  
 That helps the growth of paddy grain  
 His bounty the rains proclaim.  
 And there behold the Madkam Jaer  
 Shoots down and bags a nimble hare,  
 And carries in joy his prey.  
 And there the Papra Chandi good,  
 Down shoots the peacock in the wood,  
 And shoulders his game full gay.

A faith like this reminds us of the numerous invocations of the Vedic Rishis to Indra and Varuna, the Pushan and the Aswins to help them to subdue the black aborigines or to bring down rain to fertilise their fields.

If the Munda is passionately fond of the chase, his passion for dancing is, if possible, still greater. Visit a Munda village any moon-light night, and you will find the young folk of the village assembled at the village *Akhra* or dancing-meet merrily dancing to the *dumang's* sound till very late hour of the night. And on occasions of their tribal festivals, you see them sing and dance the whole night through. Nor is even the day-time excepted. All work is practically suspended for a few days. And the Munda gives himself up whole-heartedly to dancing and drinking, music and song. Mark how the heart of the Munda bounds with joy at the sound of the music that heralds a dance :

## [JADUR]

*Kote karambu dumang sari,  
 Jige ho litib litiba  
 Ho litib litiba.  
 Barigara kareta saritana*

*Kuram ho dopol dopola  
Ho dopol dopola  
Kotekrambu dumang sari,  
Senoge sanaia  
Ho senoge sanaia  
Barigara karetal saritanae  
Biridge monea.  
Ho biridge monea*

[TRANSLATION]

The dumang sounds at Kot' karambu  
My heart leaps up at the sound,  
At the sound.  
The karetal rings at Barigara,  
My heart with glee doth bound,  
At the sound.  
The dumang sounds at Kot' karambu  
O ! Haste, my dear, to the dance,  
To the dance.  
The karetal clanks at Barigarha  
O ! Rise, my dear, from thy trance,  
To the dance.

It is not the young man alone who hankers after the hilarious excitement of the dance. Even striplings of tender years long to join it. Thus in the following song, we hear quite a young boy requesting his elder brother to take him to the dance. In reply to the elder brother's protest on the ground of the younger brother's ignorance of the rules of the dance, the young boy naively replies that though ignorant of the steps of the dance he will closely imitate the dancers in their various movements of the feet :—

[GENA]

*Okokotem senotana, Dada  
Juri jurun bondolana,  
Chunaikotem biridtana, Dada,  
Jota jota botorana ?  
Aing doing senotana, Balu,  
Chelantola susunte  
Aing doing biridtana, Bacha  
Latai tola karamte.  
Chetantola susundore, Dada,  
Aingo dada idijaingme  
Latartola Karamdore, Dada,  
Aingo, Dada, seterjaingme.  
Chelantola susundore, Balu,  
Karem ituan.  
Latartola Karamdore, Bacha,  
Karem sarian.  
Chetantola susundoro, Balu,  
Ayerieko kurillena,  
Latartola karamdore, Bacha,  
Deateto Usarena.  
Ako, Dada, kurileredo,  
Aingo dadaing kuritca  
Ako, Dada, Usarenredo,  
Aingo, Dada, usarena.*

[TRANSLATION]

[Younger Brother] Oh ! Whither walkest thou, my brother, say,  
With double bonds floating down so gay ?  
Say, where, my brother, dost thou wend thy way,  
With pair of gaudy bators deck't full gay ?



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- [Elder Brother] To join the dance, my brother dear, I go,  
That dance in upper hamlet there, you know,  
I haste to join the merry dance, my dear,  
The Karam dance in the lower hamlet there.
- [Younger Brother] To join the dance in upper hamlet, do  
Along with thee, my brother, take me too.  
The dance in lower hamlet going on,  
To join that dance, O I take me, dear, anon.
- [Elder Brother] But thou, the art of dancing dost not know,  
Say what, in upper hamlet wilt thou do ?  
Nor the rules of Latartola dance dost know,  
In vain to Latartola dance wilt go.  
O ! grand in upper hamlet the dancer's step,  
As on he swings and takes his forward leap !  
At Karam dance in lower hamlet there,  
O backwards doth the dancer move so fair !
- [Younger Brother] While forwards the dancers with measured steps will leap,  
With them I'll move and equal measure keep ;  
And when the dancers back their steps will trace,  
With them I'll backwards move with equal grace.

Again, in the following song, we hear a young maiden requesting a young man of her acquaintance who is going to see the Ind festival, to wait for her till she has combed her own wealth of glossy hair. There are belles amongst the Mundas as amongst other races. The young man afraid of being belated protests against the maiden's delay.

### [JADUR]

*Namdoho lang chere sepered*  
*Namdoho kokotema ?*  
*Namdoho marasinga napanom*  
*Namdoho chimai kotema ?*  
*Aingdoho Indichuti dumang sari,*  
*Naingdoho Indilelling.*  
*Naingdoho marmichuti tebherebere*  
*Aingdoho marmiseate*  
*Aloho norahesa lidi lidi,*  
*Naloho tingutangingme*  
*Naloho darehare kichakochangete*  
*Naloho japataraingme,*  
*Naloho lamaiang nakite*  
*Naloho nakigentaing.*  
*Aloho burjujang jururute*  
*Aloho jururentaing*  
*Mareho kam nakinakingdo*  
*Mareho nirjabagema*  
*Mareho kam jururung jururungdo,*  
*Mareho nojor rarama.*

### [TRANSLATION]

- [Maiden :] Thus flaunting like the long-tailed *lang*,\* fair youth,  
Say, whither dost thou fly ?  
Thus strutting like the gaudy peacock, friend,  
O, whither dost thou hie ?
- [Youth :] The *mandal* sounds beneath the *Indi*-pole,  
O, there to see the *Ind* I go.  
The drum resounds beneath the *nammi* pole,  
O, there to see the *puja*, ho !
- [Maiden :] Where stands that tall and tap'ring *pipar* tree,  
Beside yon village road,  
O there, awhile, do thou await me, friend,  
Beneath yon *pipar* broad.

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\* The *lang* is a beautiful bird with black and yellow feathers and a long tail.

## MUNDARI POETRY

And where yon *kar* tree waves its branches wide,  
 That sparkle in the sun  
 O, there, do thou, await me, friend, awhile  
 And thee I'll join anon.  
 My oval comblike seed of *lama* fruit,  
 With this I comb my hair,  
 My pretty comb like stone of *burju* fruit,  
 Adjusts my hair so fair.  
 [Youth] Ah well ! if thou hast yet to comb thy hair,  
 I'll leave thee here alone,  
 Haste, haste, dear maid, arrange thy hair  
 Or else I fly anon.  
 Behold how merry youth in couples move  
 They leave me here alone.  
 Quick, quick, or else those youthful couples there,  
 Away will all be gone.

The Munda's love of music is hardly less strong than his love of the dance. Thus, in the following song, we mark with what winning importunity the Munda wife requests her husband to play upon his rude pipe :—

[MAGE]

*Norangalangme buru nependom rutu,*  
*Norangalangme*  
*Banom alangme korochoka sadom bala*  
*Banom alangme.*  
*Rapudjana burunependom rutu,*  
*Rapudjana—*  
*Sidejana korochoka sadombala*  
*Sidejana*  
*Baleruraeme burunependom rutu,*  
*Baleruraeme*  
*Tole ruraeme korochoka sadombala*  
*Toleruraeme*

[TRANSLATION]

[Wife] O blow thy pipe of *ependom* made,  
*Ependom* on hills that grow,  
 O blow thy pipe—blow.  
 O play on *banom* of tortoise-shell  
 With horse-hair stringed so gay,  
 O play on th' *banom*-play.  
 [Husband] Lo ! brok'n my pipe of '*pendom* made,  
 The hill-*ependom*, wife  
 Ah ! brok'n in twain my pipe !  
 And brok'n this *banom* of tortoise-shell,  
 With strings of horse-hair fine !  
 Ah ! brok'n sweet *banom* mine !  
 [Wife] Do make anew a *rutu*, dear,  
 By boring a '*pendom*-chip,  
 Do make anew thy pipe !  
 And string anew thy *banom*, dear,  
 With horse-hair strings attune,  
 Do string thy *sar'ngi* soon.

If the Munda gives himself up whole-heartedly to dancing and singing, music and merry-making, in his festive seasons, he is no less whole-hearted in his devotion to his duties when the season for work arrives. We notice in the following song with what joyful alacrity his womenfolk go out to the fields in the rains and transplant the paddy seedlings all the day long, and in the evening merrily return home with their wages in paddy.

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## [LAHSUA]

*Asar chandu tebalena  
Dola maire roa nalata  
Haturen horoko do oronglena  
Sobenko senotanako,  
Midlarebu kamiabu panti pantigi  
Singido dubuilena,  
Dola maire nalatelate.  
Nalabutelakeda  
Kurungiabu—Mandiabu  
Honkopen tenda nuiabu.*

## [TRANSLATION]

Now Asarh is here  
O come, my dear,  
Transplant the paddy seedlings green,  
The village all,  
Obey the call,  
Out streaming from their houses seen.  
Together we  
Will work in glee,  
O side by side in rows so gay.  
When sets the sun  
We will be gone  
And take our wages for the day  
Our wages ta'en,  
We'll husk the grain,  
Prepare and boil sweet rice for food  
Our children dear,  
Will share the cheer,  
With us will quaff the gruel good.

Paddy is to the pastoral Munda, the chief food-stuff that sustains life, and the source of all his wealth. And naturally the Munda invests it with a personality and regards it with an affectionate veneration. To his imagination, the biting cold of the winter seems to afflict and the warmth of a snug cottage to cheer up the paddy-grains. And thus he sings as follows :—

## [MAGE]

*Lorbo sokora Laki-rajam rabangtana,  
Lakirajam rabangtana,  
Lorbo sokora Lakirajam rearatana,  
Lakirajam rearatana.  
Ela Raja bolome, tantaraing baisaititad,  
Ela Raja sorome, koaluing, baibaruitad,  
Sartia chim labara koalung baisaititad,  
Sartia chim labara, koalung baibaruitad.*

## [TRANSLATION]

Thou Paddy on yon field at the head of the river,  
O ! how with the winter's sharp cold dost thou shiver !  
O how thou dost shiver !  
Thou Paddy this Lorbo Sokora bedecking,  
O ! how with the winter's keen blast art thou quaking,  
O how thou art quaking  
Now Hail ! thou king Paddy, come inside my hovel,  
For thee I have raised a nice tantara novel !  
A tantara novel !  
Oh, hail ! thou king Paddy do enter my cot,  
For thee a nice seat made of wood I have got  
Nice seat I have got.

Sarat Chandra Ray

## CONSCIOUS DEVELOPMENT

When a people becomes self-conscious, what is the sort of change that takes place in its life or character? That no people is absolutely cut off from its past, by reason of the development of national self-consciousness among its members, may be taken for granted. Very often there is no visible difference in the outward ordering of life in consequence of such development. Some of the habits of every people are so fundamental that these, as a rule, undergo no apparent alteration. Yet the change that takes place is one of the most momentous in the life-history of the race. It is and must be a change which makes those among whom it is effected look at life and its problems from an altogether new point of view. In one sense, the change is nothing less than the shifting of the centre of life from the individual to the nation. Those who have been accustomed to regard individual efficiency and greatness as the supreme end of life begin to realise that the efficiency and greatness really worth having must not be individual but national in their character. Not only are individuals evanescent, while the nation persists, but the efficiency of the individual, when properly analysed, is found to be either an abstraction or but another name for national efficiency. Either the individual must take a broad view of life and regulate it not in his own interest, nor in the interest of the immediate present, but in the interest of the race and of the future, or he must land in despair and oftener in moral and intellectual suicide. From that most terrible of all fates the average man is saved by the instinct of reason which makes him identify himself with the life of the whole of which he forms a part. That is why individualism in the proper sense of the term is rapidly becoming as much a term of reproach among people who call themselves civilised as selfishness.

A perpetual process of subordination is going on around us—the subordination of individual interests to the interests of the race and the subordination of the present to the future. The process is visible in every sphere of life. In India it has but just commenced and already it has wrought considerable changes. Increasing numbers of people are beginning to feel that the best lives who lives for his country and his people. Unfortunately the new spirit has in its actual operation been so far mainly, if not purely, political. The sacrifice that individuals have readily undergone in this country has been of the kind that the pursuit of a political object has forced upon them. This was inevitable, because

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want of a sense of political unity hitherto constituted the weakest point in the life of our people. Men instinctively perceived that if our people were to survive in the race of life they must develop this sense of unity and with it the sense of their distinct existence among the nations of the earth. That is why no other movement became so successful in this country in the closing decade or two of the last century as the political movement. In one sense, all the different movements originated together and about the same time. Raja Ram Mohon Ray was not only the founder of Brahmoism, not only a social reformer in his own way, but was also the father of political agitation. And if the political movement which ultimately culminated in the establishment of the Indian National Congress can boast of so many names which will readily occur to everybody, the social and religious movements have not a less glorious roll of workers to boast of. In Bengal alone some of the choicest spirits of the renaissance have devoted themselves more or less exclusively to these causes, while in Maharastra and the Western Presidency one of the greatest giants of modern times devoted the best years of his life, if not by preference, at least by necessity, to the cause of social reform. The fact that inspite of all these advantages these movements made but little headway as compared with the political movement can leave no doubt in one's mind as to the truth of the explanation here suggested.

Consciousness, however, is by its very nature bound to illumine. It can never be for long one-sided. Political consciousness was indeed the first to be developed in New India ; but by the inner logic of its being it has already given birth to an industrial consciousness. And if we are not very much mistaken it will, during the next decade, illumine some other aspects of national life. Two of these, it appears to us, are of the greatest importance and can no longer be ignored. One, the cause of social reform, has already attracted wide attention. The different caste conferences are a distinct sign of the coming upheaval. Not everything that these conferences have done or attempted to do can be said to be commendable, but they show that the new spirit is at work everywhere. Undoubtedly many of these organizations are supremely unconscious of the great end which they are instinctively striving to realize. Occasionally their tendency is even anti-national and they foster differences between one caste and another when they should strive for unity. This, however, is a phenomenon which need not discourage us. Not only is the end that we want to attain is unity and not identity—and surely unity is consistent with differences—but the process, as we have said, is

## **CONSCIOUS DEVELOPMENT**

yet unconscious. The very activity in its present form is a sure sign that consciousness is about to be, if it is not already in the process of being, developed ; while once it has become conscious it will necessarily effect considerable changes in the character of the organizations themselves. What we want to emphasise here is that the time has come when the cause of social reform should have the aid of the new consciousness that has been developed in the country. Even when the life of our people was individualistic, most social institutions badly stood in need of reform from time to time ; social reform has become hundred times more imperative now that we have begun to see that the efficiency of the nation must considerably depend upon a modification of the existing social arrangements and a removal of some of those evils and anomalies which are eating into the vitals of our social organism. The development of national consciousness has no meaning if it has not produced among our people the knowledge that every nation is an organism and as such is subject to the laws of organic growth. Of these laws, none are so inexorable as that the organism must adapt itself to its changed and changing environments, and that it must do so not in the interests of the individual and the present, but the Universal and the Future.

The other cause that must demand our immediate attention is that of the physical development of the race. Here also the process must be conscious and the end must be national and not individual efficiency. So long as we were within the grip of individualism, physical development was a supreme necessity. In the period of transition, however, how joyless and comparatively sterile was the life which most of us lived because the physique was not what it ought to have been. How many lives have been cut short and made useless by diseases which generally follow in the wake of physical deterioration. The development of national consciousness makes it almost a sin to neglect the physique. If it is not the individual but the nation, and what is more, the whole of the future generations, that would suffer on account of the neglect of the individual physique, surely the man must be utterly worthless who does not realize the overwhelming nature of his responsibilities. Nor does national self-consciousness merely increase our sense of responsibility. It considerably alters the idea of physical development itself. There will be room for physical giants in the future as there has been in the past. What the new spirit dictates is that the lines of development must be such as would conduce to the purposes of

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national well-being. There can not be the slightest doubt that the Indian Nation of the future will, in many ways, have to face a life of keen competition. The competition will touch several points of life most vitally. What is necessary is that the people should so develop themselves physically as not to get unnerved in this competition. It is true, in a sense, that the future is with the brain more than with the muscles. But the muscles are neither superfluous nor unnecessary. Not only is the brain itself physically conditioned, but humanity has not yet arrived at the stage when muscles cease to form an important factor in racial development. And apart from that aspect of the question, it is obvious that the nation which can endure most fatigue has still, as of old, the greatest chances of success. Our people, therefore, must address themselves to what, for want of a better name, we must call harmonious physical development. Here again the methods of the future must be unlike the methods of the past. Not each individual seeking to instruct himself as he best can, but each seeking to instruct every other, and the press and the platform as national organs, all. Japan has shown the power of public opinion where conscious physical development is in view. And Japan has only followed the examples of other nations. What France did, when she discovered that the growth in her population was an evil, is a matter of common notoriety. Whether she was right in what she did is a different question ; it is at least clear that she achieved a feat which is an example to other nations and which shows the immense power wielded under modern conditions by public opinion. The authority of the church, of traditions and customs and even of the Government, when the Government is personal or bureaucratic, is every day passing more and more to the Press and the Platform. Let those who are best able to advise the country or to lead it on to its great destiny begin to use these great agencies for the purpose of helping the cause of conscious development of our manhood in all its varied aspects, and Indian mankind will achieve results in a few years which will completely astonish the world.

**An Indian Nationalist**

# The Progress of the Indian Empire

## PROVINCE BY PROVINCE

### THE PUNJAB

**The Punjab and the Reforms** There has been hardly a more palpable exhibition of official philistinism than in the treatment which the Punjab officialdom has accorded to the aspirations of young Punjab. Young Punjab has, along with the rest of the country, drunk deep from the intellectual vintage of Burke, Macaulay, Mill and Bright ; it too has felt the quickening impulse of a fuller and more corporate modern life, but the officialdom in the province has seldom found itself in sympathy with the yearnings and the aspirations that have been stirring the heart of the province. The Punjab, inspite of its go-ahead activity and strenuous progress in all spheres of life, continues to be deprived of the privilege of a chartered High Court. The Punjab Legislative Council has existed more as an ornamental embellishment of the Punjab Government than as a real boon to the people. All the four non-official members out of the nine Councillors are nominated by the Government, and although of late years some really representative men have got into the Council, there has been little of corresponding gain, for they enjoy neither the right of interpellation nor the power to discuss the Budget. As for the meetings of the Councils, they have been as few as the bureaucracy desired.

Fondly we looked forward to the reform scheme of Lord Morley. It was a great effort, brimming with the instinct of Liberalism and the spirit of progress in every detail. But so far as this province is concerned the Government of India's proposals have practically stultified the underlying spirit of Lord Morley's reform despatch. Election in this province is proposed to be whittled down to an insignificant fraction of the whole, while we are not even to enjoy the privilege of the abolition of the official majority. And what is worse, the educated classes and their representatives are to be at a discount in the reformed Legislative Council. The Punjab Provincial Congress Committee have lately submitted a representation on the subject to the Government, and I may here refer to some of the facts and figures adduced in that remarkably well-reasoned and cogent document. The Committee fully voice the disappointment and the



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regret felt throughout the province at the undeserved exclusion of the province from some of the more important boons conceded in the reform despatch and rightly complain that the Punjab has been meted out an unfair and differential treatment as compared with the other provinces particularly in the matter of (i) the strength of the Provincial Legislative Council (ii) the relative proportion of the elective seats to the total strength of the Council and (iii) the representation of this province on the Viceroy's Legislative Council. Now the reason for such an unfavourable treatment and differentiation is not apparent. On the other hand, as the Committee point out, in consideration of the facts stated below, the province of the Punjab deserves a far more liberal treatment than many of the favoured provinces. To mention but a few of the reasons :—

(i) Educational advancement :—the relative proportion of English-knowing people in the Punjab to the total population is much higher than in the United Provinces and Eastern Bengal, and compares favourably even with Madras, the respective percentages for the first three provinces being '0026, '0013 and '0021 while it is only slightly less than that of Madras. The percentage of literates in the vernacular in the Punjab is better than that of the United Provinces, being respectively '025 as against '021.

(ii) Private enterprise in education :—The Punjab is decidedly ahead of the United Provinces and East Bengal and compares favourably with several others.

(iii) Industrial progress :—the number of mills, factories and other industrial concerns started by the people of the Province compares favourably with all other Provinces excepting perhaps Bombay.

(iv) Social reform :—the people of the Punjab have made rapid strides in this direction and stand head and shoulders above every other province.

(v) Interest in public affairs :—a comparatively much larger proportion of the people take interest in public affairs. The best test of this would be found in the number of newspaper readers, of which a fairly approximate estimate can be made from postal statistics ; and judged by this test, the Committee believe, the Punjab ranks only second to Bengal and leaves every other province of India far behind.

It will appear from the above that the Committee have made out an overwhelmingly strong case for an equality of treatment of this province in the matter of the reformed proposals. Let us see

## *PROGRESS OF INDIA (PUNJAB)*

for a moment how the case of the Punjab has been adjudicated, we hope not finally, by the Government of India. Under the scheme proposed by the Government of India, Punjab will get a Legislative Council, composed of 25 members including the Lieutenant-Governor : of these, 19 are to be nominated members, of whom not more than 12 are to be officials ; out of the rest, two are to be Mahommedans, one Hindu and one Sikh and the remaining are to be representatives of other interests. Only 5 out of the total 25 seats are proposed to be assigned to election. Of these, one goes to the Punjab Chamber of Commerce and, as recognised by the Government of India, will invariably go to a European. Of the other four, one is reserved for the University and the other three are to be filled in by the representatives of the larger Municipalities of the Province. Now, it is very doubtful if the University as well as the Municipalities with their complex composition comprising varied interests and diverse elements will return representatives of the educated classes. Nor is there much chance of the representatives of the educated section of the Indian community being returned to the Council by the back door of nomination. Indeed, the chances are that both under nomination as well as election, the educated section of the community, the political satisfaction of whose claims was so sympathetically and graciously referred to in His Majesty's Message of November last, will go to the wall. And yet in the very nature of the case, unless the members of our Legislative Council are to be mere figure-heads and automatons, they should be men of education, enlightenment, independence and public spirit—men with the insight and the perspective to realize the interests of their constituents and with the courage and capacity to stand by them. Still, it is this class which is being given a wide berth even in the reformed Council for the Punjab. The strength and the constitution of the Council leave too much to be desired. As we have shown, judged by the test of education, public spirit, industrial enterprise or educational advancement, the Punjab deserves to be placed on a better footing than most other provinces ; yet it gets only a meagre and attenuated Council of only 25 members as against 37 and 47, enjoyed by the other Provinces. An even more glaring badge of inferiority is the fact that only 20 per cent. (i.e. 5 out of the total 25 members) are to be returned by election, as against the minimum of 40 p. c. enjoyed by other provinces. Indeed, the number of the non-official members, assigned to nomination (seven), is larger than the number of seats allotted to election (five). So far as our province is concerned,

seems that Lord Morley's recommendation about the abolition of an official majority has little prospect of being carried out.

Nor is this all. The Committee deplore the introduction and the perpetuation of religious distinctions in a scheme of electoral franchise, but they point out, so far as the Punjab is concerned, the scheme even on this score recognises no fixed principle. If it is proposed to protect the interests of minorities, a step to which no fair-minded man need take any objection, certainly the Hindus and the Sikhs in the province should also be accorded separate electorate as well as such extra representation, where they are in a minority. The Committee, in short, sum up their prayers as follow :—

(i) That in the matter of the constitution and strength of the Provincial Council the Punjab may be placed on a footing of equality with the other provinces.

(ii) That the number of seats thrown open to election be materially and substantially increased, bringing the province on a line with the other provinces.

(iii) That the Indian commercial interest may be allowed representation.

(iv) That the interests of the Hindus and Sikhs as minorities be safe-guarded by allowing them separate electorates or, failing that, in some other suitable manner and by extra representation over and above that given to other classes and that the representation of the Hindus in the Punjab be made equal at least to that of the Mahomedans, while the Sikhs be granted adequate representation besides.

(v) That the power of nomination vested in the local Government be always exercised to rectify the inequalities of election, under the proposed system.

(vi) That the officials and nominated members in the Municipalities and the official members of the University be not allowed to take part in the elections thereof.

As regards the representation of the Province in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, our province will be placed in a most unsatisfactory position whether looked at from the standpoint of adequacy of representation or that of a proper or sufficient representation of the educated class or of the various other sections of the community. The Government of India's scheme provides, in addition to the official seats, only three seats to be filled up by the representatives, of the landholders of the province and the non-official members of the Provincial Legislative Council. By allowing only three seats

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on the Viceroy's Council, the Punjab is again put on a footing of inferiority with the other provinces. As to the representation of the educated community in the Viceroy's Council there is no chance under the proposed scheme, while it is more than probable that none of the three electorates,—land-holders, Muhammedans or the Provincial Councillors—will ever care to return a Hindu or a Sikh member. Indeed in all these three electorates the Muhammedans can naturally and easily manipulate votes in favour of their own community. Under the circumstances, the Provincial Congress Committee urge that in framing and sanctioning the regulations, steps may be taken to remove the above-mentioned defects (a) by increasing the number of the non-official representatives ; (b) by laying down an educational qualification for members of the Viceroy's as well as the Provincial Legislative Council, thus safe-guarding the return of a better and decently educated class of men, with the capacity and courage to serve the best interests of the province ; (c) by ear-making one elective seat at least for the non-official representatives of the Hindus, Muhamedans and Sikhs respectively, thus preventing a capture of all the seats by the representatives of one section of the community, and (d) by taking such other steps from time to time as may be found or may become necessary to safeguard the representation and the interests of the educated section of the community.

At a meeting of the Indian Association, Lahore, held on the 7th June evening, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted, Lala Lajpat Rai being in the chair : (1) That whereas so far nothing has been disclosed which would justify the action of the Government in having deported the nine Bengalee gentlemen under the Regulation 3 of 1818, in the opinion of the Association the time has come, in view of the recent judicial pronouncements about the excesses of the police and their general corruption, that either the deportees should be released or that Government should make public the informations on the basis of which they were deported. (2) That in the opinion of the Association the treatment which is being meted out to Babu Krishnakumar Mitra in prison, as disclosed in the statement published by his son, Babu Sukumar Mitra, is unwarrantable and opposed to the provisions of the Regulation 3, and that this Association begs the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take an early opportunity to assure the public that all the deportees are being treated as they

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should be with due regard to their position in life and in accordance with the provisions of the Regulation as well as declarations of the Secretary of State for India and the Prime Minister. (3) That this Association places on record its emphatic protest against the principle of denominational representation and representation in excess of numerical strength sanctioned by the Government in respect of the Mahomedan community in connection with the Reform Scheme. (4) That in the opinion of this Association the number of elected members proposed for the Punjab Legislative Council to be constituted under the provisions of the Indian Councils Act 1909, is too small to secure adequate representation to the people at large of this province.

Some of the difficulties in the way of the next session of the Congress at Lahore have been noticed in these pages some months back. Those difficulties have not abated but it is gratifying to find that the organisers at Lahore, headed by the Hon'ble Lala Harkishen Lal, have been manfully struggling against them. They have not let the grass grow under their feet and have already got the plans for the reconstruction of the Bradlaugh Hall, where the last Congress at Lahore was held, sanctioned by the Municipal Committee. The work of reconstruction will be commenced forthwith and the reconstructed Hall, sacred to the memory of one of the most devoted English friends of India will, it is hoped, be the signal for the waverers and the faint-hearted to rally round the banner of an united India

## **THE UNITED PROVINCES**

The Councils Bill has become law. Bengal is to have an executive council under its provision—and our provinces are to go without one. And why? Is it because Sir Edward Norman Baker wanted a council and Sir John Prescott Hewett did not? If so, why didn't our Lieutenant-Governor want one? Let us institute a comparison between our Provinces and Bengal. Evidently we have very much less sedition (and anarchism) than you have in your midst. We are very much more loyal—vide our record of loyalty demonstrations—than you are. In education and culture too we are not far behind those over whom Sir Edward Baker rules—the overwhelming majority of whom are Beharis and Ooriyas. We have agitated for this reform probably as much as you have,—our provincial conferences will

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bear testimony to that fact. Further, so long ago as in 1833, Parliament passed an Act for the introduction of Council Government with a Governor, as in the case of Madras and Bombay, in the Province of Agra. Under the circumstances, we do not understand the reason of Bengal alone being so favoured. Is Bengal the pet child of the Government of India? No, the feeling cannot be resisted that Bengal gets a council simply because she is fortunate in having at the present moment a Lieutenant-Governor so strong and sympathetic as Sir Edward Baker. If Sir John Hewett had moved in the same spirit, the whole of the two provinces of Agra and Oudh would have also been blessed with an executive Council. The credit side in the account book of public estimation of Sir John Hewett is not quite blank, and let us hope that His Honour deplores the golden opportunity he has missed as much as the educated public of these Provinces.

Allahabad—and, for the matter of that, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh is going to have a new daily paper. *A New Daily* Except for the *Indian Daily Telegraph* of Lucknow which is owned by a Mahomedan magnate and conducted and edited by Europeans—our people have hitherto gone without an organ in the daily Press. Years ago we had a daily paper of our own—the *Indian Herald*—which was owned and conducted by the late Pundit Ayodhya Nath whose demise several years ago we even grieve and deplore to the present day. It will be remembered that Marion Crawford—an English novelist of considerable repute—was in editorial charge of that paper for some time. It did not live long, but one can have some idea of its prestige from the fact that an honorable Judge of the Allahabad High Court did not consider it beneath his dignity to have occasional connection with that journal. The *Indian Herald* died a natural death probably because there was not at that time among the people of these Provinces the political consciousness which has now grown among them, consequent on the spread of education. The moving spirit in the present venture, as in the case of every movement that springs up in these parts, is the Honorable Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya. A joint-stock company has been formed with a capital of one lakh of rupees, divided into shares of rupees ten each. The company has been registered, the directors being the Honorable Pandit Madan Mohan, Pandit Motilal, Dr. Tej Bahadur and Pandit Birajnarain Gurtu. It is to be a morning paper and the editorial charge will probably be put in the hands of Messrs N. Gupta and Chintamani Garoo. Mr. Gupta now edits the *Indian People*,

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a bi-weekly journal of some standing. But as soon as this newspaper makes its appearance, which will most likely be on the first of August, the *Indian People* will be amalgamated with it. The local edition of the *Pioneer* is not distributed till about three in the afternoon, by which time we receive the Calcutta mail. So if this new paper is published early in the morning and if it has an efficient news service, inland and foreign, the Allahabad public will learn the world's news nearly nine hours earlier.

The Honorable Rai Nihalchand Bahadur of Mozaffernagar died at Naini Tal on the 9th of June last, after suffering from four days' high fever. His body was conveyed to Hardwar for cremation. The courts at Mozaffernagar were closed for the day. He had been for several years a member of the United Provinces Legislative Council and had done very useful work in that capacity. He was born in 1846 and the title of Rai Bahadur was conferred upon him in 1895 in recognition of his public services. By his death we have lost an enlightened zemindar and a keen and zealous public man.

## BENGAL

Judgment was delivered in the Midnapur case by the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Mookherji early this month, acquitting all the accused of all the charges.. This was of course expected. What is most striking about the judgment, however, is its calm judicial tone and its earnest searching view of facts. The judgment considers the accused absolutely not guilty of the charges, regards the alleged conspiracy at Midnapore as not proven and finds that the case was very largely built up by the engineering of local officials. Wherever any evidence sought to connect the accused with a crime is found the judges find side by side with it the unmistakable hand of the police manipulation. The result of that judgment is that the whole mare's nest raised up by the ingenuity of local officials has been pulled down and, reading the whole judgment, not the slightest doubt is left that the whole thing from beginning to end was a fabrication and there is not the shade of the shadow of truth in it.

It is characteristic of the tone of our public life and of the shrewdness of our journalists that more than one of the Anglo-Indian papers solemnly and wisely aver that the judgment leaves no doubt that there was a conspiracy

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at Midnapur although the real culprits have not been traced and the very sublime moral that is drawn by one of these is that one more crime remains undetected, &c. But where on earth these people find the conspiracy is more than I can see. The judgment plainly and clearly finds that from the finding of the bomb to the confessions and informer's evidence, every little bit of incident was open to the gravest suspicion. The bed rock of the whole theory of a conspiracy at Midnapur was the fact of two bombs being found in two houses. There is enough in the judgment of the High Court to show that the fact that the bombs were there and were not placed there by police agents is not free from suspicion. Apart from that there is not one concrete fact found on which you can hang the slightest suspicion of there being a conspiracy. The learned Judges in their judgment strictly confined themselves to the evidence before them and made remarks which were only justified by the evidence and were relevant to the case. In finding, therefore, that neither the conspiracy nor the fact of the accused persons' complicity in any crime had been proved, they had found all that was necessary for the determination of the case. But our amateur judges of the press, not bound by any limitations, have thought worth while to suggest that this finding implies the existence of a conspiracy. Verily this is interpretation with a vengeance and their lordships of the Bench must have been praying to be saved from such interpreters.

The steps that have been taken by the Government seem to be rather queer. One would naturally suppose that  
The Enquiry after the judgment passed by the highest tribunal in the land the government has no business to question its findings. It would be perfectly justified in acting upon them. But the Government of Bengal has directed an enquiry. That is certainly proper if it is only to be an enquiry into the conduct of the officials concerned. But in the instructions to the Commissioner who is to conduct the enquiry we find that the Government proposes to revise and test the findings of the High Court. For the Commissioner is not only instructed to enquire into the charges made against the officials but also to see whether the conspiracy and the guilt of the accused were not true in fact though it could not be proved. This, we take it, is not brimful of respect to the High Court. For, all the evidence that could be found against the accused and in support of the allegation of conspiracy were carefully put in and upon all that evidence the High Court finds that they are not proved. Now we must suppose that the Government in



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directing a new enquiry into the same matter did not suspect that the High Court was wrong in its decision. That being so we do not quite see how Mr. Macpherson the Commissioner can arrive at any other finding on that matter. We do not know if Mr. Macpherson is a theosophist. If he is not, the Government ought to have provided him with an occultist to assist in the enquiry. In any other case that is proceeding on the ordinary methods of estimating evidence, Mr. Macpherson cannot arrive at any conclusions which can command more respect than those of the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Mookerjee. However the Commission is in session and beyond hinting this much I do not think it proper to comment further upon its propriety in any other respect.

Mr. Surendranath Banerji seems by the newspaper accounts to be making a great splash in the English waters. Mr. S. N. Banerji in England To the uninitiated this is a message of great hope. People have been led to expect great things out of this visit of Mr. Banerji to England. But those who recollect a bit of history know that this is not the first time that Mr. Banerji has received such a flattering reception from the British Press and public, but this is the sad conclusion one is forced to make that the impression made and interest aroused never troubles the people of England for a moment after the orator has left the shore. The present occasion was undoubtedly rather unique. Mr. Surendranath Banerji did not go this time as a beggar of grace for a poor distant dependency but as an honoured guest of the English press and the English people. And, of the many who assembled there, it can be said with confidence that there was none whose personality could strike his audience so immediately and so well as that of this great hero of a hundred platforms who speaks with an eloquence which recalls the past glories of British eloquence, in a chaste, classical style which Englishmen do not habitually use, with a passion and enthusiasm natural in one who has passed the best part of his life in strenuous, earnest, thankless service to his motherland. The impression that he has made seems to be therefore rather greater than he made on any other occasion and we only wish that some good will in the end come of it. But I confess I am sufficiently sceptical about it.

### LIST OF RECENT BOOKS ON INDIA

DAHLKE, PAUL.—Buddhist Essays [Translated from German by Bhikku Silacara : Mac Millan & Co. : 10s].

HUTCHISON, CAPTAIN H. D.—The Campaign in Tira, 1897-8, (Illustrated : Mac Millan & Co., 8s. 6d).

JONES, JOHN P.—India : Its life and thought (Illustrated : Mac Millan & Co., 10s. 6d).

KEIRHARDIE, J.—India, Impressions and Suggestions.

MORRISON, REV. JOHN.—New Ideas in India during the Nine-teenth Century. (A Study of Social, Political and Religious Developments : Mac Millan & Co., 7s. 6d.)

OMAN, JOHN CAMPBELL.—The Brahmans, Theists and Muslims of India (Illustrated : Being studies in Goddess worship, castes and Social Reform in Bengal : Published by G. W. Oman : Second Edition, Rs. 6/10).

STRACHEY, SIR JOHN.—India : Its Administration and Progress. [Mac Millan & Co., Third Edition, 10s].

YOUNG HUSBAND, CAPTAIN C. J. and

YOUNG HUSBAND, CAPTAIN FRANCHIS.—Relief of Chitral (Mac Millan & Co., 8s. 6d).

## REVIEW OF LEADING INDIAN REVIEWS

### *The Standard Magazine*

We welcome the new addition to the periodical literature of India—the *Standard Magazine* had its birth in Madras only in April last. Sober and judicious in its tone, our contemporary promises a bright future and the May number fully sustains the reputation of its predecessor. It contains 80 pages of reading matter consisting of some well-chosen articles bearing on various topics of interest. M. G. opens the number with an article on *Some Anomalies of the foreign office* in which he resents too much interference of the Government of India in the affairs of the Native States. D. V. G. follows with a Sonnet *To the Rickshaw Boy*. In the anonymous article on *The Reforms and after* the writer suggests organised attempt “to educate the electoral bodies in the vernaculars with their duties and responsibilities” which alone can ensure success to the ‘Reforms.’ *The Moslem Experiment* deals with the Mussulman affairs in Turkey and Persia. In a paper on *What to do with our Girls* Mr. P. Tirumalachar urges the abolition of child-marriages and the introduction of greater educational facilities for girls. *The Daityas and the Brahmins* is a story of the Golden Age, related by Mr. B. Vallabadas. In the next article the writer urges the establishment of *A People's Association for Mysore* for the political, social, educational and industrial amelioration of the province. Referring to the undue importance attached to *The Hoarded Wealth* of India as an economic factor Mr. R. Vittal Moorthi observes :

Lord Curzon estimated the hoarded wealth of India at nearly £ 500,000,000. Even supposing the figure is approximately correct, it shows no more than an average of Rs. 30 per head of population is hoarded in India and that represents practically all the surplus wealth of the country as a whole, part of which *i. e.* as much as belongs to the poor man, is available during famines and scarcity.”

Mr. N. S. Bayankar discusses the *Possibilities of Establishing Match Factories* in South India. Mr. Prachina Karma in course of a discussion on the *Ethics of official punishment* of officers connected with the Guntur riots case expresses his apprehensions that the action of the Government will create an impression among the servants of the Government that what the Government expects is prompt-shooting at a mob as a means of dispersing

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it quickly. The second instalment of *Dewan Rangacharhi on bribery* has been followed by *Some considerations of Drink Traffic* in which Mr. M. Kenny condemns the greed of the Government for excise Revenue. *India—a splendid country* is a summary of the speech made by Mr. R. H. Campbell in appreciation of India on the St. Andrew's day in November last. The "Icicle" pleads for the betterment of the *Charity organization in India*. *Editorial Notes* cover a fairly wide range of topics of Indian interest.

### *The Indian Review*

Dr. G. B. Clarke's *New factor in British Politics* opens the May number of *The Indian Review*. In an interesting discussion of *The Agricultural Problem in India* Mr. Seedick R. Sayani presses the following among other points to the attention of the agriculturists (1) the methods of cultivation and the implements used (2) economy of water (3) suitable rotation of crops (4) use of suitable manures (5) gradual conversion of the export trade in raw products into manufactures. In an informing paper on *Immigration from India* Mr. S. V. Ketkar proves "that the objection to the Indian immigration is strongest when the European element is dominant and the Hindu is making his way" and attributes this objection to economic causes. Mr. V. J. Kirtikar then follows with a discussion of the words *Sat-Asat (Being and not Being)* in the light of Hindu Philosophy. Mr. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta gives a clear genesis of *The Boycott Movement* inaugurated in Bengal and sums up its results in the following words: "Even if it has not succeeded in affecting the import of British goods...it has produced results in bracing up the political life not only of Bengal but of all India, it has aroused the interest of people in Great Britain and it has altogether changed the political life in India, not to speak of the great industrial upheaval that it has caused." With the other article on *Adelaide A. Procter: Poet and thinker* by Mr. Lindsay S. Garvet we have but little to do. The number ends, as usual, with Reviews of some books, comments on current events etc.

### *The Hindusthan Review*

The joint May and June number of the *Hindusthan Review* opens with Mr. Alfred Nundy's interesting paper on *the Gurukula* which we have reviewed at length elsewhere. In the eighth

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instalment of Mr. Nihal Sing's paper on *As an Indian Sees America* an account of the different types of American women have been given. In course of an article on *The Imperial Conference of Journalists* Mr. T. S. Narayanah reminds the Indian as well as the Anglo-Indian editors of the serious nature of their responsibility in dealing with affairs in India at such a critical period of her history. Mr. B. R. Ransing feelingly discusses the *Orphanage Problem in India* and pleads for an organised attempt for the protection of the orphans. Mr. Madho Ram reviews the progress of the *Vernacular Literature in North India*. Mr. R. Rollo Platel deals with the various classes of *Mosquitoes* and particularly those which are chiefly responsible for the propagation of malaria. *If English were to become India's Common National Language*, Mr. J. N. Banerjea rightly holds, the Indians should have to "discard the study of the current languages of the country which again in its turn means gradually to forget India's past and all that was good and great and glorious in it." The next two articles are two appreciative character sketches of *The Hon'ble Mr. Satyendra Prasanna Sinha* and *The Late Mr. N. N. Ghose*. In course of an examination of the question *Who is to blame* for the differences that have risen among the Hindus and the Mahomedans Mr. Husain R. Sayani has fastened the responsibility upon the Hindus. The last sixty four pages of this number are, as usual, taken up with *Notices and Reviews*, criticisms and discussions of topics of various interest.

### *The Ceylon National Review*

*The Ceylon National Review* of the 2nd quarter of 1909 opens with a remarkable article on *The Nation and the Mother-Tongue* in course of which Mr. F. L. Woodward observes : "The National tongue is the one guarantee against national dispersion. It is the treasure-house in which are enshrined the dearest memories of the past, the tales of struggle against oppression, the stories of heroic action of legend, myth and superstition, of slow growth to manhood, the true index in which may be found the whole life of the nation." Mrs. Boole follows with a learned paper on *Indian Thought and Western Science in the Nineteenth Century* a fuller discussion of which we put off for the next issue of the *Indian World*. In a paper on *Medical Science among the Sinhalese* Mr. Donald Obeyesekere deals with the history, ætiology and treatment of Small-pox that is at present raging furiously in Ceylon. J. Wettha Sinha's

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learned paper on *Buddhism and Hinduism* has been reproduced verbatim in another section of the *Indian World*. In the article on *Reform of the Ceylon Legislative Council* an account of the proceedings of the meetings of various Sinhalese Associations in Ceylon as well as in England claiming for the Sinhalese greater share in the administration of their country has been given. The number closes, as usual, with some useful *Notes* and an account of the progress of *The Ceylon Social Reform Society*.

### *The Modern Review*

The editor leads off the June number of the *Modern Review* with an informing paper on *Railways in India* in which he contends that railways have been built up in India solely for the benefit of the English people by making India an exporter of raw produce, and the famine "is in no small measure due to the facilities which railways afford to export her food stuffs." The writer supports his contentions by copious citations from English authorities on the subject. Mr. Carl Hertz relates some of his strange experiences in many lands in an article on *The Wanderings of a Wizard. A Visit at Concord to F. B. Sanborn* by Anglo-Americus is followed by the editor's interesting description of *Pabhosa*, a hill some thirty miles above Allahabad and intimately associated with many incidents of the life of Lord Buddha. In the second instalment of a learned discussion on the *Message of the East* Mr. A. K. Comarswami observes : "As the message of the West has been one of diversity, analysis, and the separate self, so the message of the East is one of the Unity of all life, synthesis and the Universal self." Sreemati Svarna Kumari Devi's further instalment of the charming story of *The Fatal Garland* is followed by *A Power behind the Scene* in course of which Keshari gives an account of the influences Mumtaz-Mahal used to exercise upon her husband Shah Jahan in withstanding the growing power of the Portuguese in India about that time. Bharadwaja dwells upon the unrighteous conduct of the English conquerors of India in an article on *William Howitt on the Early History of the East India Company*, having relied chiefly upon the authority of William Howitt in proving his allegations. Grace Kelley's description of some features of the American Girl's College life precedes an article on *The Gate-keepers of India* in which the editor refutes the contentions of some Mahomedans who "plead for the preferential treatment of the members of their community on the

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assumption that their co-religionists are the "Gate-keepers" of India.....because a few mercenary Pathans are paid to render the services of Gate-keepers." *The Wiles of a Pleader* is the translation of a short Bengali story by Mr. Probhat K. Mukherjee. Saint Nihal Sing establishes *A Plea for an Indian Juvenile Court* for dealing with the juvenile offenders. We point with pride to the excellent paper on *The Work of Women—Indian and other* by Sreemati Abala Bose which, in consideration of its literary grace, sober views, and well-balanced judgment, indicates the high level to which female education has reached in Bengal in such a brief space of time. Referring to the function of education and the responsibilities of women the talented lady observes: "The true basis of the claim for educational Progress is no other than this, that the educated mind is capable of greater love, in ways more complex and sustained, than the uneducated. If this were not true, education would be an evil to humanity, and no boon..... In this age of Women's Rights, it would be well to remember that chief of all human rights is the right to serve, nor, in a woman's life, can there be anything more sacred than the service of the home and the *Samaj*. John Page Hopps' short paper on *Where are the Christians* is followed by *An Ascetic's Views on the Calcutta Convention of Religions* in which A Sannyasi complains that "even at Chicago a clergyman, and neither a prince nor a lord, was made the president in the World's Parliament of Religions.....but an exception to this time-honoured rule was made this time in India." In a paper on *What can be done for Namasudras* Mr. Benode Lal Ghosh makes some valuable suggestions for improving the condition of the Namasudras in Bengal. Mr. Arobindo Ghose's *Ode To The Sea* and J. K. M's *Indian Merchants' Chamber* complete the list of articles in this number. The number closes, as usual, with some *Notes, Comment and Criticism and Reviews of Books*.

## REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

### THE CON- GRESS AND INDIA'S POLI- TICAL FUTURE —AN APPEAL

Just at the present moment a triangular duel of a singularly unedifying nature is being fought in this country for political rights and privileges. The Mahometans are fighting for the old-world idea of communal and sectional representation, the Indian Congress for a united India and responsible government, and the white bureaucracy, on the one hand, is pushing on the Roman doctrine of *divide et impera* and, on the other, fighting against the advance of democratic institutions. The first and the third are fighting for absolutely selfish objects—one to extend its influence and the other to retain its powers. The Mahometans, in no period of their history and in no part of the world, have ever distinguished themselves by a generous acceptance of the rights of other communities or by any breadth of political views. In Asia and Europe, they have always cared more for the aggrandisement of selfish interests and the spread of a communal spirit than for the diffusion of any civic ideas. Under the circumstances, the Mahometans can be excused if they do not see eye to eye with those who are looking forward to a united people and a community of interest in this country. As for the alien bureaucracy, it is only human that it should fight against the idea of a united India and the establishment of parliamentary government in this country, for both of these are incompatible with the retention of its powers and influence. The typical Anglo-Indian official, therefore, dreads nothing so much as a united and enlightened people,—alive to its interests, conscious of its entity and awakened to its responsibility. This is just the ideal what the Indian National Congress has tried so earnestly to press upon the attention of the educated classes of this country during the last quarter of a century. But a community divided in hundred ways and almost absolutely devoid of all ideas of citizenship takes a long time in learning the lessons of democracy, and it is no wonder, therefore, that the measure of success attained by the Congress has fallen far short of the expectations formed by its founders and friends.

This is the political situation in India at the present day. So far as it goes, it is a cheerless and dispiriting situation—bad enough, in all conscience, to drive the iron into the soul of every sincere patriot. What is now to be done—to submit quietly to this situation or to fight manfully against it—is the problem which young



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India has to attack and solve. Upon the proper solution of this problem would depend the entire political future of our people.

The first essential factor in the solution of this problem is the recognition of the conditions of our life and the limitations of our powers. We must take things as they are and neither exaggerate nor under-estimate their bearing upon our national politics. The Mahometan demand for communal representation, however silly and anti-patriotic it may be, has to be counted, for it has gained in volume as well as in intensity since it was first formulated by Mr. Amir Ali and his friends in England and indicates how detached the Indian Mussulmans feel themselves from the other classes and communities of India. Nor would it be of any good to ignore the Anglo-Indian hostility to Indian aspirations, for the British would not willingly let go its hold from an Empire which, as Lord Curzon has recently said, is the 'imperishable jewel in the Crown of England.' These are the essentials of the situation—the main conditions of Indian political life,—which have to be recognised, fought against and changed. So have we also to recognise the limitations of our powers as a people and remove our shortcomings and guard against our weak points, however numerous they may be.

The problem, after all, reduces itself to a question of education—educating the Mussulmans, the Anglo-Indians and the other classes and communities which constitute the bulk of the Indian people. The Indian Mussulmans have to be educated to feel that India is as much their own motherland as she is of the Hindus, and that the Hindus and Mussulmans, by joining their hands with each other, can only make a strong Indian people. The Anglo-Indians have to be taught the great lesson of modern democracy that no people can remain content in these days with a life of galling subjection and that, however great and colossal an empire may be, it is bound to come down like a house of cards if it does not recognise and respect the rights and wishes of the subject people. Lastly, it has to be impressed upon all classes of the Indian people that so long as they do not become sufficiently alive to the national interests, develop a sense of patriotism and civic responsibility, and press their claims for political equality in a more united and insistent way, their rulers, however well-intentioned they may be, would never care to treat the claims of India for the Indians with anything but scant courtesy.

The question now is, who is to undertake this duty of three-fold education? The Government, for obvious reasons, cannot and will

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not undertake it. Nor would any private educational society dare meddle in political instruction. The Universities also cannot be expected to interest themselves in such education. The Municipalities and District Boards, by virtue of their constitution, would find themselves precluded from undertaking a work at which the powers that be would naturally look askance. Who is then to undertake this stupendous work of educating the rulers as well as the ruled on the political requirements of India of today ?

It appears to us that the only body that can approach the work with any fitness of things and can devote its best energies to it is the Indian National Congress. But is the re-constituted Congress strong enough to undertake it ? We must admit that since the *debacle* at Surat, the Congress has opened a new chapter of its history and that while the Convention has succeeded in giving it a constitution it has failed to draw into its fold the representatives of the various schools of political opinion in this country. It must also be freely acknowledged that to the extent it has so failed, the organisation in question has lost strength and dignity. Of course, no political organisation can be expected to give umbrage to all sorts of opinion, and it would be silly as well as dangerous to encourage all and sundry to ventilate irresponsible ideas among a responsible and representative gathering. But apart from the crude and wild ideas of that unfortunate section of our people who have come to be looked upon as anarchists or terrorists and who would not dare bring their schemes and proposals to the light of day, is the difference between extremist and moderate opinions so wide as would not admit of being made up ? We believe that the bulk of the Moderates and the Extremists all over the country share at the present moment about the same political opinions and are prepared to stand shoulder to shoulder in the cause of the Motherland. What is it then that now stands between them ? Only the constitution of the Congress adopted by the Convention and the personal dislikes of some Moderate leaders to work in association with some Extremists. If that be all, it does not seem to us to be so insuperable a difficulty as cannot be overcome. Most of the angularities of the Extremist party have been rounded off by the events of the last twelve months and they are now prepared to accept bodily the constitution of the Congress, as framed by the Convention, if it is only adopted by a session of the Congress itself. The objects of the Congress, as defined by the Convention and which a certain section of the people still insist on describing as a 'creed,' have been approved of by most

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of the extremist leaders in the country and there are no reasons to fear that they would now go back upon their acceptance of these objects. If the Extremist leaders would give a moral undertaking that their party would not oppose the constitution in question, the Moderate party should have no objection to put it to a session of the Congress itself for adoption. The constitution being once agreed upon and adopted, the resolutions of the Congress may be framed by the joint wisdom of both the parties and, if in any open session of the Congress, the Extremists would carry their pet resolutions, the Moderates should cheerfully submit to the wishes of the majority and bide their time. As for the dislikes of some Moderate leaders to associate themselves with the Extremist party, it is so small a factor in the settlement of the difficulty that it may be safely ignored. There is no room in politics for personal feelings, and if the Moderate leaders do not care to join hands with the representatives of a growing and more independent school of opinion, they must themselves stand outside the Congress and, like Achilles, sulk in their tents. The country cannot allow its most hopeful and promising institution to be spoilt or paralysed by the whims and pleasures of a small minority, however important and influential it may be. We appeal to the leaders of the Extremist party to put no difficulty in the way of the adoption of the constitution drafted for the Congress by the Convention in a session of the Congress itself and to leave their pet resolutions alone before they meet in the Subjects Committee. The Subjects Committee appear to us to be the only and the best place to fight out questions of principle, and if the Extremist party is as strong as it is popular, it should have no misgivings about its pet resolutions.

The time has indeed come when both the schools of Indian political opinion should unite themselves in the Congress and undertake the supreme work of education which we have referred to in the earlier portion of this note. Smaller differences must be sunk for such a re-union, and nothing should be allowed to stand between the Extremists and the Moderates. There is fortunately not much difference of opinions between the Indian Extremists and Moderates at the present moment, for the Extremists have at last veered round to a sane programme of political work and ideal, and if they still differ as to details, that ought not to divide them into two opposite camps for ever. Let the Extremists come forward to join the Congress again unconditionally and they will not only succeed in having things much their own way in it in the future, but they will also allow a rejuvenated and puissant Congress the golden opportunity to work out the salvation of India.

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